Origines Britannicæ,

OR, THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF

The British Churches.

WITH

A PREFACE

Concerning some pretended ANTIQUITIES Relating to *BRITAIN*,

IN

Vindication of the BISHOP of St. *Asaph*.

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THE PREFACE.

THE *Design of the following Book is to give as clear and distinct a View of the State and Condition of the* British Churches, *from their first Plantation to the Conversion of the* Saxons, *as could be had at so great a distance, and by such a degree of Light as is left us concerning them. When I first undertook this Subject I intended no more than an* Introduction *to something else; but being entred into it, and laying the several parts of it before me, I found so many obscure and doubtfull passages to be clear'd, so many common mistakes to be rectified, so many considerable parts of Church-History which tended to illustrate it, that either I must give a very imperfect Account of it, or so much exceed the proportions of a Preface, that I concluded I had better alter my design and with more Pains and Materials make it an intire Work of it self. To this end I laid aside whatever related to the first Occasion of my undertaking it, reserving that for its proper Place and Season; and then I resumed the consideration of this present Argument, with larger and freer thoughts, and resolved to attempt something towards the rescuing this part of* Church-History, *wherein we are so much concerned, from those* Fabulous Antiquities *which had so much debased the Value and eclipsed the Glory of it.*

This I knew was a Work, not onely of much Labour and Industry in searching and comparing good and bad Authours Printed and MS. foreign and domestick; but which required more than ordinary care and judgment in separating the Oar from the Dross; which being done as it ought, the question might be, whether it would not fall out here as in some Mines, that the quantity of good Oar would be so small as hardly to compensate for the Pains of digging and refining it. But this was not all the difficulty to be foreseen; for some Mens Eyes are still so tender as not to be able

able to bear the ſtrong impreſſions of Light; eſpecially in what relates to the Antiquities *of their own Countrey.*

For whatever the reaſon be, of that Love Mankind do naturally bear to the Countrey they are born in, we find it ſo univerſal, that even the Laplanders *and* Samoyeds *admire no Countrey like their own; and are impatient of any contradiction to their Fancies of the Beauties and Conveniencies of it. And it is pity to rob Men of any ſuch falſe Idea's, not entrenching upon Religion or Morality, which tend ſo much to the Eaſe and Comfort of their Lives. For, if Men will be in love with a cold Air and a barren Soil, with Ice and Mountains, with living in Caves and Hutts, and travelling upon the hardned Snow, to what purpoſe ſhould any go about to confute them, by proving that the* Elyſian Fields *are more pleaſant than thoſe Northern Climats? And ſo ſtrong is the inclination that is rooted in Mankind to the Love of their Countrey, that ſome learned and witty Men, who have been born in none of the moſt tempting Climats have uſed great Art and Induſtry to repreſent them with ſuch advantage to the World, as though* Paradiſe *were but another Name for their Native Countrey. Of which we have a remarkable inſtance in the late Work of an ingenious Perſon, who with mighty pains hath endeavoured to prove not onely that* Plato's Atlantick Iſland, *but the* Elyſian Fields *themſelves are to be found in one of the remoteſt Northern Countries.*

Ola Rudbeck. Atlantic. c. 7. 23.

And it is to little purpoſe to go about to alter ſuch Mens opinions, which are not ſo much founded on Reaſon, as on an over bearing Paſſion for their native Soil, which hurts no other Part of the World, and makes their own ſeem more pleaſant to themſelves. Some will be apt to think, the greateſt puniſhment to ſuch Perſons, is to let them live at Home and enjoy their own Opinions; but I rather look on it as an effect of the Wiſedom of Divine Providence to make Men contented with the Places of their Habitations: For if all Mankind ſhould love and admire one and the ſame Countrey, there would be nothing but deſtroying one another in hopes to enjoy it; whereas now, ſince the true Paradiſe is loſt, it ſeems to be moſt convenient for the World, that every Nation ſhould believe they have it at Home.

If therefore any of our Neighbour Nations ſhould think their own the richeſt, the pleaſanteſt, the fruitfulleſt Countrey in the World, I ſhould by no means think it fit to diſpute it with them, no more than I would the Wiſedom or Goodneſs of their Parents. For, however the Truth of things be, it is beſt for Children to believe well of them; and it may prove of very ill conſequence to alter a miſtaken good Opinion in them; for it makes them leſs contented and leſs fit to be governed than before; and living under ſuch a miſperſuaſion can never doe them ſo much hurt as the unſeaſonable diſcovery of their Errour doth. From hence I look on all National Quarrels as very fooliſh and miſchievous, it being reaſonable that all Perſons ſhould love their own Countrey as they do their Parents; and no Man ought to ſuffer in his eſteem for that which it was never in his Power to help. But whoſoever fixes an ill Character upon a Perſon on the account of his Countrey, makes a whole Nation his Enemies, which no wiſe Man will ever doe; and whoever doeth it will one time or other ſee cauſe to repent his Folly.

But is it not poſſible for learned and ingenuous Men to enquire into and debate the ſeveral Antiquities *of their* Nations *without making a* National Quarrel *about them? In matter of Self-defence there is a* Moderamen inculpatæ tutelæ *to be obſerved; and ſo there ought certainly to be in the defence of our Countrey; eſpecially when the Diſpute relates neither to the ſafety, nor Profit, nor the true Honour or eſteem of it, but onely to a mere point of* Antiquity; *wherein wiſe and learned Men may differ from each other that are Natives of the ſame Countrey. And theſe matters are not to be decided in the Field, nor at the Bar, nor by a majority of voices, but depend upon the comparing of ancient Hiſtories, the credibility of Teſtimonies, and a ſagacity in ſearching, and skill in judging concerning them. It is not every one that can plead eloquently at the Bar, or quote Authours at ſecond Hand, or diſpute warmly out of common Places, that is preſently fit to judge about ſuch things; for he that takes upon him to doe that ought not onely to have a general skill in* Antiquity *and the beſt Authours, but to compare the Hiſtories and Annals, the ſucceſſions and the ſettlements of the Neighbour Nations together, and then with great impartiality to deliver*

his judgment; but by no means to eſpouſe any particular Intereſt, as though he were retained on that ſide. Which he plainly diſcovers if he appear reſolved to maintain one ſide againſt the ſtrongeſt evidence, and to cry down the other in an ignominious and reproachfull manner; as though nothing but particular Piques *and* Animoſities, *or which is far worſe,* ill Will to the Government, *could lead Men into ſuch debates; nay as though* it were a degree of Leſe-Majeſty, *(as it is termed) to call in queſtion ſome very remote and very uncertain Traditions about the firſt Succeſſion of the Kings of a Neighbour Nation. This I have particular reaſon to take notice of, from the uſage the very learned and judicious Biſhop of St.* Aſaph *hath lately met with in this kind, merely becauſe in his late excellent Book he rejects* the long Succeſſion of Kings from *Fergus* the Son of *Ferquard,* from the time of *Alexander's* taking of *Babylon; which he doth chiefly on theſe two grounds,* 1. *Becauſe he proves from good Authorities in his Book, that the* Scots *could not be ſo early ſetled in* Britain. 2. *Becauſe thoſe* Scotiſh Hiſtorians *who have aſſerted it are not of ſufficient Authority to be relied upon; which he ſhews at large in his* Preface.

Hiſtorical Account of ancient Church Government in *Great Britain* and *Ireland.*

Now upon this occaſion, His Majeſty's learned Advocate in *Scotland, hath been pleaſed to think it a part of his Duty to anſwer this part of the Biſhop's Book, not without ſome kind of ſharpneſs and unhandſome Reflexions on a Perſon of his Character and Merit; but none like this,* That he admires that any of the Subjects of *Great Britain* did not think it a degree of Leſe-Majeſty to injure and ſhorten the Royal Line of their Kings. *But there is more Reaſon to admire at the ſtrangeneſs of this Accuſation, unleſs it were intended to ſhew that he could as well* proſecute *as write againſt the Biſhop by virtue of his Office, for diſputing their Antiquities. As though the fundamental Conſtitution of the* Britiſh Monarchy *were at all concerned in the Credit of* Hector Boethius, *for upon it, as I ſhall preſently ſhew, the main ſtreſs of this matter doth reſt.*

Letter to Lord Chancellour, p. 11.

But becauſe theſe are dangerous inſinuations, and may as well be urged againſt ſome part of the following Book, I ſhall here make it clear how very unjuſt and unreaſonable they are. For it is not the Antiquity of the Royal

Line

Line *which is in diſpute, but the* Succeſſion *of it in ſuch a Place; the* Iriſh Antiquaries *carrying the* Succeſſion *much farther back than* Hector Boethius, *or* Leſly, *or* Buchanan *do. And therefore they charge others far more with* ſhortning the Royal Line, *making it to begin with* Fergus; *when they derive it long before by a continued Succeſſion from* Simon Brek, *and* Herimon, *and* Gathelus, *who they ſay was but ſix Deſcents from* Japhet. *But if there be* any degree of Leſe-Majeſty (*for I am very unwilling to put theſe hard Words into proper Engliſh*) *in thoſe who debate any thing wherein* the Honour of the Royal Line *is concerned, let them clear themſelves of it, who lay the foundation of the* Monarchy *in the Election of* Fergus. *For that is truly the State of the caſe; thoſe who contend ſo earneſtly for the Succeſſion of the* Royal Line *from* Fergus *the Son of* Ferchard, *placing his Title to the* Monarchy *in the choice of the Heads of the Tribes; which will appear from the Words of* Hector Boethius, *who is in truth the main ſupport of all this Tradition.*

V. Gratian. Lucium *in* Cambr. *Everſ. p.* 248, 249.

For, although Fordon *doth mention the* Succeſſion *of many Kings from* Fergus *the Son of* Ferquard *to* Fergus II. *yet he profeſſes he could find nothing particular concerning them; although he quotes ſeveral* Chronicles, *and we are told he had the View of their* Annals, *ſuch as they were, of* Paſlay, Scoon *and other Places. He names indeed* 45. Kings, but he deſires to be excuſed as to the ſeveral times of their Reigns, for he had not met with them written at large, but from the time of *Fergus* II. he promiſeth to be very diſtinct and particular. *Yet after him comes* Hector Boethius, *of whom the learned Advocate tells us* that *Eraſmus* ſaid he could not lie; (*which comes very near to Infallibility in matter of Fact*) *and he is as diſtinct and particular in the* firſt Succeſſion *as he is in the* ſecond. *From whence comes this mighty difference? Of this he informs us from* Hector Boethius *himſelf* (*and can we have a better Authority than his that could not lie?*) That he had ſeveral Books from *Icolmkill*, which he followed in writing his Hiſtory. *I cannot now enter upon the conſideration of the* Authority

A primo quidem hujus Regni Fergusio filio Ferchardi ad hunc Regem Fergusium filium Erch inclusivè, 45. Reges ejusdem gentis & generis in hac Insula regnaverunt: sed & horum sigillatim distinguere tempora principatuum ad præsens omittimus, nam ad plenum Scripta non reperimus. *Fordun Scotichr.* l. 4. c. 2.

Defence of the Antiquity, &c. p. 29.

Authority *of theſe* Books, *(of which afterwards) but, as far as yet appears, it depends upon the Credibility of* Hector.

But that which I am now to ſhew is, that if Hector Boethius *his* Authority *be allowed, thoſe who lengthen the* Royal Line *doe more* injury to the Monarchy *than thoſe who ſhorten it. For the firſt Account he gives of it is*
l. 1. f. 6. *this,* "*That the* Scots *in* Britain *being preſſed by the* "Picts *and* Britains, *they ſent over into* Ireland *for aſ-* "*ſiſtence;* Ferquard *ſent his Son* Fergus *with Supplies;* "*who, ſaith he, left it to the choice of the Heads of the* "*Tribes, what Government they would have, whether a* "Monarchy, Ariſtocracy *or* a Commonwealth; *and* "*they pitched upon a* Monarchy, *and made* Fergus *their* "*King: which he ſaith was juſt* 330 *years before* Chriſt's "*Nativity. After which he ſets down* Fergus *his owning* "*that he received his Authority from the People; and*
l. 10. 2. "*their* Fundamental Contract *to adhere to him and to* "*his Line, which if he may be believed, was ingraven* "*in Marble Tables, and then the* Agrarian Law *follow'd.*
p. 6. l. 19. *And (which is very obſervable) the firſt Deſign we find laid for* altering the Succeſſion of the Crown and excluding the next Heir, *is in* Hector Boethius *his account of the immediate Succeſſour to* Fergus *the Son of* Fer-
f. 10. 2. quard. *For notwithſtanding the binding Oath to the Poſterity of* Fergus, *yet immediately after his Death, he ſaith,* Feritharis *was choſen King, although* Fergus *left* Ferlegus *his Son and Heir; and not onely ſo, but a Law, ſaith he, was paſt excluding the next Heir from any right to Government till he attained to ſuch an Age. The effect whereof was, that* Ferlegus *attempting to recover his Right from* Feritharis *was baniſhed and utterly excluded.*
f. 15. Hector *himſelf confeſſes* he was at juſt Age when he demanded the Crown, but he was put by and ſeverely rebuked, *quod injuſſu Patrum petiiſſet Regnum,* but he did it without the Authority of the Senate; upon which they impriſoned him, but he made his eſcape and fled firſt to the *Picts,* then to the *Britains,* and after *Feritharis* his Death *Main* was choſen to ſucceed. *This is the juſt and true account of this matter, as it is delivered by* Hector Boethius, *and after him by* Leſly, *who*
Leſly l. 2. p. 81. *ſpeaks more plainly of* Ferlegus *his excluſion;* ſed Ferlegum recuſavit

recuſavit Populus. Buchanan *ſaith*, that he was condemned in his Abſence; *but he would fain reconcile this practice to their former Oath*; (*although the* Advocate *himſelf ſaith*, this Oath did in Law and Reaſon bind them to obey the Lineal Succeſſour according to the proximity of Bloud) *but* Buchanan's *pretence is* becauſe the preſent King during the Minority of the Heir, was but a King in truſt, and the Heir at ſuch an Age was to ſucceed. *But how well that was obſerved appears by this firſt inſtance, and in truth,* Hector Boethius *and the reſt after him do put the whole power as to theſe Matters, in the hands of the People, or at leaſt of the* Heads *of the* Clanns; *as will appear more afterwards.* Buch. l. 4. p. 29. p. 245.

It cannot therefore but be very ſurpriſing to us to ſee his Majeſty's Advocate *ſo zealouſly defending this Hiſtory of the* firſt Succeſſion *of their* Kings, *and reflecting upon a* Biſhop *of our* Church *for calling it in queſtion. And yet he cannot deny that this Law* was the Occaſion of many bloudy Civil Wars between the Uncles and Nephews; *and he calls it* the Diſpute betwixt ſuch as were for the Crown and ſuch as were for Popular Elections. *From whence it follows, That* Hector Boethius *his Hiſtory of the firſt Succeſſion from* Fergus *is to ſet up the popular Claim. And quite through that firſt Race* Hector *makes the ſupreme unaccountable power in all caſes of Male Adminiſtration to be lodged in the Heads of the People, and the* Miniſterial *in the* Monarch. Defence, &c. p. 110.

And therefore, we ſhould have thought it had better become his Majeſty's Advocate *to have overthrown ſuch pernicious Principles to* Monarchy, *as are contained in this account of the* firſt Race *of their Kings from* Fergus *the Son of* Ferquard. *And although* Buchanan, *among the half-learned, bear the blame of theſe* Antimonarchical Principles, *yet it is evident that he onely built on the Foundations laid by thoſe who ſet up this firſt Race, as the Advocate himſelf confeſſeth, whoſe Words are,* All *Buchanan's* Arguments for reſtraining Kings being founded on the Authority of our Hiſtorians, who, *as he ſaith,* aſſert that King *Fergus* was firſt elected King by the People. *And therefore thoſe Hiſtorians who ſet up this Succeſſion in ſuch a manner had no kindneſs to* Monarchy, *as appears by what* Leſly *himſelf ſaith about King* Fergus *and his Succeſſours.* Juſt Right of Monarchy, p. 26. *Leſle.* Hiſt. p. 77. 79.

It is true that the learned Advocate hath, according to his duty, publiſhed a Juſt Defence of the Monarchy of Scotland; *but I muſt crave leave to ſay that it can never be defended upon good grounds unleſs the Account of* Fergus *the Son of* Ferquard, *and the Succeſſion of Kings from him as delivered by* Hector Boethius *and* Leſly *as well as* Buchanan *be rejected. And this is too plain from the Anſwers he gives to this* Conſent of their Hiſtorians.

1. *He ſaith,* That *Gathelus* was not at all elected
p. 27. by the People. *Whither are we now carried? The queſtion was concerning* Fergus *in* Scotland, *the anſwer is concerning one who is ſuppoſed to have lived I know not how many Ages before him, and we know not where: And it had been to as much purpoſe to have ſaid, Adam* was not choſen by the People. *But who was this* Gathelus? *In very truth, he was no other (according to theſe* Hiſtorians) *than* a Son of a certain King of *Athens*, who went into *Ægypt* and married *Scota* the Daughter of *Pharaoh*, who was drowned in the Red Sea, and afterwards ſetled in *Portugal*, from him called *Portus*
p. 26. *Gatheli*, (*as the* Advocate *obſerves*) from whence a Colony of that Race tranſported it ſelf into *Ireland*,
p. 28. and another into *Scotland. Now, ſaith he*, all thoſe who are deſcended from his Colonies were by Law obliged to obey the eldeſt Son and Repreſentative of that Royal Family. *What! by the Law in King* Fergus's *time? For there is none ſo much as mentioned before that* fundamental Contract; *and was it not well kept after* Fergus's *death? But if there had been any precedent the other had been needleſs. However the queſtion is not concerning* Gathelus *and his Poſterity in* Ireland, *but* Fergus *and his Succeſſours in* Scotland.

p. 27. 2. *He anſwers,* That the Heads of their Tribes acknowledged *Fergus* for their King. *But do not theſe Hiſtorians ſay expreſly,* That they choſe him, and that he left it to them to chuſe what Government they
Hect. Boeth. Hiſt. l. 1. f. 62. pleaſed? *And the Words of* Fergus *in* Hector Boethius *are theſe,* veſtrum erit in hoc Negotio, quid utilius ad veſtram Rempublicam ſit diſcernere, noſtrum veſtra capeſſere imperia. *Did ever Man more own the Supreme Authority of the People than* Hector Boethius *makes* Fergus *to doe in theſe Words? Whether theſe very*

Words

Words were ſpoken by him, even Hector *dares not ſay; but he is ſure* they were ſuch like. *And afterwards he ſaith,* tandem Ferguſio Regnum decernunt; *And to the ſame purpoſe* Leſly, Ferguſio Regnum ab omnibus decernitur. *Is all this* a bare acknowledgment of him for their King? *what more emphatical Words could be uſed to expreſs a* free Election, *and that the People gave* Fergus *the Power, than theſe Hiſtorians do uſe?* *Leſle.* Hiſt. Scot. p. 77.

3. *He goes on to give a farther Anſwer, which is very remarkable in his* Majeſty's Advocate, *viz.* that we reade nothing at all of the conſent of the People, but of the Heads of the Tribes, who had no Commiſſion from the People, each of them having by his Birthright a Power to command his own Tribe, and conſequently the Royal Power was not derived from the People. *What is the meaning of all this, but onely to ſhew that the* Royal Authority *was not derived from the* Rabble, *but from the* Nobility *or* Heads *of the* ſeveral Clanns; *and conſequently the Power of calling their* Kings *to account lay onely in them? No, ſaith he, Fergus* ſucceeded in the Right of thoſe Chiefs to command their reſpective Families. *Then* Fergus *had no more Power, as* Monarch, *than the* Heads of the ſeveral Clanns *had before. But did they, according to theſe* Hiſtorians, *part with their* Rights *of* Government *to* Fergus *and his* Poſterity? *By what Authority then did they take upon them to impriſon and depoſe* (a) Euenus III. *and ſet up* Cadalanus *as King? By what Authority did they take Arms againſt* (b) Dardanus *and ſet up* Galdus, *who took away his Life,* communi omnium Ordinum conſenſu, *ſaith* Leſly? *By what Authority did they aſſemble againſt* (c) Lugtachus, Galdus *his Son, and ſent Souldiers to diſpatch him? By what Authority did they riſe againſt* (d) Mogallus *his Succeſſour, with a deſign to deſtroy him, as* Hector *confeſſeth, which they did effectually, as* Leſly *agrees? How came they to take upon them to impriſon* (e) Conarus *and ſet up* Argadus *in his room? And to diſpoſe of the Government in the time of* (f) Ethodius II. *and according to* Leſly *commit him to Priſon, where he was killed? How came they, notwithſtanding the Law of Regency to ſet up* (g) Athirco, *while he was uncapable by it? I meddle not with thoſe Kings who were killed* p. 29.

(a) *Hect. Boeth.* l. 3. f. 36. l. 40. *Leſle.* p. 92.
(b) *Hect. Boeth.* l. 4. f. 59. *Leſle.* p. 97.
(c) *Hect. Boeth.* l. 5. f. 75. *Leſle.* p. 101.
(d) *Hect. Boeth.* l. 5. f. 79. *Leſle.* p. 103.
(e) *Hect. Boeth.* l. 5. f. 81. *Leſle.* p. 103.
(f) *Hect. Boeth.* l. 5. f. 90. *Leſle.* p. 109.
(g) *Hect. Boeth.* l. 6. f. 90. *Leſle.* p. 110.

by

by ſecret Conſpiracies, *nor with open Uſurpers, ſuch as* Nathalocus *and* Donald *of the* Iſles; *but I onely ſet down what theſe* Hiſtorians *deliver, as to the Right and Authority which the* Nobles *aſſumed to themſelves in caſe of Male-adminiſtration, to ſhew that if theſe Mens Accounts muſt be received,* the Heads of the Clanns *did not part with their ſhare in the Government ſo much, but upon occaſion they did reſume it. And therefore I have been apt to ſuſpect (from the Controverſie about Regency at the time when* Hector *wrote) that all this Hiſtory of the firſt Race of Kings was framed on purpoſe out of ill will to the* Monarchy, *and with a deſign to advance the* Power *of the* Nobility. *And now let any true friend to the Monarchy judge, whether thoſe who ſhorten the Royal Line, or thoſe who ſo earneſtly contend for this Story of* Fergus *and his Succeſſours, be more liable to be charged* with any degree of Leſe-Majeſty.

Leſle. p. 392, 396.

p. 28. 4. *But after all, the Advocate ſaith,* That *Fordon* the moſt ancient of their Hiſtorians affirms, that *Fergus* made himſelf King. *Indeed* Fordon *doth ſay,* That *Fergus* the Son of *Ferard, (as he calls him)* hearing there were many *Scots* in the Northern parts of *Albion,* living without order and Government, and hearing a good account of the Countrey, he was prompted by his Ambition to go over to them, and taking with him a good number of young Men, he gathered together the diſperſed Scots, and joining them all together in the Weſtern parts, he made himſelf King over them. *Which is no improbable Account, but* Fordon *ſaith not a word of all the former paſſages in the other Hiſtorians. And if* Fordon *be the moſt ancient of their Hiſtorians, what becomes of* Veremundus *and* Cornelius Hibernicus, *the two great ſupporters of* Hector Boethius *his Hiſtory? If they were after* Fordon, *how come they to be ſo well inſtructed in ſo many particulars in the* firſt Succeſſion, *which* Fordon *was wholly unacquainted with?*

Scotichron. l. 1. c. 36.

Scotichron. l. 10. c. 2.

I cannot deny that Fordon *ſpeaking of the Coronation of* Alexander III. *(as he calls him) mentions an old* Highlander, *who in the* Iriſh Tongue *repeated the* Genealogy *of their* Kings *backward as far as* Fergus *the Son of* Ferquard. *But therein he comes not up to the number*

number, either in Fordon *or* Hector Boethius; *and hath very conſiderable differences from the Accounts either in him, or in* Leſly *and* Buchanan. *For after* Fergus *he leaves out* Feritharis, *and makes* Main *his next Succeſſour; the next he calls* Arindal *whom they call* Dornadilla; *his Son,* Roveyn, *they* Nothatus; *and his* Rether *is the ſame with their* Reuther; *but here they interpoſe a* Reutha *to make their Story agree with* Bede's Reuda. *But this Genealogiſt next names* Ther, *whom they call* Thereus, *and his Son* Roſin; *but they ſay* Joſina *ſucceeded* Thereus, *being his Brother. After this, we find a greater difference, for inſtead of* Finnanus, Durſtus, Euenus, Gillus, Euenus II. Ederus, Euenus III. Metellanus, Caratacus; *we find there onely* Dethach, Jaw, Aliela, Euen, Ederskeol, Comermore; *Some agreement there is, but a far greater diverſity, and* Hector's *famous* Caratacus *quite omitted. Then ſucceeded* Corbre, *whom they call* Corbred, *after him* Daradiamore, *by them ſtiled* Dardanus; *then another* Corbre *inſtead of their* Galdus; *and then* Luthach, Lugtacus *in them; then* Mogalama, *their* Mogallus; Coner *their* Conarus; Ethath *their* Ethodius; Fiachrath *their* Satrahel; *then another* Ethath, *whom they call* Ethodius II. *before whom they place* King *Donald* in whoſe time, *they ſay,* Chriſtianity was firſt received in *Scotland, who is utterly excluded by this ancient Genealogy. For after this* Ethodius *follows in it* Athirkiwr, *which is their* Athirco, *then* Findachar, *which is their* Findocus, *and ſo* Nathalocus *is ſhut out; and ſo after him are the two* Donalds, *for the next that follows is* Thrinklind, *whom they call* Crathlintus; *then* Fencormach *their* Fincormacus, *after him* Romaich, *their* Romachus; *then* Eneguſſa, *which is plainly their* Anguſianus, *and* Fethelmech *their* Fetelmachus; *then* Enguſafich *and* Etheat, *inſtead of which they put* Eugenius *and* Ethodius *his Brother; whom both make Grandfather to* Fergus II. *whoſe Father they call* Erthus, *but the ancient Genealogy and* Fordon Eirch.

Now by comparing this Genealogy *and* Hector Boethius *together, I am convinced that he did not forge all the Names of his* firſt Race of Kings, *between the two* Ferguſſes; *but yet from hence it appears,* (1.) *That* Hector *did inſert many things contrary to this* ancient Genealogy;

alogy; *and when he did ſo he had ſome end to ſerve in it. As when he puts in* Regents *which the* Genealogy *never owns; but this was to ſupport his Law of incapacity: but in all this* Genealogy *there is a direct* lineal Deſcent, *and when he puts in* Reutha *it is to anſwer* Bede's Reuda, *and* Galdus *for* Tacitus *his* Galgacus, *and* Caratacus *for the famous* Britiſh King *of that Name; and King* Donald *to anſwer our King* Lucius, *that they might have a* Chriſtian King *in the time of the Pope next ſucceeding* Eleutherius. 2. *That this* Genealogy *may be allow'd without any advantage to the* Succeſſion *of Kings in* Scotland, *from* Fergus I. *ſo long before the Nativity of Chriſt; for it is very obſervable, that this ancient Genealogiſt doth very much ſhorten the Succeſſion between* Fergus II. *and this* Alexander. *For he leaves out* Eugenius II. *and makes* Dongard *to ſucceed him; after him* Cobren, *and then* Edanius, *whereas here they inſert* Conſtantius I. Congallus, Conranus, Eugenius III. Convallus, Kinnatillus *between* Dongard *and* Aidanus: *After him he*

Scotichr. l. 4. c. 38. *names his Son* Occahebind, *whom* Fordon *calls* Eothodius-bind, *which he ſaith is the ſame with* Eugenius;

Buchan. l. 5. p. 45. *and about him*, Hector Boethius, *as* Buchanan *obſerves, contradicts the* Book *of* Paſly, *for this ſaith,* he lived in continual Wars, *and the other* that he enjoy'd a conſtant Peace; *ſo that* Boethius *ſlights the authority of their* Ancient Annals. *Next after him they place* Ferquard, *of whom the* Genealogy *ſaith nothing at*

Scotichr. l. 4. c. 41. *all*; Fordon *next to nothing.* In cujus nihil actum eſt tempore, *ſaith he; but the other Hiſtorians tell ſad Stories of his vitious Life and tragical End. After* Eugenius *in the* Genealogy *we find* Donewald breck, Fordon

c. 45. *ſaith,* he died after 14 years Reign; *and to him ſucceeded* Ferquard *his Brother's Son, not mentioned in the* Genealogy; *nor* Malduinus *Son to* Donald; *for the next is* Ethac, i. e. Eugenius, *and here they put in another* Eugenius, Ambirkelethus, Eugenius VII. *and* Mordacus *between* Ethac *and* Ethfin, *whereas the* Genealogiſt *makes* Ethafind *Son to* Ethdre, *to whom ſucceeded* Ethas, i. e. Eugenius VIII. *in their Account, after him follows* Alphin; *but between theſe, they have inſerted* Fergus III. Solvathius, Achaius, Convallus *and* Dongallus. *They all agree with the Genealogiſt, that* Kenneth

imme-

immediately ſucceeded Alphin; *but then follows a wonderfull difference; for here they put in no fewer than* 13 *Kings between* Kenneth *and* Malcolm *the Son of* Kenneth, *whom the* Genealogiſt *places next after him; then follows* Duncan *in all; between whom and* Malcolm Canmoir *they put in* Machabæus. *After* Malcolm *he takes no notice of four Kings they inſert between him and* David, *and where they put another* Malcolm *he placeth* Henry, *and then they agree in* William, Alexander *and his Son* Alexander; *in whom the* Genealogy *begins, and ſo runs backward in a lineal Aſcent.*

Now it deſerves very well to be conſidered, that this ancient Genealogiſt hath ſo much ſhortned the Succeſſion *as will bring the whole into a much leſs compaſs: For the modern* Hiſtorians *have inſerted more Kings in the ſecond Race from* Fergus *the Son of* Erk *than are contained in the* Genealogy *from* Fergus *the Son of* Ferquard *to* Fergus II. *and ſo the whole Succeſſion will ſtand within the ſame time that it now doth, from* Fergus *the Son of* Erk.

And if the ſhortening the Royal Line be ſuch an injury to it, *as the* Advocate *ſuppoſeth, it is well for this ancient Genealogiſt that he lived ſo long ſince, or elſe he might have had a caſt of the* Advocate's *Office.*

Neither is the Authority of this Genealogiſt to be ſlighted by the learned Advocate, ſince himſelf giving an account how their Tradition might have been, and was preſerved, *he brings this very inſtance of* the Genealogy of King *Alexander* in the year 1242. before *Fordon's* time, and related ſo by him that his Relation cannot but be credited; *and ſo he repeats the beginning of it as it is in* Fordon. *But if he had taken the pains to compare it, he would have found how much it overthrew the Credit of their Hiſtorians. For if this was the Way their Tradition was preſerved, then by this Way, we are to judge of the Truth of their ancient Tradition; and conſequently we muſt reject thoſe Kings whoſe Names are not preſerved in this ancient Genealogy.* Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line, p. 20, 21.

And to confirm this we have another ſaid to be more ancient in Fordon, *which the* Advocate *attributes to* Baldredus, Abbat *of* Melros, *(otherwiſe called* Ealredus, Abbat *of* Rhieval) *in his Lamentation of King* David, *ſoon after his death, who died* A. D. 1151. *But I confeſs I do not find,* p. 22.

Scotich. l. 5. c. 59. *find, that* Fordon *attributes this Genealogy to* Baldredus, *for he ſaith* he had it from *Walter de Wardlaw, Cardinal* and the Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, who lived in the time of *Robert* II. *ſaith* Leſly: (*which helps to diſcover* Fordon's *Age*) *And in this* Genealogy *the firſt part from* David *to* Fergus *is cut off with an* &c. *but the other part from* Fergus II. *up to* Fergus I. *is preſerved entire, and except in the ſpelling of ſome few Names, exactly agrees with the former* Genealogy, *leaving out all thoſe Kings which are omitted in the other. But the latter* Genealogy *having been corrupted before* Fordon's *time, he would not have it ſtand upon Record againſt him; which caution he forgot when he came to* Alexander III.

Leſl. p. 250. *But there is ſtill a third* Genealogy *in* Fordon, *which ſupplies in ſome meaſure the defects in that of King* David, *and it is the* Succeſſion *of* Kenneth, *the firſt* Monarch *of* Scotland (*the* Picts *being totally ſubdued by him*) *and then he makes no more between them but* Alphin, *and then* Achai (*which ſeems to be truer than the other which calls* Alphin's *Father* Ethas) *before him he places* Ethfin *called* Ethafind *in the other; next him is* Eugenius *in the other* Ethodac; *then* Dongard *the Son of* Donwald Brek; *whereas in the other this* Dongard *is omitted; before* Donewald-brek *in this Genealogy, is* Eugenius-bind *called* Occahebind *in the other; then* Aidanus, *in the other* Edanus; *then* Gouran *called there* Cobren, *then* Dongard, *and ſo we are come to* Fergus *the* great; *and there is but one difference*, i. e. *about* Dongard, *in theſe Genealogies. And this makes but* 10 *Kings between* Fergus *and* Kenneth, *whereas the common Hiſtorians make* 28. *which is a very unreaſonable Addition to their own moſt ancient Genealogies. But if this were not done there would appear no probability, that* the firſt *Fergus* ſhould have come into *Scotland* 330 years before Chriſt's Nativity. *Which the learned Advocate affirms in the very beginning of his Defence*, that all their Hiſtorians are agreed on. *And yet farther to confirm theſe Genealogies he tells us* he had ſeen an old Genealogy of the Kings of the *Albanian Scots*, agreeing with that mentioned at the Coronation of King *Alexander* II. and which has ſtill been preſerv'd as ſacred there, *i.e. at* Icolmkill, *I ſuppoſe, or the Iſland* Jona. *But it is obſervable*

that

that Hector *mentioning the Coronation of this* Alexander, *takes notice of the* Highlander's repeating the Genealogy by heart, *and he carries it as far as* Gathelus, *but ſets down nothing at all of the particulars, which he knew would by no means agree with his* Catalogue *of* Kings *ſo long before Chriſt. And to confirm all theſe Genealogies, the* Iriſh *Genealogies in* Gratianus Lucius *agree with them in excluding ſo many Kings, which* Hector *hath inſerted to make the account of time ſeem probable. Onely they make* Fergus *the Son of* Erk *to be the firſt who carried the* Scots *from* Ireland *into* Albany; *and the Anceſtours before to have lived in* Ireland, *and to have been derived from the Monarchs there.*

Hect. Boeth. Hiſt. l. 13. f. 295.

Gratian. Luc. Cambr. Everſ. p. 248.

But when Hector Boethius *found* 330 *years before Chriſt pitched upon by* Fordon *for the* Scots *coming into* Scotland *with ſo much punctuality, that he ſaith* it was in the ſixth year of *Alexander*, wherein he killed *Darius* and took *Babylon, he thought it by no means fit to omit it, but to it he adds* the very year of the World, and of the building of *Rome*, and how long it was after *Brutus* his firſt coming to *Britain*; *which are all great Confirmations of the Truth of this Account. But* Fordon *quotes no Authour for this wild computation; onely he ſubjoins a paſſage out of the Legend of S.* Congall, *which mentions the coming of* Fergus *the Son of* Ferquard *out of* Ireland *into* Britain, *and after he mentions* Rether *for one of* his Succeſſours, the ſame, *he ſaith, with* Bede's Reuda. *Suppoſe all this be granted, yet what ſhadow of proof is there*, that *Fergus* came into *Scotland* ſo long before Chriſt's Nativity? Fordon *confeſſes* he knew not how long any of thoſe Kings after *Fergus* reigned; *how then came he to know ſo exactly the time of their coming? What certain Note or Character of time had they to help them in their Calculation? If they could produce any ſuch, and be able to adjuſt the times of the* Succeſſion *of their ſeveral Kings by them, there might be a great deal ſaid for this pretended* Antiquity; *but when it is at the ſame time confeſſed they had no ſuch thing, how could they ſatisfie any reaſonable enquirer into theſe Antiquities?*

Scotichr. l. 2. c. 12.

Hect. Boeth. l. 1. f. 7.

Things ſtanding thus, and Hector Boethius *with the help of his* Phyſician *of* Aberdeen, (*who, as* Dempſter

Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 2. n. 194.

ſaith, was ſo very uſefull to him in framing his Hiſtory) ſet about the rectifying and curing the Body of their Antiquities; and endeavourd to bring it into better form, and to fill up the vacuities of it, and render it more agreeable to the Palates of that time, which had more ſmattering of Learning than in the Ages before. And ſo he begins his Hiſtory very formally in imitation of the beſt Roman Authours, with deducing their Hiſtory from Gathelus and Scota, deriving their Succeſſion from the Greeks and Egyptians, as the Romans did theirs from the Trojans. This I do not attribute to his invention, for it is at large in Fordon; who quotes ſome old Chronicles and Legends for it; eſpecially the Legend of S. Brendan; an admirable and authentick Record. But to doe right to Hector in this matter, he ſaith ingenuouſly that their People follow'd the cuſtome of other Nations therein. And as I have ſhew'd in the following Book at large (where I treat of theſe Antiquities) this humour had overſpread all the Northern Nations, as ſoon as they ſhook off the Roman Yoke, and began not onely to be diſtinct Kingdoms, but to have ſome affectation of the Roman Learning, and to have Perſons of their own Nation who began to write their Hiſtories; who thought they did nothing for the honour of their Countrey unleſs they could, ſome way or other, derive themſelves from the Trojans, or Greeks, or Egyptians, whom they met with ſo often in the Roman Authours; and the Romans in moſt Provinces mixing together with the Northern People, excited a greater Ambition in them, either to be like the Romans, or to exceed them in their pretended Antiquities. And their inventions not being extraordinary, there is very little variety in their ſeveral Accounts, as will appear by comparing them in their proper Places.

Scotichron. l. 1. c. 9.

Chap. 5.

In this point Hector Boethius hath acquitted himſelf well enough; but finding the Succeſſion of their Kings very ſhort and meagre, having no fleſh to fill it, nor nerves to ſupport it, nor colour to adorn it; therefore he ſets himſelf to make up what he found defective, and to put it together under the Names of Veremundus and Cornelius Hibernius or others; out of theſe he frames a long ſeries or Catalogue of Kings, which looked big, and raiſed Mens expectations, and ſeem'd well enough contrived to ſerve the

pretence

pretence to ſo great Antiquity. This being done; he fills up the Story of theſe Kings, not out of their old Annals (*as far as yet appears*) *but in a great meaſure out of his own invention, ſo as to mix the* Commonwealth-Learning *of the* Greeks *and* Romans *with the Hiſtory of their ancient Kings. Which hath done great prejudice to the* Rights *of the* Monarchy; *for* Hector's *Hiſtory took ſo much among the Nobility, (for very good Reaſons to them) that all that have written ſince him, have depended upon his Authority, as appears both by* Buchanan *and* Leſly; *unleſs it were where he groſly contradicted the* Roman Hiſtory, *and there* Buchanan *leaves him, but for the main of his Hiſtory he relies upon him; and* Leſly *doth nothing in effect but abridge him, whatever he pretends as to* Records *and the* Annals *of the* Monaſteries *of* Paſly *and* Scoon; *which the* Advocate *ſuppoſeth* he ſaw at *Rome*, whither *he ſaith* they were carried. *If ſo it had been worth while to have procured well atteſted Copies from thence; which had not been hard in all this time, ſo many Gentlemen of that Nation travelling thither, and ſeeing all the Curioſities of their Libraries. But* Leſly *ſaith no ſuch thing; for he appeals to the* publick Archives of the Kingdom, *and not to any* MSS. *at* Rome; *ſo that if they were any where, they were then in* Scotland.

Leſle. Paræn. ad Nobil. Scot. p. 22.

Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line, p. 39.

But the Advocate ſeems to have forgotten what he had ſaid before; viz. *that* the black Book of *Scoon* was among Preſident *Spotſwood*'s Books; *indeed he ſaith*, King *Charles* I. ranſom'd it from *Rome*; *but how that appears I know not; but I know the circumſtances he mentions about Col.* Fairfax, &c. *relate not to* the Book of *Scoon*, *but to a* Copy *of* Fordon, *which was preſented by him to King* Charles II. *And if Buchanan* had the uſe of the Books of *Paſley*, and the famous Book of *Pluſcarden*; *as the Advocate believes, upon* Buchanan's *word, then in his time they were not carried to* Rome. *For my part, I do not queſtion that there were* MSS. Chronicles *in* Scotland *before* Fordon; *for I find him frequently citing them; but by the things he quotes out of them they were not conſiderable, nor done by any Authority, as the* Annals *of the* Royal Monaſteries *of this* Kingdom, *his Continuer ſaith* were and afterwards examined and compared. *I am ſorry to find Sir* R. Sib-

p. 32.

p. 32.

bald

Prodrom. Hiſt. Natur. Scot. p. 13.

bald *reckon up among* the Books he had never ſeen, (*having made it his buſineſs ſo many years to illuſtrate his Countrey*) *not onely* Cornelius Hibernicus *and* Veremundus, *but the* Annals *of* Paſley *and* Scoon: *But however, we are glad that the Advocate aſſures us* he hath a very old Abridgment of the Book of *Paſley*; *and may this preſent heat againſt the* Biſhop *of St.* Aſaph *provoke them to procure and publiſh their* ancient Annals, *ſuch as they are, which will be the greateſt advantage to the World of this Contention about their* Antiquities. *And I am ſo far from any* Pique *or* Animoſity *in this matter, that I ſhould be glad to ſee thoſe* Antiquities, *which yet appear dark and confuſed, clear'd up to the* ſatisfaction *of all learned and ingenuous Men.*

But I muſt beg pardon of his Majeſty's Advocate, if I take the freedom to ſay he hath not taken the right method to doe it. For he ought firſt to have proved the matter in diſpute by clear and indubitable Teſtimonies, before he had made his ſevere Reflexions and Inferences; *but as* Cicero *ſaid of the* Muſician *who defined the* Soul *to be* Harmony, ab Arte ſua non receſſit, *ſo this ingenious Gentleman hath managed this whole debate in a way more agreeing to the Character of an* Advocate *than of an* Antiquary. *For why ſo many inſinuations, as though ſome* injury were intended to the Royal Line, *which I dare ſay, the* Biſhop *of St.* Aſaph *doth really honour and eſteem as much as his* Majeſty's Advocate *himſelf. For, doth any Man of underſtanding think that it is any* injury *to the* Royal Line *of* Britain *to have the* fabulous Antiquities *of* Geoffrey *of* Monmouth *concerning the* Succeſſion *of* Britiſh Kings *down from* Brutus *confuted? And is not this done by* Buchanan? *And the Advocate in plain Engliſh ſaith,* p. 15. thoſe tempt Men to lie who endeavour to derive themſelves from the Trojans. *But why not, as well from the* Greeks *and* Egyptians? *But the* Biſhop *of St.* Aſaph *is ſo juſt to Truth, and ſo little a Friend to popular Fables, that he fairly gives up* Geoffrey *before he attacks* Hector Boethius; *could any thing be more fairly and impartially done? or more convincing, that he onely deſigned to find out Truth in theſe matters, without regard to that fondneſs ſome Men ſtill have for theſe* Britiſh Antiquities? *For there are and will be ſome* (*and thoſe*

not

not wholly unlearned) who are naturally inclined to believe Fables; and have ſo paſſionate a zeal for ſuch things, that they cry out upon all diſcoveries of this kind, as injuries to their Countrey, if not to the Royal Line.

But may it not juſtly ſeem ſtrange, that when our polite and learned Neighbours have endeavoured with ſo much care to reform their Hiſtories, and to purge away all fabulous Antiquities *out of them; we of this Iſland ſhould grow angry and impatient when any undertake ſo generous a deſign? What injury is it thought to be to the Royal Line of* France, *that* Hunibaldus *his* Antiquities *find no longer place in their Hiſtories? And yet nothing ſeems more glorious, than to have their Royal Line deduced long before the time that* Alexander *took* Babylon. *For according to* Hunibaldus *his Account, which he took he ſaith out of an ancient MS. of* Vaſtaldus (*ſuch another Authour as* Veremundus) *the* Franks *went from* Troy *under the Conduct of* Francio *towards the* Palus Mæotis *juſt about the time that* Æneas *went for* Italy; *where they fixed and built the City* Sicambria, *and at laſt removed into* Germany *under* Marcomir *the Son of* Priamus, *and* Sunno *the Son of* Antenor. *After* Francio, Hunibaldus *ſets down a formal Succeſſion of Kings of two ſeveral Races,* 16 *in the firſt, and* 31 *in the ſecond. All which he gives a very particular account of, as to the times of their Reign for above* 413 *years before Chriſt's Nativity. And although this ancient Succeſſion of Kings was a long time received and magnified, as appears by* Laxius *and* P. Æmilius, *and* Fordon *quotes* Sigebert *for it; yet now their learned Hiſtorians are aſhamed to mention it, much more to plead for it, and to charge thoſe with* a degree of Leſe Majeſty *who call it in queſtion.*

Scotichr. l. 3. c. 19.

Suffridus Petrus *hath written the* Antiquities *of* Friſeland *much in the way that* Hector Boethius *hath done thoſe of* Scotland. *He tells a very grave Story concerning a Province in the* Indies *called* Freſia, *from whence a Colony was ſent under* Friſo, Saxo *and* Bruno, *who went into* Alexander's *Army; and for this he quotes old* Friſian Rythms, *and one* Patrocles, *an old* Indian *Writer; and beſides, he hath all the Advocate's* Common places of Tradition, common Fame, *the Teſtimonies of their own Hiſtorians, and he names* Andreas Cornelius,

Suffr. Petr. de Origine Friſiorum, l. 3. c. 2.

c. 3.

(*it ſeems there was a* Cornelius Friſius *as well as* Hibernicus) Solco Fortemannus, Occo Scherlenſis, Joh. Uleterpius, *and ſeveral others, who with one* Conſent *deliver theſe* Antiquities. *But, ſaith he, ye will object,* c. 4. that in ſo long a time and amidſt ſo many Wars ſuch Antiquities could hardly be preſerved. *To that he anſwers,* "*That* Friſo *being admirably ſkilled in* Greek "*Learning ſet up a publick* School *at* Stauria *near the* "*Temple of* Stavo, *and in the Temple a Library on pur-*"*poſe for* Antiquities (*like that of* Icolmkill) *and beſides* "*a Palace was built by* Uffo, *wherein was contained the* "*Effigies of all their Kings from* Friſo, (*who came to* "Friſeland *juſt* 313 *years before Chriſt's Nativity*) *to the* "*time of* Charlemagn, *for* 1113 *years. And are not theſe* Antiquities *very well atteſted? yet ſince* Ubbo Emmius *hath confuted them, no learned* Advocate *hath appeared in vindication of them.*

Is it any diſparagement to the Royal Line *of* Spain *to have the* firſt Succeſſion *of* Kings *there diſputed*; viz. *from* Jubal *to* Melicola *the* 24*th King from him, who is ſaid* to have reigned there, the very year after the deſtruction of *Troy? So very punctual are the Authours of* Fabulous Antiquities. *And if you believe them, they have good* ancient Authours *and the Tradition of their Countrey for them*; hæc noſtri Majores multis Libris tradiderunt, *ſaith the pretended* Beroſus. *And by theſe helps, we have great light given us into the* Antiquities *of* Europe; *for thereby we underſtand that* Janus, (*who was ſomewhat elder than* Gathelus, *being* Noah *himſelf*) *gave* Tuyſco *the Countrey from the* Tanais *to the* Rhyne, Italy *to* Gomer, *the* Celtick *Provinces to* Samothes, *and* Celtiberia *to* Jubal. *And this was juſt* 131 years after the Floud; Gomer *went into* Italy *the* 10*th year of* Saturn *the Father of* Jupiter Belus; *in the* 12*th* Jubal *went into* Celtiberia, *and not long after* Samothes, *called* Dis, *founded the* Celtick Colonies; *among which were the* Britains, *and from him their* Druids *were called* Samothei: *after* Jubal *among the* Celtiberians *reigned* Iberus *his Son, from whom came the name of* Iberi; *and among the* Celtæ, Magus *the Son of* Samothes *in the* 51*ſt year of* Ninus, *who ſucceeded* Jupiter Belus: *This* Magus *in the* Scythian *Language is* Magog,

Magog, *and from him came ſo many terminations of the Names of Towns as* Rhotamagum, Noviomagum, Juliomagum, Cæſaromagum, &c. *In the* 34*th of* Semiramis, Jubelda *Son of* Iber, *ſucceeded in* Celtiberia; *in the time of* Ninias, *Son to* Semiramis, *reign'd* Sarron *among the* Celtæ, *from him the learned* Gauls *were called* Sarronidæ, *the ſame I ſuppoſe with our Advocate's* Sanachies. *In the* 20*th of* Arius, Brigus *reigned in* Celtiberia, *and in the* 29*th* Dryius *among the* Celtæ; *nothing can be more natural than to derive the* Druids *from him:* who being converted, *the Advocate tells us*, became their firſt Monks, and in the *Iriſh* Verſion of the New Teſtament the wiſe Men are tranſlated *Druids*; *therefore the* Druids *were originally* Iriſh. *In the time of* Aralius *the ſeventh King of* Babylon, Bardus *was King over the* Celtæ, *and he was the Inventour of* Muſick *and* Verſes; *and from him came the* Bards, who were the Poets of their Traditions, *as the* Advocate *ſtyles them. After him ſucceeded* Longo, *then* Bardus junior, *after him* Lucus, *and then* Celtes, *and* Galates, Narbon, Lugdus, Beligius, Allobrox, Romus, Paris, Lemannus, Galatas junior, *and* Francus. p. 13. p. 14. p. 14.

Muſt we allow all theſe noble Antiquities *for fear of ſhortning the* Royal Lines *of the Princes of* Europe? *And yet here is a great appearance of Exactneſs, a pretence to* ancient Records, *and to the common Tradition of the ſeveral Countries*; *for* Beroſus *appeals both to* Tradition *and* Writing; *and ſo doth* Manetho *in the continuation of him*, quæ ex noſtris Hiſtoricis vel eorum relationibus conſecuti ſumus; *ſo that here we have the two Supporters of Antiquities, which the Advocate builds upon*, viz. Tradition *and* Records. *And* Metaſthenes, *another pretended continuer of* Beroſus *ſaith*, he took all out of the Royal Library at *Suſæ*, where the *Perſian* Annals were preſerved. *But notwithſtanding all theſe fair ſhews and ſpecious pretences, there is not a Man of tolerable judgment in* Europe, *who would venture his Reputation to plead for theſe* Antiquities.

But the learned Advocate ſaith, That their Antiquities have been received with great applauſe for many hundreds of years by all Hiſtorians, Antiquaries and Criticks of other Nations who had any occaſion to p. 2.

take

take notice of their affairs. *Theſe are very high expreſſions, and argue a good aſſurance in the very beginning of his Book. For my part, I do not pretend to acquaintance with* all Hiſtorians, Antiquaries and Criticks for many hundreds of years; *and ſo there may have been ſome, for any thing I know, who have applauded their Hiſtories from* 330 *years before Chriſt; but upon my little knowledge in Books, I dare venture to name him ten who have applauded the* Antiquities *of* Beroſus *and* Manetho, *for one who hath allowed theirs. But ſuch hath been my misfortune that I have met with* Hiſtorians, Antiquaries *and* Criticks, *who have been far from applauding them; ſuch a one was* * Ubbo Emmius, *who declares his opinion freely,* "*That he could not allow any Certainty* "*in them, becauſe they depend not upon* "*any* ancient Annals, *but* unwritten "Traditions; *and he not onely ſpeaks* "*thus of the firſt Succeſſion of Kings* "*from* Fergus I. *to the ſecond, but from* "Fergus II. *to the deſtruction of the* Picts "*by* Kenneth, *which he reckons* Anno "Dom. 829. *But another of the ſame Character, both an* Hiſtorian, Antiquary *and* Critick, viz. † M. Zuerius Boxhornius *hath paſſed a ſeverer Cenſure upon them, for he ſaith,* without doubt their Antiquities are Fabulous; and their pretended ancient Annals but lately made. *Theſe may ſerve at preſent, to ſhew that all* Hiſtorians, Antiquaries *and* Criticks *have not ſo much applauded their* Antiquities.

* Hoc ſolum judicamus, quæ de Scotis & eorum Regibus ab anno 330. ante caput æræ Chriſtianæ, cum Alexander Macedo rerum potiretur in Oriente uſque ad Ferguſium 2. Regem Scotiæ quadrageſimum, cujus initium conjicitur à Scotis Scriptoribus in annum Chriſti 404. qui ejectos è Britannia Scotos dicitur reduxiſſe, non ex annalibus vetuſtis vetuſtos autores habentibus, ſed ex ἀγείοις traditionibus à recentioribus deprompta memorantur, ea nos pro certis habere non poſſe. Scimus enim quam lubrico atque inſtabili fundamento nitantur. Quinimo ne iſta quidem ſatis certa nobis videntur, quæ à Ferguſii 2. initio, & Scotorum reditu in Britanniam in rebus Scoticis recitantur ad A. D. 829. quo Picti ſcribuntur in Britannia à Scotis eſſe deleti 6. ſcil. anno Kenethi 2. Regum hujus gentis, ut Traditiones habent LXIX. *Ubb. Em. Rer. Chronolog.* l. 5. p. 198.

† De primorum gentis regum initiis multa haud dubiè fabuloſa habent Scotorum, quemadmodum & aliarum gentium poſtremis demum temporibus, compoſiti aut conficti Annales; itaque fabuloſa, quæ & tempora ipſa quibus tribuuntur, falſi arguunt, miſſa faciimus, neque pro noſtro ea faciunt inſtituto. *Boxhorn. Hiſt univerſ.* p. 878.

But this is not all, for the Advocate ſaith, they have done it for many hundreds of years. *What! before they were known to the World? For* Hector Boethius *was the firſt Perſon who pretended to give ſuch a clear account of them after the Diſcovery of* Veremundus *and* Cornelius Hibernicus *at* Icolmkill; *and it is not many hundreds of years ſince he wrote, his Book being firſt printed ſince the beginning of the ſixteenth Century. And what account had they of their firſt* Antiquities *before?* Joh. Major *indeed*

indeed was printed about five years before him, by the ſame Badius Aſcenſius, *and he was no great* Critick, *but a very Scholaſtick Hiſtorian,* and *a Man of great eſteem in his time, as the Advocate confeſſeth; but he is ſo far from applauding the remote Antiquities of his own Countrey, that he calls* the Story of *Gathelus* and *Scota* and their coming out of *Greece* and *Egypt* a mere Figment, and invented onely to match the *Britains*, who derived themſelves from the *Trojans, and he condemns* their Annals about *Simon Brek*; *which ſhews what a regard he had to their Authority. And when he comes to* Fergus *he ſets down the* old Verſes *about the time of it; but ſeems to give very little credit to them; for he firſt mentions* Bede's *Account about* Reuda, *and then relates what their* Annals *ſay*, i. e. their old Verſes (*for he quotes no other*) *and then ſaith this doth not contradict* Bede; *for ſaith he,* Regni debile fundamentum Ferguſius jecit; he laid a very ſlender beginning of a Monarchy, *which was after inlarged by* Reuda, *whom he makes to be* Rether, *and therein contradicts* Hector's Veremundus *and the* Catalogues *of their Kings, according to which* Reuda *ſucceeds him. So that theſe* Antiquities *were ſo far from being univerſally received abroad that they went down very hardly at home. And this ſame Hiſtorical* Schoolman *expreſly ſaith,* that *Fergus* had no other Right, but what the People gave him; and that it is in their Power to take it away; *which he not onely aſſerts, but endeavours to prove in a* Scholaſtick *manner as far as* Septimò & Finaliter. *And is not this* a degree of Leſe-Majeſty *above the endeavouring to ſhorten the* Royal Line? *And they had far better deny any ſuch Perſon as* Fergus, *than to make him a King upon ſuch terms, which overthrow the* Monarchy.

Defence, &c. P. 37.

Joh. Major, Hiſt. Scot. l. 1. c. 9.

c. 11.

l. 4. c. 19.

But who are theſe foreign Hiſtorians, Antiquaries *and* Criticks, *who at any time have ſo much applauded theſe Antiquities?* Joſeph Scaliger *did indeed applaud his own Wit for his Criticiſm about* Scoto-Brigantes *in* Seneca's *Verſes. But what is this to* Fergus *his coming ſo ſoon into* Scotland? *For* Scaliger *himſelf there grants*, that theſe *Scoto-Brigantes* were ſtill in *Ireland*; *and he believes* that *Claudius* did make an attempt upon them there, becauſe *Juvenal* mentions the Coaſts of *Ju-*

Scalig. in Tibull. l. 4.

verna as brought under the *Roman* Power. Scoti ſunt in Hibernia adhuc, non in Britannia, *are* Scaliger's *own Words. And I wonder to ſee* Buchanan *labour ſo hard about this paſſage, to ſo little purpoſe. But the Advocate ſaith* that the ſame *Scaliger* in his Notes on *Euſebius* hath a moſt learned and full Proof of their Antiquity, too learned to be anſwered by any Adverſary. *What doth he mean by their* Antiquity? *That of the Nation? No one denies it. That of their ſettlement in* Scotland 330 years before Chriſt? *That is to be proved, for* Scaliger *doth it not. He affirms,* "*That the* Brigantes *were* "*a People of* Ireland, *and that during the flouriſhing of* "*the* Roman *Empire, they made frequent incurſions into* "Britain, *and for proof he brings the Teſtimony of* Pauſanias *about* Antoninus *his beating the* Brigantes *in* "Britain; *and the* Inſcriptions *in* Scotland, *wherein* "*mention is made of the* Leg. 2. *which ſignifie very little* "*to this purpoſe. For why could not the* ſecond Legion *fight againſt the* Brigantes, *ſuppoſing them to be* Britains, *as well as ſuppoſing them to be* Iriſh? *But* Scaliger's *opinion was this,* "*The* Brigantes *and the* Britains *were* "*two diſtinct People; while they continued at home, they* "*were called by no other Name, but when they made excurſions abroad, then they were called* Scotobrigantes *and* "Scotobritanni; *and ſo the word* Scot, *he ſaith, is not* "*a proper Name, but Appellative; and not* Iriſh *but* Britiſh, *for thoſe who go from home in hopes of Booty, as* "*the names of* Bedwin *and* Saracen; *and ſo as the* Arabs "*were after called* Saracens, *ſo theſe* Brigantes, *when* "*they ſo much infeſted* Britain *in* Claudian's *time, and* "*after were called* Scoti. *Now what there is in all this, that ſhould ſo much pleaſe the* Advocate, *I cannot imagine. He is very angry with the Biſhop of St.* Aſaph *for repreſenting their Anceſtours as a company of* barbarous Pilferers and Robbers (*although he onely produces the Teſtimony of* Gildas) *how then comes he to be ſo much pleaſed with* Scaliger, *who makes the Name* Scot *to ſignifie ſo much? I had thought he ſhould have been more concerned to have diſproved ſuch a reproachfull Etymologie than to have magnified this Diſcourſe of* Scaliger *ſo highly. But where is it that he mentions* the firſt Succeſſion of their Kings *with approbation, or Fergus* his coming

Buch. l. 2. p. 22. 2.

Defence of the Antiquity, &c. p. 80.

Scalig. in Euſeb. n. 2060.

Pauſan. in Arcad.

Defence, &c. p. 104, 106, 108.

coming into *Scotland* before Christ's Nativity? *All that he ſaith is,* "*That the* Scots *might be a Nation be-*
"*fore they were known by that Name,* (*and who doubts it*) "*as the* Burgundians *and* Lombards *were: and that*
"*the* Brigantes *out of* Ireland *might make inroads and*
"*excurſions into* Britain *in the flouriſhing times of the*
"*Empire. And I ſee no reaſon to deny this, although it be not ſufficiently proved. But the queſtion is about a ſtanding* Monarchy *in* Scotland *from the time of* Fergus I. *and of this* Scaliger *ſaith not a word. For theſe* Brigantes *coming out of* Ireland *might fix there for ſome time, and return again to* Ireland, *as* Gildas *ſaith they did afterwards, or they might fix as a ſcatter'd People not united under a* Monarchy, *as* Fordon *ſaith, they did before* Fergus *his coming. So that if their Antiquities be no more applauded by other Antiquaries and Criticks than they are by* Scaliger, *this Argument will come to very little.*

And yet Salmaſius *and the reſt he mentions, ſay much leſs than* Scaliger; Salmaſius *onely uſeth* Scaliger's *Criticiſm about the* Scoto-Brigantes *without adding any thing.* Lipſius *unhappily calls* Galgacus *a* Scot; *which was an improper expreſſion, as I have proved in the proper place; becauſe it is ſo evident from* Tacitus, *that the* Caledonians *were not* Scots; *unleſs it be taken for* Scythians, (*of which afterwards*) *but by* Scots *here we mean ſuch as came out of* Ireland *to ſettle in* Britain; *and ſuch* Galgacus *and his Souldiers were not. And the like impropriety* Bergier, *though a learned* Antiquary *fell into, when he interprets the* Caledonians *by* Scots; *but ſuch as* Dempſter *is frequently guilty of, when he calls the* Britains Engliſh, *becauſe the* Engliſh *dwelt in* Britain *afterwards. But improper expreſſions where they fall from learned Men by chance ought rather to be paſſed over with ſilence than made uſe of as Arguments; unleſs thoſe who uſe them go about to prove what is implied in them.* Sigonius *his Name ſtands among the reſt, being indeed a* learned Hiſtorian, Antiquary *and* Critick; *but not one word can I find produced out of him in his whole Book. What* Baronius *ſaith relates* to the Converſion of the Scotiſh Nation, *and not to theſe* Antiquities; *of which I have treated at large in the following Book.* Annal. Favin

Defence, &c. p. 126.

Hiſt. de grand Chemin, l. 1. c. 10. n. 9.

Defence, &c. p. 107, 108.

Favin *and* P. Æmilius *ſpeak onely of* an Alliance between *Achaius* King of the *Scots* and *Charles* the great; *and what is this to* Fergus *and the* Succeſſion of Kings for 330 years before Chriſt's Nativity? *which he ſaith*
p. 2. 10. *in the beginning* was applauded by all Hiſtorians, Antiquaries *and* Criticks, *and as though this were not extra-*
p. 126. *vagant enough, he ſaith afterwards*, that *Baronius, Scaliger, Salmaſius, Lipſius, Sigonius, Favin* and others of the firſt rank (too many to be named) have paſſionately defended their Antiquity, and not onely ſuſtained but praiſed their Hiſtories. *Whereas not one of theſe produced by him ſpeaks any thing to the matter in queſtion. But we hope to ſee theſe things better cleared in the* third Part *of Sir* R. Sibbald's Scotia Antiqua, *where he has promiſed to give a particular account of the State of the* Scots *in* Britain *before they had Kings, then under Kings from* Fergus I. *to* Fergus II. *and from thence to* Malcolm Canmore. *If he doth clear theſe Parts of their* Antiquities, *he will doe a great thing; and for my part, I ſhall be as willing to believe* Fergus *to have come into* Britain *in the time of* Alexander *as any time after, provided there be ſufficient Evidence to prove it; which muſt be ſomewhat more convincing than his* Majeſty's Advocate *hath been pleaſed to make uſe of; but I remember* Scaliger's *Cenſure of* Claudian, addit de ingenio quantum deeſt materiæ.

Therefore from the Teſtimony of Hiſtorians, Antiquaries *and* Criticks, *I proceed to examine the Argumentative part of his Book; and ſetting aſide all* common Places *about* Hiſtorical certainty, Tradition, common Fame, *&c. I ſhall keep cloſe to the point before us, and examine the force and ſtrength of his Reaſoning, which conſiſts in theſe things.*

p. 6. (1.) That upon the ſame Reaſon we queſtion their Antiquities, we may call in queſtion the *Roman, Jewiſh, Greek, French, Spaniſh* Antiquities, all which depended upon Tradition without Records for a long time.

This is indeed a material Objection; for we ought not to give a partial Aſſent to ſome Antiquities, *and deny it to others, if there be the ſame ground either to give or deny Aſſent to all. But this muſt be examined.*

(1.) *As*

(1.) *As to the* Roman *Antiquities, he cites a paſſage in* Livy, *in which he ſaith,* that the uſe of Letters was not then ordinary; the onely certain preſerver of the memory of things paſt (*ſo* Livy's *Words are to be underſtood,* raræ per ea tempora Literæ, una cuſtodia fidelis memoriæ rerum geſtarum; *and not as the Advocate with too much art, hath tranſlated them, that* the beſt Records were the faithfull Remembrance of things paſt. *For if this were* Livy's *meaning why doth he complain of the want of the* common uſe of Letters, *when he ſaith* Tradition is the beſt way to preſerve the memory of things? *Which is to make* Livy *ſpeak inconſequently.*) *But he goes on ſaying,* that what Memorials were left by the High Prieſts, or were in publick or private hands were moſt part deſtroyed in the burning of the Town. *He doth not ſay* all were loſt, *but* the moſt part. *This* Livy *alledgeth to excuſe the ſhortneſs and obſcurity of his firſt Books for want of ſufficient Records; and he ſpeaks like a very judicious Hiſtorian in it. And when he gives an Account of the remote* Antiquities *of* Rome, *he is far from confident aſſerting them, but he ſpeaks with great Modeſty and Diſcretion about them; ſaying* " *that* " *he would neither affirm nor deny them; being rather* " *built on Poetical Fables than any certain Monuments of* " *affairs at that time, that an allowance muſt be made to* " *Antiquity; which was wont* conſecrare Origines ſuas, " *to make their beginnings as ſacred and venerable as they* " *could. But as to ſuch things he would be no Advocate* " *either for or againſt them. Then he proceeds to deliver the common Tradition about* Æneas *his coming into* Italy, *and* Aſcanius *ſucceeding him; but he cannot tell whether* Aſcanius *the Son of* Creuſa, *or another the Son of* Lavinia; quis enim rem tam veterem pro certo affirmet? *Who can be certain in ſuch remote Antiquities? And yet at that time it was thought a great diſparagement to the* Royal Line *to have it queſtion'd whether it were the elder* Aſcanius, *becauſe the* Julian Family, *as* Livy *there ſaith, derived themſelves from him who was called* Julus. *It is true,* Livy *after this, relates the* Roman *Antiquities down to the burning of the City, when ſo many Records were loſt; but we are to conſider, that the* Romans *had certain* Annals *before that time, and that ſome of them*

Liv. l. 6. init.

were preſerved. *That they had* Annals both publick and private *appears by* Livy's *own Words, who mentions both*
De Orat. l. 2. c. 12. *the* Commentarii Pontificum *and the* publica & privata monumenta; *and* Cicero *affirms that the* Romans *from the beginning had* Annals *made up by the* Pontifex Maximus *of the tranſactions of every year; and theſe were publickly expoſed in a Table in his Houſe that the People might be ſatisfied about them; and theſe he ſaith were called* Annales Maximi; *which he adds were continued down to the time of* Mucius Scævola, *who was* Pontifex Maximus *about* A. U. C. 623. *Theſe, as* Servius *ſaith, were after made up into* 80 great Books, *and were the ſtanding Monuments of their Antiquities. And it is obſervable that the Author of the Book* de origine Gentis Romanæ, *as* Voſſius *and others take notice, inſerts ſeveral things as taken out of the* Pontifical Annals *which happned before the building of* Rome; *from whence they do juſtly infer, that matters of more remote Antiquity were put into them, whether by the firſt* Pontifex Max. *in* Numa's *time or after it is impoſſible now to determine. It ſeems at firſt the People were not permitted to view theſe* Annals, *as* Canuleius *in* Livy *complains; but afterwards they were expoſed to all. And it appears by* Licinius Macer *in* Livy, *that the* Libri Lintei (*which ſeem to have been for the ſame purpoſe with the* Annales Maximi *but compoſed by the Magiſtrates*) *were preſerved* in Æde Monetæ, *and in them the Names of the Magiſtrates were inſerted; and in the ſame place* Livy *takes notice of the* Annales priſci, *and the* Libri Magiſtratuum *for determining a point about the Conſuls of a year long before the burning of* Rome; *which ſhews that* Livy *did not think all their Records then deſtroyed. And afterwards he ſaith in the ſame Book, diſputing about another Conſul, that* Auguſtus *rebuilding the Temple of* Jupiter Feretrius, *found there* in thorace linteo *the name of that Conſul. So that the* Romans *had not onely the* Pontifical Annals *but* Civil *too, being made up by the Magiſtrates, and therefore called* Libri Magiſtratuum *by* Livy, *which he diſtinguiſhes from the* Annales Priſci. *And beſides theſe* Livy *mentions* private Records *among them; of which* Cicero *ſpeaks, which belonged to* particular Families: *and there is no probability theſe ſhould be all loſt in the burning of the City; for the*

Liv. l. 4. c. 3. c. 7. c. 20. c. 20. In Brut. c. 16.

Capitol

Capitol *was not burnt, in which probably after the* Romans *found the* Gauls *coming upon them, they preſerved their* ancient Annals. *And it is conſiderable, that* Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus *quotes a paſſage of* Antiochus Syracuſanus, (*who lived before the burning of* Rome, *and wrote concerning the affairs of* Italy) *wherein he ſaith*, that he took his Hiſtory out of ancient and undoubted Records: *which ſhews that there were certain* written Annals *both at* Rome *and in other* Cities *of* Italy *very early*; *and the ſame* Dionyſius *quotes the* Domeſtick Annals of the *Sabins*, and *Feſtus* the Hiſtory of *Cuma*. *So that the* Roman Hiſtories *were built on better foundation than the very uncertain* Tradition *of the* Natives; *which the* Advocate *is pleaſed to make* the ſureſt Foundation of all Hiſtories; *but I am ſo much of another Opinion, that I think it (ſince the ſhortning of Mens lives) the certain foundation of none. Let now the Reader judge whether the caſe of the* Antiquities *in diſpute be the ſame with that of the* Romans; *for here are no* ancient Annals *pretended near the time of* Fergus I. *nor in the time of any King of the firſt Race*; *no nor from* Fergus II. *till after the Deſtruction of the* Picts; *nor any* Record *yet produced for a long time after that*; *how then can any perſons pretend that if we reject their* Antiquities *we muſt reject the* Roman? Dionyſ. Antiq. Rom. l. 1. l. 2. Feſt. v. Roma. p. 7.

But this is not all, for he goes higher, and ſaith the ſame objections will lie,

(2.) *Againſt the* Jewiſh Antiquities. *For ſaith he*, the *Jewiſh* Hiſtory had no hiſtorical Warrant for the firſt 2000 years but Tradition, and after that time their tranſactions were mentioned in very few foreign Hiſtories; and Annals of their own Prieſts were thought good Hiſtorical Foundations in the opinion of *Joſephus* even for the Sacred Hiſtory. *And not long after he ſaith*, that the *Jewiſh* Hiſtory was challenged by *Apion* upon the ſame ground that theirs is now quarrell'd by the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*. *This looks ſomewhat ſtrange among us, for the* Antiquities *of any particular Nation ſo far ſhort of the* Jewiſh, *to be paralell'd with them in point of* Credibility; *ſince the Records of Scripture are own'd to be divine and ſacred, and not merely built on the authority of* Tradition, *or the* Annals *of the* Jewiſh p. 6. p. 9. p. 132.

Jewiſh Prieſts. *Whatever* Joſephus *or other* Jews *might ſay in defence of their* Antiquities *againſt the* Greeks, *we that own our ſelves to be Chriſtians ought to look on* Moſes *and the* Prophets *under a higher Character. I know a late* Critick *in great Vogue among ſome, hath endeavoured to reduce the* Sacred Hiſtory *to the Authority of the* ancient Annals of the *Jews, but withall adding* that we have onely ſome imperfect Abridgments of them, *much like that which the* Rector *of* Ranfrew *made of* p. 32, 33. *the* Book of *Paſley, which the* Advocate *ſaw in Sir* R. Sibbald's *Library. A Doctrine ſo unreaſonable and miſchievous in the Conſequences of it, that I wonder it hath hitherto paſſed ſo eaſily through ſo many hands. But this is not my preſent buſineſs. I am now onely to ſhew the vaſt diſparity of theſe* Antiquities *in queſtion, and thoſe of the* Jews. *It's very true that* Apion *did object againſt them, becauſe the* Greek *Writers took ſo little notice of them. But how doth* Joſephus *anſwer him? He ſhews,* "*That the* Greeks *were very late Writers of Hiſtory, and* "*therefore incompetent Judges of matters of ſo great An-*"*tiquity; and he proves that the more ancient Nations as* "*the* Egyptians, Chaldeans, Phœnicians *had a moſt* "*laſting way of preſerving their Hiſtories, for they had* "*publick Annals made by their wiſeſt Men and kept in* "*ſacred Places, but the* Greeks *were very defective in* "*theſe things; having no publick Writings in their Tem-*"*ples or elſewhere; and that they had not the uſe of Letters* "*in the time of the* Trojan *War; and their firſt Hiſto-*"*rians were little elder than the* Perſians *War againſt the* "Greeks. *And this reaſon he gives of the diſſonancy of* "*the* Greek *Hiſtorians, becauſe they had no publick Annals,* "*which would have prevented Errours, and kept Men* "*from a power of deceiving. But great care he ſaith from* "*the moſt ancient times was taken of ſuch things among* "*the* Egyptians *and* Babylonians. *And for their Ance-*"*ſtours, he ſaith they exceeded all others in their exactneſs* "*this way, committing the care of theſe things to their* "*High Prieſts and Prophets. But the authority of Wri-*"*ting was not allow'd promiſcuouſly to all, but certain Pro-*"*phets were pitched upon who wrote the moſt remote Anti-*"*quities by divine inſpiration, and the matters in their* "*own times plainly and according to Truth; and therefore*

"*ſaith*

" *ſaith he, we have no ſuch multitude of Books differing* " *from each other, as the* Greeks *have, but onely* 22, *con-* " *taining an account of all times paſt, written with great* " *Fidelity and Authority. Afterwards their Annals were* " *continued, but not with equal Authority, the Succeſſion* " *of their Prophets failing. And to ſhew of how great credit* " *theſe Books (of the firſt ſort) are among us; in ſo long* " *time, ſaith he, no Man hath dared either to add, or to* " *take away, or to tranſpoſe any thing. Which is utterly inconſiſtent with the Principles of the late Critick; for without a liberty of abridging and tranſpoſing and inſerting, his new Inventions come to nothing. But as to the ſilence of other Nations about them, he ſhews,* " *that they* " *were a People who lived in great retirement, that the* " Romans *themſelves were a conſiderable People before the* " Greeks *knew them; and after all he ſhews they were* " *known to the* Egyptians, Babylonians *and* Greeks, " *which he proves from many particular Teſtimonies. Now what is there parallel to theſe things in the preſent caſe? Have they produced any ſuch publick and ſacred Annals written and preſerved with ſo much care, as the ancient* Jews *had? Have they had a Succeſſion of Prophets among them whoſe Books are preſerved to this day with great Veneration without addition or diminution? What mean then ſuch ſtrange Compariſons? Can they produce any one Author contemporary with* Fergus I. *and his Succeſſours, who mention that Succeſſion? As* Joſephus *brings the* Egyptian, Phœnician, Chaldean *Writers to atteſt the Story of the Scripture.*

(3.) *As to the* Greek *Antiquities he ſaith the Greeks* p. 7. could have no Records for many hundreds of years before they wrote. *And what follows, but that therefore there is great uncertainty in the* Antiquities *of* Greece *till that time? For which reaſon* Varro, *that great and judicious Antiquary rejected two Parts in three, of the Times of the* Greeks; the one he ſaid was wholly in the dark for want of Records, and the other Fabulous; *becauſe, as* Joſephus *obſerves*, they had no publick Annals, *but their firſt Writers were* Poets, *who minded to write rather things entertaining than true. But we are of late told*, that this ſaying of *Varro* might hold as to the *Greek* Antiquities; but it is unjuſtly applied by *Camden* to the Antiquities of other Nations;

Cenſor. de die Natali, c. 21.

Preface to the Proſpect of *Ireland.*

for the utmoſt Eaſtern Nations the *Chineſes*, and the utmoſt Weſtern the *Iriſh* have preſerved their Antiquities far beyond the time which *Varro* allows for true Hiſtory. *I grant* Varro *intended this chiefly for the* Greeks, *who made the greateſt noiſe with their* Antiquities *then*; *and yet* Varro *himſelf, as St.* Auguſtine *tells us, began his Account of the* Roman Antiquities, *with* the Succeſſion of the *Sicyonian* and *Athenian* Kings; *not as though he would deliver it for certain Hiſtorical Truth, but as the moſt common received opinion. And in the* Fabulous times, *he might endeavour to pick out what* Antiquities *he thought came neareſt to Hiſtory. As to the* Chineſes, *they are very remote from us, and we have had different accounts of them, as appears by comparing* Gonſales Mendoza *and* Martinius *together*; *and of their Antiquities as delivered by the former, a learned Man hath ſaid* that they ſeem to him like *Manetho's Egyptian* Dynaſties. *However* Scaliger *thought fit to inſert the Succeſſion of their Kings in his* Chronological Canons, *and makes the beginning of that Empire coincident with the end of the thirteenth* Egyptian Dynaſty; *but in his Notes upon it, he complains of the want of farther information about them. Which the World hath ſince in great meaſure received by* Martinius, *both in his deſcription of the Countrey, and the* firſt Decad *of the* Hiſtory *from the beginning of the Empire to the Nativity of Chriſt. But their way of preſerving Antiquities was peculiar to themſelves, and therefore theſe cannot very well be made a Parallel for the* Scotiſh *or* Iriſh Antiquities. Martinius *hath indeed given a very plauſible Account of the remote Antiquities of* China, *but in ſuch a manner as ſhews that even the* Chineſes *had a* dark and fabulous time *as well as the* Greeks, *and he tells us*, that themſelves acknowledge that before the Reign of *Fohius* they have no certain account of things becauſe then they had no uſe of Letters; *but afterwards, they look upon the Succeſſion of their Kings as delivered down to them with great Fidelity. But there are two things this certainty of their Hiſtory depended upon.* (1.) *A fixed Rule for the computation of Times, without which it is impoſſible any Nation ſhould have an exact account of the ancient Succeſſion of their Kings. And herein lay the great accuracy of the* Chineſes *that they were very early*

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 2.

Mendoza de Reg. China, l. 3. c. 1.

Ubb. Em. Rer. Chronol. l. 5. p. 214.

Scalig. Canon. Iſagog. l. 2. p. 158.

Martin. Sinic. Hiſtor. l. 1. p. 12. 20.

given

given to the finding out the beſt methods for calculation; and they uſed a Cycle of 60 *years,* 2670 *years before Chriſt's Nativity; and therefore* Martinius *magnifies the* Chineſes, *eſpecially for* their skill and exactneſs in the Succeſſion of their Princes; *which it is impoſſible to give a certain account of without a fixed meaſure of time; and therefore it hath been ſo often ſaid* that the *Greeks* had no certain Hiſtory before the Olympiads. (2.) *The* Chineſes *did not ſuffer any Perſons to write Hiſtory that would, but ſome of great Reputation were appointed after the Emperours deceaſe to write his Life; which being approved, was allowed as the onely authentick Hiſtory of him, and theſe being put together made up their* publick Annals, *which are preſerved to this day. For, notwithſtanding the Perſecution of their Hiſtories in the time of* Chingus, *who endeavoured to ſuppreſs them, that he might be thought the Founder of the Empire; yet his Son oppoſing his deſign, and many learned Men being baniſhed upon it, there were means uſed to preſerve their* Annals; *but* Semedo *ſaith, they could never recover a perfect Account of the firſt beginning of that famous Empire.*

Martin. Sinic. Hiſt. l. 6. p. 241.

Semedo Part 1. ch. 22.

Now before any other Nation can preſume to vye with the exactneſs of the Chineſes *in their* Antiquities, *they muſt firſt ſhew us what means they had for the computation of times, by which we may judge of their Antiquity and Succeſſion of their Kings; and next they muſt give an equal Account of the Care taken time enough to preſerve their Hiſtory of* publick Annals, *as the Eaſtern People and the* Romans *did.*

For inſtance, we are told from a Late Iriſh *Antiquary* Geoffrey Keting, *that the Poſterity of* Gathelus *and* Scota, *or the* Mileſian Race *ſettled in* Ireland, A. M. 2736. *after the Floud* 1086. *after* Moſes *paſſing the Red Sea* 192. *before* Chriſt's Nativity 1308. *from whence* the Antiquity of the *Iriſh* Nation, is ſaid not to be paralleld, unleſs by the *Chineſes* onely.

Proſpect of *Ireland* by *P. W.* p. 6.

p. 15.]

Here is a pretence to very great Antiquity, and an appearance of exact Calculation; *but I onely ask by what* Cycles *the* Iriſh *proceeded when they began; how they could adjuſt the time ſo well to the Age of the World; or what other certain way they had which might be reduced to it. If they had none, all this might be onely Fancy and Opinion,*

Opinion, unleſs there were ſome Characters of Time fixed and certain by Eclipſes and Aſtronomical obſervations, or certain Periods of time, or coincident paſſages, which might connect the year of their deſcent into Ireland, *with ſuch a year of the World, or after the Floud. If nothing of this kind be produced, we muſt be excuſed if we do not yet think the* Iriſh Antiquities *parallel to thoſe of* China. *For if there be no ſuch* Characters *of Time which may direct us in comparing one thing with another, it is poſſible that there may be one or two thouſand years difference in the Computation, and yet neither able to confute the other. For ſuppoſe I ſhould ſay that the Poſterity of* Gathelus, *came into* Ireland *juſt* 308 *years before* Chriſt's Nativity, *here is* 1000 *years difference.* That is a ſmall matter, *you will ſay,* in ſo great Antiquity; *but as ſmall as it is, ſome account ought to be given of* a thouſand years. *Now I deſire to have ſome evident proof brought me of ſome Event in the World which happened* 1308 *years before* Chriſt's Nativity, *to which the* Iriſh *deſcent muſt be coincident. To make this more plain by Example, ſuppoſe the Queſtion be in what Age of the World the* Peloponneſian *War began; we ſhould by no means think it ſufficient for any Man preſently to ſet down, it was ſuch a year of the World, ſuch a year from the Floud, ſo long before Chriſt; but we demand ſome certain* Character *of this time, i. e. ſuch which agrees to that and to no other; and here, whoſoever intends to give ſatisfaction, will ſearch* Thucydides, Diodorus *and* Ptolemy *to find out ſome undoubted Character; as that* Thucydides *ſaith that* Pythodorus *was then* Archon *at* Athens, *and it was the year of the* Olympick Solemnities. Diodorus *ſaith, this was the* 87, Olympiad, *and that* Apſeudes *was* Archon *the year before;* Ptolemy *ſaith he was* Archon *in the year of* Nabonaſſar 316. *So by comparing the* Olympiads *and the years of* Nabonaſſar *with the years of the World, we may come to a certainty in this matter. And beſides* Thucydides *mentions a great Eclipſe the firſt year of the War, which the* Aſtronomers *ſay was* 317 *of* Nabonaſſar, *when* Euthydemus *ſucceeded* Pythodorus *at* Athens. *Such a method of proceeding by certain* Characters *of time, is a Way to convince reaſonable Men; but without any of theſe to think to impoſe upon Mankind under a pretence of exact Calculation,*

culation, argues too great preſumption upon the Credulity of Mankind. Thus as to the coming of Fergus I *into* Scotland *juſt* 330 years before Chriſt, *which the Advocate ſaith* all their Hiſtorians affirm; *let them produce any one certain Character of that time out of ſuch* Annals *as were written within the compaſs of knowing the Truth of it, and we will never diſpute this matter more.*

But to proceed,

(4.) *As to the* French Antiquities; *which the Advocate ſaith,* may be more juſtly queſtioned on theſe Grounds than theirs, *we onely deſire them to be as ingenuous as the late learned Writers of their* Antiquities *have been, who reject all before the* Merovingian Race, *as either Fabulous, or ſo doubtfull and uncertain, that they make no Account of it, unleſs it be what they find in the* Roman *Authours concerning the* Franks, *as may be ſeen in* Hadrianus Valeſius, *a learned* Hiſtorian, Antiquary *and* Critick. p. 7. *Rer. Francic. To. 1.*

(5.) *As to the* Spaniſh, *which are joined with the* French; *what relates to their* Antiquities *before the* Romans War *in* Spain, *we grant to be parallel with theirs. For although* Strabo *ſaith,* they had the uſe of Letters, and had ſome Records of ancient times among them; *yet they are utterly loſt. And although* Reineſius de Deo Endovellico *ſeems to think, that* Annius *had ſome Fragments of thoſe* Antiquities *which he mixed with his own Inventions, yet I can ſee no reaſon for it; becauſe he would then have alledged the old* Spaniſh Records, *and not have fathered his* Antiquities *on Perſons ſo remote as* Beroſus *and* Manetho. *Strab. Geogr. l. 3. p. 96.*

But if they had the uſe of Letters and Records among them, might not the *Iriſh* and *Scotiſh* derive both from them? *I anſwer, That the coming of the* Iriſh *immediately from* Spain *and not from* Britain *is not ſo evidently proved that any thing can be built upon it.* Camden *and Sir* James Ware *two learned Antiquaries both think* Ireland *firſt peopled from* Britain; *and* Camden *offers good Reaſons for his Aſſertion,* " *as the agree-*
" *ment of the* Britiſh *and* Iriſh *Languages in very many*
" *words; the ſimilitude of Cuſtoms and Manners; it's being*
" *anciently called the* leſſer Britain, *and the inhabitants*
" Britains; *the conveniency of paſſage from* Britain *thither;* *Camd. Brit. p. 728. Antiq. Hibern. c. 2. p. 11.*

which ſeem to be of far greater moment than any thing brought to prove the Legend of Gathelus *and* Scota *and their poſterity coming out of* Spain. *But becauſe this opinion doth not ſeem to give any account of the* Scoti *in* Ireland (*from whence they certainly went into* Scotland, *as is now confeſſed on all hands*) *therefore I ſhall endeavour to clear this Matter, by propoſing what ſeems moſt probable to me concerning the firſt Peopling of theſe Iſlands.*

Strab. Geogr. l. 1. p. 23. *We are then to conſider that the moſt ancient* Geographers, *as* Strabo *obſerves out of* Ephorus, *divided the then known World into four Parts, the Eaſtern they called* India, *the Southern* Æthiopia, *the Weſtern* Celtia, *and the Northern* Scythia. *And in the* European *Parts they knew but of two Nations beſide the* Greeks, *and thoſe are the* Celtæ *and the* Scythæ. Thoſe that inhabited Northward, *ſaith* Strabo, were called *Scythæ*, and thoſe to the Weſt *Celtæ*; *who were likewiſe called* Iberi *and* Celtiberi, *as he affirms*; *and theſe peopled* Spain *and* Gaul, *and from thence ſpread into the Neighbour Countries*; *and among the reſt came over into* Britain: *Which in the Book* de Mundo *commonly attributed to* Ariſtotle, *but by* Buchanan *to* Theophraſtus, *is ſaid*, together with *Ireland*, (*which are both there called* the Britiſh Iſlands) to be ſituate in the Ocean not far from the *Scythæ* and the *Celtæ*. *But the latter were ſo much nearer in* Gaul, *that it is very reaſonable to believe the firſt habitation here was by the* Celtæ, *who came from thence.* Strab. l. 1. p. 22.

Vit. Agric. *And* Tacitus *truly obſerves*, the agreement was ſo very great between the *Gauls* and the old *Britains*, that although he ſuſpected the *Silures* might come immediately from *Spain*, (*or rather from the* Iberi, *which* Strabo *ſaith was a more general Name, and ſome of theſe went into* Ireland) but upon the whole matter, he concluded all the Southern parts of *Britain* to have been peopled immediately from *Gaul*. *But as to the* Caledonians *he affirms them to have been of a* German extraction: i. e. *taking* Germany *in the extent he took it in, which went as far as* Sarmatia, *and took in* Scandinavia; *from whence in probability the Northern Parts of* Britain, *were firſt peopled. It is true that* Tacitus *calls them* Britains *as well as the* Celtæ; *and however they were united in intereſt againſt the* Romans, *as* Galgacus *ſhews in his excellent Speech*

to

to them, yet Tacitus, *we ſee, makes them of a different Extraction. And theſe were originally from the* European Scythæ, *or from* Scandinavia, *which was abundantly peopled, and ſupplied other Countries, as* Jornandes *ſaith; and that they were provided of Shipping very early, I have proved in the following Book, where I ſpeak of the* Original *of the* Picts. *And beſides what is there ſaid to ſhew that thoſe who dwell in thoſe Northern parts, were then called* Scythians, Scymnus Chius *lately publiſhed out of* Holſtenius *his Papers affirms that the Scythians* extended from the *Palus Mæotis* to Countries wholly unknown to the *Greeks. For being tempted by the* Rivers, *as* Olaus Rudbeck *conjectures, having no skill in Navigation or Aſtronomy, and the Woods in the firſt Ages of the World being unpaſſable, the People ſtill went farther and farther by the Rivers ſide, till at laſt finding themſelves bounded by the vaſt Mountains in thoſe Northern parts and the Sea beyond them, they ſate down there, and in time ſo repleniſhed thoſe parts, that they were willing to diſcharge themſelves by ſending Colonies abroad. To which end they accuſtomed themſelves to the Sea, and ſo from thence theſe* Scythians *came into the Northern parts of* Britain, *where they had the Name of* Caledonians; *and upon new Supplies coming after the* Romans *had ſubdued the Southern Parts of* Britain, *were then called* Picts. *But of theſe things afterwards. That which I now deſign, is to ſhew that ſome of theſe* Scythæ *being encouraged by the Adventures of others who had ſettled in* Britain, *paſſed by the Northern Iſlands and went into* Ireland; *and ſo the* Celtæ *from* Britain, *who were called* Iberi *in* Strabo, *and theſe* Scythæ *met there as they did in* Britain. *But* Britain *ſtill retained its Name; and therefore to diſtinguiſh themſelves from thoſe who remained there, their Countrey was called* Ibernia *from the* Iberi, *and* Scotia *from theſe* Scythæ; *for ſaith* Walſingham, Scythæ, Schythici, Scoti, Scotici *are all one; which he took from* Radulphus de Diceto, Imag. Hiſtor. ad A. 1185. *and* Nennius *expreſly calls them* Schythæ, *and* Gildas *the* Iriſh *Sea* Vallem Scythicam; *and* Alfred *in the Engliſh Tranſlation of* Oroſius *calls the* Scots Scyttan; *and the* Germans *both* Scythians *and* Scots Scutten; *and the old* Britains Yſcot, *as* Cambden *hath already obſerved.*

Jornand. de Rebus Get. l. 1. c. 4.

Holſten. Not. in in Steph. de Urbibus, p. 378.

Atlantic. c. 3. § 10.

Walſingh. in Hypodigm. Neuſtriæ.

Britan. p. 86.

And

Flaherty Ogygi, p. 67. *And it is conſiderable that a late* Iriſh *Antiquary tells us that a Part of their Countrey in their own Language is called* Gæthluighe, i. e. Gothland, *from the* Goths *or* Scythians *who took poſſeſſion of it, He rather thinks the* Getuli *a People of* Africa *gave the Name; but of their coming into* Ireland *there is no probability. And in the ſame place he ſaith*, that *Lamfinnus* was the firſt who brought a Colony thither out of *Scythia*; *which he proves out of one of their moſt ancient Monuments. And* Colganus *obſerves on the Life of St.* Cladroe, that whereas they are ſaid to be derived from *Scota* who is ſaid to be *Pharaoh's* Daughter, the true Name *he ſaith* was *Scytha*; and that Name was given her becauſe her Husband came from *Scythia. And the ſame Antiquary confeſſes* that it appears by all their ancient Records, that they had their original from the *Scythians, and* Keting *himſelf he ſaith at laſt yields it, and* that the Name of *Scota* was given becauſe the *Mileſian* Race came out of *Scythia.*

Acta Sanct. Hib. Mart. 6. p. 502. n. 40.

Ogyg. p. 350.

And to confirm the peopling of Ireland *from* Britain *and* Scandinavia, *we are to obſerve that the* Iriſh *Antiquaries from their beſt Records do ſpeak of two great Colonies which came thither from* Britain, *the one of the* Belgæ, *of which* Slangius *or* Slanius *was the Head, who was the firſt* Monarch *of* Ireland; *wherein* Giraldus Cambrenſis *is confeſſed to agree with their own Antiquities; and another of the* Dannanæ *from the Northern parts of* Britain *under* Nuadus. *But beſides both theſe, and long after them they place the Dynaſty of the* Scots *or* Scythians *under* Herimon; *and the* Pſaltir Na-rann, *a Book of great Authority among them ſaith* that *Herimon* was the firſt King of the *Scots* in *Ireland.* And in his time, *they ſay*, the *Picts* follow'd them thither, *But that ſeems to be too ſoon. However that they came from the ſame parts will appear very probable from what* Bede *ſpeaks of the Picts* coming from *Scythia* (*i. e. Scandinavia*) in their long Boats, and being carried by Tempeſt to the Northern parts of *Ireland*, *he ſaith* they there found *gentem Scotorum*, i. e. *their Countreymen the* Scythians; and they would fain have ſettled there with them. *And when they came to treat, we find no difficulty as to their underſtanding one another, which there would have been*

Ogyg. p. 171. c. 8, 9. part 3.

Cambrenſ. Everſ. c. 8. p. 57.

Ogyg. part 3. c. 10.

Part 2. p. 85, 86.

War. Antiquit. Hibern. c. 2.

Bed. l. 1. c. 1.

been, if the Scots *had come out of* Spain *and the* Picts *out of* Scandinavia. *I know* Bede *there makes the* Picts *and* Scots *Languages to be different; but ſo they might be in continuance of time, although at firſt of the ſame original; as appears by the ſeveral Languages now in* Europe, *derived from the Original* Gothick *or* Scythick Tongue, *which is Mother to moſt of them; onely the* Celtick *and* Latin *being mixed with it. But to return to* Bede, *he ſaith,* the *Scots* perſuaded the *Picts* to go to *Britain,* and take Poſſeſſion of the Northern Parts, as the *Britains* had done of the Southern. *After this* they obtained Wives from the *Scots* in *Ireland; which ſhews familiarity and mutual confidence (as being of the ſame extraction) and the* Picts *engaged that in a diſputable Caſe, the* Scotiſh Line ſhould be prefer'd to their own. In proceſs of time, *ſaith* Bede, ſome of the *Scots* themſelves, hearing of the Goodneſs of the Weſtern parts of *Scotland,* went thither under the Conduct of *Reuda,* and either by Force or Friendſhip took poſſeſſion of them; and from thence they were called *Dalreudini,* from this *Reuda* and *Daal* which ſignifies a ſhare or portion. *This is all the Account* Bede *gives of this matter; wherein there is not a Word of* Gathelus *and* Scota, *or of* Fergus *his coming in the time of* Alexander, *or any time after. And it is ſomewhat ſtrange, that ſuch a Man as* Bede, *ſo inquiſitive into theſe matters, ſo well acquainted with the Story of* Icolmkil, *or of the Monks of* Hy *or* Jona *ſhould ſay nothing of all this. For he ſeems to have concealed nothing he knew or had heard of; and ſtuffs out his Books with ſome not very probable Relations. And therefore it is not likely he would have omitted the former Stories if he had heard of them.*

(2.) *The ſecond Argument of any ſeeming force in the Advocate's Diſcourſe is,* "*That their Hiſtories were firſt* p. 13. "*tranſmitted to Poſterity by the* Druids *in Verſes; and it* "*is probable ſome of theſe* Druids *being converted, be-* "*came their* firſt Monks, *and ſo it was eaſie for them to* "*inform their Monaſteries, and that the Monks at* Iona *or* I-"colmkill *kept the Records there from the foundation of the* "*Monaſtery about* A. D. 560. *where their Kings were bu-* "*ried untill the Reign of* Malcolm Can-more; *that they* "*had Annals in other Monaſteries, as at* Scoon, Paſlay,

p. 24. " Pluſcardin *and* Lindesfern, Abercorn *and* Melroſs;
p. 25. " *and that they had* Hiſtorians *who compiled Hiſtories*
" *from them; among whom he reckons as the moſt ancient*
" Veremundus *a* Spaniard, A. D. 1076. *who dedicated*
" *his Hiſtory to* Malcolm Can-more; *and* Joh. Camp-
" bell, Turgott *and* Alredus Rivallenſis, *who wrote of*
p. 29. " *their affairs before* Fordon. *And he goes about to prove*
" Veremundus *could not be counterfeited by* Hector Bo-
" ethius, *becauſe he is cited by* Balæus, Holinſhed, Geſ-
" ner, Chambers; *and becauſe* Hector *gives an account*
" *to* James V. that he was ſent him from *Icolmkill.*
Which is the ſubſtance of what he ſaith about their old Hiſtories before Fordon.

To which I anſwer,

(1.) *That here we have a very formal Pedigree of Hiſtorians, which might with equal probability have been carried back to* Gathelus *his firſt coming out of* Egypt. *For it is very hard to ſuppoſe ſo great a Prince, and Son to a King of* Athens, *ſhould be without his* Druids, *or* Sanachies, *or* Bards, *who would tranſmit to Poſterity his famous Actions; and therefore I cannot but wonder, that the learned Advocate ſhould ſeem to ſtick at* their ancient
p. 15. Origination and Deſcent; *and be ſo unwilling to go any farther back than* their firſt ſettlement in *Scotland. For no doubt the Hiſtory of* Gathelus *and* Scota *were tranſmitted to Poſterity the very ſame way that the other was; and the ſame Arguments will indifferently ſerve for both. Nay, why ſhould the* Britiſh *Hiſtory be queſtioned? ſince no doubt the* Britains *had* Druids, Sanachies *and* Bards *as well as the* Scots *or* Iriſh. *And yet the Advocate will by no means allow the* Britiſh *Antiquities, although they pretend to the very ſame Grounds which he makes uſe of to ſupport the* Scottiſh. *If the* Druids *were good Hiſtorians in* Scotland, *why not much rather among the* Britains; *where* Cæſar *ſaith they had their* Original Inſtitution *and*
Buchan. l. 2. *the* moſt ſacred Authority. *But* Buchanan *abſolutely denies* that the *Druids* ever wrote Hiſtories; *and he affirms from* Cæſar, that when he came hither they had no Records or way of preſerving the memory of things paſt; *and* Tacitus *and* Gildas *could meet with no certain Account from Domeſtick Hiſtories. And as to his* Sanachies *and* Bards, *I ſhall onely give him* Buchanan's *Anſwer*

ſwer in his own Words. Quod autem ad Bardos & Seneciones veteris memoriæ cuſtodes quidam confugiunt, prorſus perridicule faciunt. *Which he proves,* "*becauſe the* Bards *were an ignorant ſort of People, that* "*had no Monuments of Antiquity; and the* Sanachies *were* "*Men wholly without Learning, and who lived by flat-* "*tering great Men; and therefore no certain Account of* "*things can be expected from them. And withall, ſaith* "*he, ſince we find Hiſtorians liable to ſo many miſtakes* "*after all the pains and care they take to ſearch after the* "*Truth of things, what credit can be given to thoſe who* "*pretend to deliver Hiſtory merely by their Memories?*

But the Advocate objects, that the Laws of *Lycurgus* were preſerved in the Memories of Men for 600 years, as *Plutarch* obſerves; and the *Scots* and other Nations have preſerved Laws for much longer time, without the help of Letters. p. 16.

But is there no difference between Laws of daily Practice, and Antiquities, *which depend merely upon Memory, where there is no uſe of Letters? And as to Laws themſelves I ſhall onely deſire the learned Advocate to give an Account of their* Macalpine *Laws, which* Fordon *ſaith* were compoſed by *Kenneth*, who ſubdued the *Picts*. *I know that* Hector Boethius, *who ſtands out at nothing,* *pretends to deliver them as exactly as if he had lived at that time; and* Leſly *who follows him very carefully, ſets them down as he found them in him. But what ancient Copy do they produce for theſe Laws? Not one Word of that. But was it not fit that he who had ſo many Kings ſhould make a Body of Laws too?* Fordon *never pretends to know them, onely* he thinks there were ſome of them ſtill remaining. Joh. Major *takes no notice of them*; Buchanan *juſt mentions them, and ſaith* they continued long after him, *but how long he could not tell. But it is obſervable, that when he comes to mention the Laws of* Alexander III. *ſo long after him* (*for he died* A. D. 1285. *and the other, according to him,* A. D. 854.) *he ſaith* they were all antiquated by the negligence of the People and the length of Time. *Now if the Laws ſo much later were quite forgotten, how come the* Macalpin *Laws to be ſo exactly preſerved? But it may be there was another Cheſt of Laws at* Icolmkill, *beſides that of* MSS. *which*

Scotich. l. 4. c. 9.

Hect. Boeth. Hiſt. l. 10. f. 207.

Leſla. de Orig. Scot. l. 1. p. 71.

Buch. l. 7. p. 71. 2.

which Hector Boethius *ſaith* Fergus *brought from the Sacking of* Rome *in the time of* Alaric. *Yet even that would prove that Records are the beſt preſervers of Laws; and one would think no Advocate in the World could be of another opinion.*

(2.) *From the* Druids *I proceed to the firſt* Monks *of* Scotland, *who are ſaid* to have left Records in their Monaſteries of the Hiſtory of former times. *The firſt* Monaſtery *there, is confeſſed to be* that of the Iſland
p. 23. *Jona*, or *Hy*, or *Icolmkill*, *i. e. Hy* the Cell of *Columba*, founded about the year 560. and there, *the Advocate ſaith*, their Records were kept from the Foundation to the Reign of *Malcolm Can-more. Now we are fallen into an Age of ſome Light, ſuch as it is, but whether it will be to the Advocate's ſatisfaction I know not. For* Cummeneus Albus *and* Adamnanus, *both Abbats of* Hy *not long after* Columba, *have given an Account of* Columba *the Founder of that Monaſtery; and both wrote before* Bede's *time. By them it appears that* Columba *came out of* Ireland *thither; and* Adamnanus *ſaith*, he was the Son of *Fedlimid* the Son of *Fergus, which* Fer-
Ogyg. p. 471. gus, *ſay the* Iriſh *Antiquaries, was ſecond Husband to* Erica *Daughter of* Loarn, *Brother to* Fergus, *who carried the firſt Colony into* Scotland; *and that* Fergus, *Grandfather to* Columba, *was Son to* Conallus, *Grandchild to* Niellus Magnus *King of* Ireland *about* A. D. 405. *in whoſe time St.* Patrick *was carried captive into* Ireland. *And ſo from the time of* Columba's *coming, and his Relation to the Kings both of* Scotland *and* Ireland, *they have endeavoured to fix the time of* Fergus *his coming with the*
Cambrenſ. Everſ. p. 69. *firſt Colony into* Scotland. *The account they give in ſhort is this, that* Carbre Riada *was one of the Sons of* Conar II. *King of* Ireland, *about* A. D. 165. *from him the Family and Countrey where they lived was called* Dalrieda
Ogyg. p. 468. (*and they while in* Ireland *were ſtyled* Kings *of* Dalrieda) *from him deſcended* Eric *the Father of* Loarn, *and* Fergus *who went into* Scotland. *To this* Fergus *ſucceeded* Domangardus, Comgallus, Gauranus *and* Conallus, *the Son of* Comgallus, *in whoſe time* Columba *came into* Scotland; *for* Adamnanus *ſaith* he converſed with *Conallus* the Son of *Comgill*; *who according to* Tigernacus *and the* Ulſter Annals *gave the Iſland* Hy *to* Columba.

But

But Bede *ſaith* it was given by the *Picts* whom *Columba* converted to the Chriſtian Faith. *Which muſt ſeem ſtrange, if the Scots then had the poſſeſſion of thoſe Parts; and therefore the learned Primate of* Armagh *inclines to the former opinion. The ſame* Tigernacus *in the* Iriſh *Annals makes* Fergus *the Son of* Eric *to have carried over the* Dalredians *into* Britain *ſix years after the death of St.* Patrick; *and the old Authour cited by* Camden *confirms the Succeſſion of* Fergus *from* Conar, *and* his being the firſt King of *Albany*; *which agrees with the* Iriſh *Antiquaries ſaying that* Carbre Riada *the Anceſtour to* Fergus, *was the Son of* Conar *Monarch of* Ireland. Bed. l. 3. c. 3. c. 4. Primrd. p. 703. p. 610. Camd. Britan. p. 707.

" *But ſuppoſe all this, that* Columba *was deſcended* " *from one* Fergus *and related to the other, who went over* " *with the* Dalredians *into* Scotland; *and that he was* " *there in the time of* Conallus *Son to* Comgill, *Grand-* " *child to this* Fergus, *how doth it hence appear that there* " *was not another* Fergus *long before, and a Succeſſion of* " *Kings in* Scotland *from him?*

To this the Iriſh *Antiquaries reply, that their ancient* Annals *do give a clear Account of this* Fergus *his Race and Time of going into* Scotland, *but although they have the Succeſſion of the Kings of* Ireland *long before, and the remarkable things done in their time, yet there is no mention at all of any* Fergus *or his Succeſſours going to ſettle in* Britain *before this time. They do believe that there were Excurſions made by ſome of the Kings of* Ireland *before; and I ſee no reaſon to queſtion it, even before the times mentioned by* Gildas; *but they utterly deny any foundation of a Monarchy there by* Scots *going out of* Ireland *before the time of* Fergus *the Son of* Eric, *and that* 100 *years later than the* Scotiſh *Antiquaries do place his coming; for they make the firſt coming of this Colony to be* A. D. 503. *juſt the time which the Biſhop of St.* Aſaph *had pitched upon; but according to their Antiquities,* Loarn *the elder Brother was firſt King, and he dying* Fergus *ſucceeded* A. D. 513. *and becauſe his Race ſucceeded in that Kingdom, therefore* Fergus *is ſuppoſed to have been founder of the* Monarchy. Oxf. p. 464. p. 472.

The Queſtion now comes to this, whether the Iriſh *or the* Scotiſh *Antiquaries go upon the better Grounds? For, here the Advocate's Common Places of* Hiſtorical Faith,

Common Fame, Domeſtick Tradition, *&c. can determine nothing ſince theſe are equal on both ſides, and yet there is a contradiction to each other about a matter of Fact. We muſt then appeal to the Records on both ſides; and thoſe who can produce the more Authentick Teſtimonies from thence are to be believed. The Advocate pleads that it is very credible that they had ſuch,* becauſe they had Druids and Sanachies and Monks as well as thoſe in *Ireland*; and that *Columba* founded a Monaſtery at *Icolmkill*, and their Kings were buried there for a long time. *But where are the Annals of that Monaſtery? Or of any other near that time? To what purpoſe are we told of the Monaſteries that were at* Scoon, *and* Paſlay, *and* Pluſcardin, *and* Lindesfern, *and* Abercorn, *unleſs their*
p. 25. *Books be produced? It is by no means ſatisfactory to ſay* they had two Books, their Regiſter or Chartulary, and their Black Book wherein their Annals were kept, *for we deſire to ſee them of what colour ſoever they be, and to be convinced by Teſtimonies out of them, if they appear of ſufficient authority. But if theſe cannot be produced, let them print* the full Account of *Iriſh* Kings, *which the Advocate in his* Advertiſement *ſaith*, he had lately ſeen in a very old MS. brought from *Icolmkill*, written by *Carbre Liſachair*, who lived ſix Generations before St. *Patrick*, and ſo about our Saviour's time. *St.* Patrick *died about the end of the fifth Century, being above* 100 *years old, if the* Iriſh *Hiſtorians may be believed*; *but how* ſix Generations will reach from his birth to about our Saviour's time, *is not eaſie to underſtand. For although the ancients differ'd much in computing* Generations; *yet*
Cenſor. de die Natal. c. 17. Cenſorinus *ſaith they generally called* 25 or 30 years by the Name of a Generation. Herodotus *indeed extends* a Generation to 100 *years, yet even that will over doe here. But who was this* Carbre Liſachair, *who wrote ſo*
Cambr. Everſ. p. 71. *Ogyg.* p. 341. *long ſince? I find one of that Name among the Kings of* Ireland, *about* A. D. 284. *and therefore I am apt to ſuſpect that ſome body not very well verſed in the* Iriſh *Language, finding this Name among the Kings, made him the Author of the Book. And the* Iriſh *Antiquaries ſpeak*
p. 464. *with ſome indignation againſt thoſe* Scotiſh *Writers who pretend to debate theſe matters of Antiquity relating to the* Iriſh Nation, *without any skill in the* Iriſh Language.

For

For this Debate doth not concern the Saxons *in* Scotland (*as all the* Lowlanders *are ſtill called by the* Highlanders) *and many of the beſt Families of their Nobility ſetled there in the time of* Malcolm Canmoir, *after he had married the Siſter to* Edgar; *but it relating wholly to thoſe who came out of* Ireland, *the* Iriſh Antiquaries *think it reaſonable it ought to be determined by the* Iriſh Annals. *Camd. Brit. p. 85.*

" *But will not the ſame objections lie againſt the* Iriſh " Antiquities *which have been hitherto urged againſt the* " Scotiſh? *For why ſhould we believe that the Original* " Iriſh *were more punctual and exact in their* Annals " *than thoſe who went from thence into* Scotland?

I anſwer, that a difference is to be made concerning the Iriſh Antiquities. *For they either relate to what hapned among them before Chriſtianity was received in* Ireland *or after. As to their remote Antiquities, they might have ſome general Traditions preſerved among them, as that they were peopled from* Britain *and* Scythia, *and had Succeſſions of* Kings *time out of mind; but as to their exact* Chronology, *I muſt beg leave as yet to ſuſpend my Aſſent. For* Bollandus *affirms* that the *Iriſh* had no uſe of Letters till Saint *Patrick* brought it among them; *at which their preſent Antiquary is much offended; and runs back to the* Druids, *as the learned Advocate doth. But neither of them have convinced me that the* Druids *ever wrote Annals. All that* Cæſar *ſaith is, that in* Gaul *they* made uſe of the *Greek* Letters; *which they might eaſily borrow from the* Greek Colony *at* Marſeilles; *but how doth it appear that they uſed theſe Letters in* Ireland *or* Scotland? *Or that they any where uſed them in any matters of Learning; which ſeems contrary to the Inſtitution of the* Druids, *who were all for Memory, as* Cæſar *ſaith,* and thought Books hurtfull to the uſe of it. *So that nothing could be more repugnant to their* Diſcipline, *than the* 150 Tracts of the *Druids,* which St. *Patrick* is ſaid to have caſt into the Fire. *But I do not deny that they might have* Genealogies *kept up among them by their* Druids *and* Sanachies *and* Bards, *who made it their buſineſs; and ſo it was in* Scotland, *as appears by the* Highlanders *repeating the Genealogy of* Alexander III. *by heart. But the great Errour lay in fixing Times and Places, and particular*

Acta Sanct. Mart. 17. Vit. Patric. § 4.

Ogyg. part 3. c. 30. p. 214.

p. 219.

particular Actions according to the Names of thoſe Genealogies. And this was the true Reaſon of the miſtake as to the Scotiſh Antiquities. *For the* Genealogiſts *carrying the Pedigree of* Fergus *the Son of* Erk, *ſo much farther back, ſome afterwards either imagined themſelves or would have others think, that all thoſe mentioned before him were Kings in* Scotland, *as* Fergus *was; which by degrees was improved into a formal Story of* forty Kings. *And I am very much confirmed in this conjecture, becauſe I find in the Genealogy in* Fordon, *the deſcent of* Fergus, *the Son of* Erk *from* Conar *the* Iriſh *Monarch, as it is in the* Iriſh *Genealogies, and that by* Rieda, *called by them* Carbre Riada, *by the other* Eochoid Ried, *and ſeveral other Names are the very ſame we now find in the* Genealogy *of the* Iriſh *Kings; as* Eochoid, *Father to* Erc, Ængus, Fedlim, Conar, *the Son of* Ederskeol, *and ſo up to* Fergus, *called in the* Iriſh *Catalogue of Kings* Ferguſius Fortamalius, (*whom the Authour of the* Synchroniſm *makes contemporary with* Ptolemy Philometor.) *From whence I conclude, that the original miſtake lay in applying the* Iriſh Genealogy *to the Kings of* Scotland.

Ogyg. p. 114.

But if we go beyond theſe Genealogies *in* Ireland, *and come to examine the matters of Fact relating to their remote* Antiquities, *we ſhall find no more certainty there, than we have done in* Scotland. *And it is ingenuouſly confeſſed by* Tigernacus *in his* Annals, that all their Antiquities to the Reign of *Kimbaithus*, their 73. *King*, are very uncertain; *but he might have gone farther, and done no injury to Truth. However we cannot but acknowledge it to be a great piece of Ingenuity to own ſo much in thoſe times when fabulous Antiquities were ſo much cried up and believed. But what becomes then of* Cæſarea, Baronna *and* Balba, *with* fifty other Women and but three Men coming from *Ireland* juſt forty days before the Floud; and the fifteenth day of the Moon? *What becomes of Partholanus* and his Company, who arrived in *Ireland* the 312th year after the Floud, in the Month of *May*, 14. of the Moon, and upon *Wedneſday? Is not this wonderfull exactneſs at ſuch a diſtance of time? And the late Antiquary confeſſes he doth not know*, how they came to underſtand the day of the Week and the Month ſo well. *How come they to underſtand*

Ogyg. p. 258.

Ogyg. Domeſt. Part 3. c. 1, 2.

underſtand, that the ſecond Colony under *Nemethus* c. 6.
came to *Ireland*, when it had been 30 years deſolate;
and after the deſtruction of that Colony that it re- c. 7.
mained ſo 200 years? *As to the* Mileſian Colony *from*
Spain, *I diſcourſe at large afterwards of it, and the Au-*
thority of thoſe Annals *theſe* Antiquities *depend upon.*

But then as to later times, ſince Chriſtianity *was a-*
mong them, and ſome kind of Learning did flouriſh in
Ireland *for ſome time, there is greater reaſon to have a re-*
gard to the Teſtimony of their moſt ancient Annals. *Such*
are thoſe of Tigernacus, *who died* A. D. 1088. *and the*
Synchroniſms *of* Flannus, *who died* A. D. 1056. *the*
Hiſtorical Poems of Coemannus, *who is celebrated as their*
chief Antiquary, and he deduces his Hiſtorical Poem of
the Kings of Ireland *to* A. D. 1072. *which is ſuppoſed to*
be the time he lived in; Modudius *continues the Hiſtory*
of their Kings from A. D. 428. *to* A. D. 1022. *and he*
lived A. D. 1143. *But beſides theſe, the* Iriſh *Antiqua-* Ocx. p. 466.
ries have found an Iriſh Poem *of the Kings of* Scotland,
in the time of Malcolm Canmoir, *with their Names and*
the time of their Reigns. Which Poem *begins with* Lo-
arn, *and* Fergus *the Son of* Erc *as* the firſt Kings of
Scotland, but takes notice of Kings among the Picts *before*;
without the leaſt intimation of any among the Scots; *which*
being join'd with the Teſtimony of their Genealogies
and the Annals of Tigernacus, *and of* Jocelin *in the*
Acts *of St.* Patrick, *they conclude ſufficient to prove that*
there was no Monarchy in Scotland, *till the time of this*
Fergus *of the* Dalredian *Family. And it is not impro-*
bable that Bede *ſhould underſtand this Colony under the*
Conduct of theſe Brethren, by his Duce Reuda; *becauſe*
they being equal, the Denomination was taken from the
Head of the Stock; *who was* Rieda *or* Reuda; *and*
Daal *the* Iriſh *Antiquaries ſay, originally ſignifies a* Stock
and onely by conſequence a Share *or* Portion.

But the Advocate ſtill inſiſts upon it, that in their chief
Monaſteries they had ancient Annals kept; *which muſt be*
of greater Authority than theſe Iriſh Hiſtorical Poems. *This*
is a matter of Fact, and there can be no Argument drawn
from the bare probability that there were ſuch Annals;
but when they are produced and compared with the Iriſh
Annals of Tigernacus *the Annals of* Ulſter, Ynisfallin,

Dungall *and others which the* Iriſh *Antiquaries quote ſo often, beſides their* Hiſtorical Poems, *we ſhall then be able to judge better between them in point of* Antiquity *and* Credibility. *At preſent it doth not ſeem ſo probable, that they have any ſuch that are conſiderable, ſince they have not been alledged by ſo learned an Advocate for their* Antiquities, *who would not omit ſo material an evidence for his Cauſe. And there is a paſſage in the Concluſion of the Continuation of* Fordon *which makes it more than probable, they had no ancient* authentick Annals *in the* Monaſteries. *For there*

Scotich. l. 16. c. 39. *it is ſaid,* "*That in other Countries, and as he heard in* "England, *in all their Monaſteries of Royal Foundation,* "*there was a certain Perſon appointed to write the paſſa-* "*ges of the preſent times, and after the King's death, at* "*the next great Council all theſe Writers were to meet and* "*to bring in their Papers, which were to be compared and* "*examined by skilfull Men appointed for that purpoſe,* "*and out of all one Authentick* Chronicle *was to be made,* "*which was to be laid up in the* Archives *of the Mona-* "*ſteries as ſuch, from whence the Truth might be known:* "*The like he wiſhes were done in* Scotland. *From whence it follows, that there were no* Authentick Annals *in their*

Buchan. p. 392. 45. l. 50. 2. *Monaſteries before that time to his knowledge.* Buchanan, *I know, doth ſeveral times quote the* Book *of* Paſlay, *but it had been far better to have printed the Book it ſelf,*

Dempſt. Hiſt. Scot. l. 15. n. 1011. *ſince* Dempſter *ſaith* it was in the hands of the Earl of *Dumferlin, that others might have been better able to*

Scotich. l. 8. c. 13. *judge concerning it. But* Fordon *tells us, that Monaſtery was founded* A. D. 1168. (*or a year after, ſaith the* Chronicle *of* Melros) *now, the very foundation of the Monaſtery is here ſo late, that no great matter can be expec-*

l. 5. c. 36. *ted as to remote Antiquities. That at* Scone, *as* Fordon *ſaith, was founded not much ſooner,* A. D. 1107. *As to*

Buch. l. 5. p. 40. 2. Abercorn, *though mentioned by* Bede, *yet* Buchanan *ſaith* no one could find out ſo much as the footſteps of it; *and ſo we are not like to expect much light from thence. It is very ſtrange that* Buchanan *onely ſhould ſee* the famous Book of *Pluſcardin: For Books do not eaſily grow* famous *by one Man's ſeeing them. But no great matter of Antiquity is to be expected from thence, ſince that Monaſtery at the ſooneſt was founded by* Alexander II.

Apparat. ad Hiſt. Scot. l. 1. p. 78. *in the thirteenth Century; but* Dempſter *rather thinks,* it

was

was 200 years after. I never heard that Aidan, Finan and Colman left any Annals at Lindesfern; nor Columba or his Successours at Icolmkill. If any such be ever found, it will be a great favour to inquisitive Men to oblige the World by publishing them, that if we are guilty of mistakes, we may rectifie them upon such great Authorities when they vouchsafe to let them see the light.

As to the Chronicle of Melrosse, lately published at Oxford, we find no advantage at all to the Advocate's Cause by it. But here is an odd kind of Reflexion either on the MS. or the worthy Publisher of it, as though it were very unfaithfull in the things relating to the Scotish Nation. Whereas I have frequently perused the Original MS. in the Cotton Library, which is a very fair and ancient one. And those Verses he speaks of, which are omitted, are not there in the same hand, but added in the Margin by another, and seem transcribed from some other Book; such Verses being frequent in Fordon, and it may be are the greatest Monuments of Antiquity they have, being agreeable to the Irish Historical Poems. But seeing the first produced by the Advocate go no further back than Alpin the Father of Kenneth who subdued the Picts, they can afford very little light in these matters. And it had been but a reasonable piece of justice in the Advocate, before he had charged such unfaithfulness upon the MS. Copy of Mailros, as it appears in the Oxford Edition, to have looked either on the Beginning or the End of the Book; and then he might have spared his Censure. For in the Preface an account is given of the Verses relating to the Succession of the Kings of Scotland: And in the end the very Verses themselves are printed, and more at large than he quotes them. p. 14.

From the Annals of their Monasteries I proceed to their Historians; and the first mentioned by the Advocate, is Verenundus a Spaniard, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, A. D. 1076. who dedicated his History to Malcolm Canmoir; and in his Epistle appeals to the Druids and Monks and the Monuments of Antiquity kept by them in the Isles of Man and Icolmkill. This is an Evidence to the purpose, and speaks home to the point. But the Bishop of St. Asaph hath unhappily questioned, whether there ever were such a Writer; and I do not think p. 15. p. 16.

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the Advocate hath cleared the point. There may be two things in diſpute, with reſpect to this Veremundus; *firſt, whether there ever were ſuch a Hiſtory appearing under the name of* Veremundus: *And then ſuppoſing there were, whether it were genuine, or made under his Name by* Hector Boethius, *or rather by his Phyſician of* Aberdeen, *who was ſo helpfull to him, ſaith* Dempſter, in texenda Hiſtoria, i. e. *in weaving the Materials for his Hiſtory? I will not diſpute ſo much the former, and the Teſtimony of*
p. 26. *Chambers,* a Lord of *Seſſion* and learned Man, *as the Advocate tells us,* who wrote *A. D.* 1572. *goes no farther, nor any other produced by him. But as to the ſecond point I am very much unſatisfied, for theſe Reaſons.*

(1.) *It is very well known that it was no unuſual thing in that Age to publiſh Books under the Names of ancient Authours, which coſt the Criticks a great deal of Pains to diſcover the Impoſture, as is apparent in the* Beroſus, Manetho, Metaſthenes (*or* Megaſthenes) Philo, Cato, Xenophon, Archilochus, Sempronius, *publiſhed by* Annius, *who lived in the fifteenth Century, and was buried during the Popedom of* Alexander VI. *And not onely Authours, but other Monuments of Antiquity were then counterfeited, as appears by many in* Gruter's *Collection of* Inſcriptions, *by thoſe of* Annius *in* Italy; *and by the* Tuſcan Inſcriptions *publiſhed by* Inghiramius *under the Name of* Proſper Feſulanus; *which were the Invention of* Thomas Fœdrus, *who lived at the ſame time with* Hector Boethius. *For, in that Age Men began to be inquiſitive into Matters of Antiquity; and therefore ſome who had more Learning and better Inventions than others ſet themſelves to Work, to gratifie the Curioſity of ſuch who longed to ſee ſomething of the* Antiquities *of their own Countrey. And ſuch things were ſo greedily ſwallowed by leſs judicious Perſons, that it proved no eaſie matter to convince ſuch of the impoſture. For even* Annius *and* Proſper Feſulanus, *as well as* Veremundus *have had their* Advocates *to plead for them.*

(2.) *We find as to the* Scotiſh Antiquities *many ſuch Authours pretended to, who never wrote concerning them.*
Dempſter. *Hiſt.* *Eccleſ.* l. 1. n. 2. n. 45. n. 52. *As for inſtance,* three Books of the Hiſtory of *Scotland* by St. *Adam* Biſhop of *Cathnes.* Auminus *of* the Right of the Culdees. *King* Achaius *his* Hiſtory *of* his Predeceſſours.

deceſſour. Aldarus *his* Hiſtory *of* Scotland *and* Ireland. *St.* Convallanus *his Hiſtory of the* Kings of *Scotland. The* Chronicle *of* Dumfermlin. Elvanus Avalonius *his Hiſtory of* Scotland. *St.* Faſtidius *his* Chronicle *of* Scotland. Fergus *the great his* Epiſtles *to the* Scots. Fulgentius *his Epiſtle to* Donald *King of* Scotland *in the time of* Severus. *St.* Glacianus *his Hiſtory of* Scotland. *St.* Glodianus *his* Chronicle *of the* Picts, *cited by* Veremundus, *ſaith* Dempſter. Galdus *his Epiſtles to the* Britains. Hunibertus *his* Scotiſh *Chronicle.* Kenneth's *Epitome of his Laws. St.* Machorius *of the Deſtruction of the* Picts. *St.* Minnanus *of the Union of the* Scots *and* Picts. Marcerius *of the coming of the* Scots *into* Albion: *He is ſaid to be their firſt Authour, and out of him* Veremundus, *ſaith* Dempſter, took the Foundation of his Hiſtory; *but I do not find that any Man beſides ever ſaw him. King* Reuther's Scotiſh *Hiſtory.* Salifax Bardus *his Genealogy of their Kings in King* Reuther's *time. Here we have no leſs than* 20 *Authours relating to their* Antiquities, *every one mentioned as genuine by* Dempſter; *and yet as far as we can find, not one of the whole number was ſo. Is it then any wonder, that* Veremundus *ſhould be reckon'd among the reſt?*

n. 92. n. 259. n. 415. n. 490. n. 530. n. 532. n. 547. n. 561. n. 567. n. 592. n. 667. n. 761. n. 839. n. 849. n. 881. n. 1065. n. 2057.

(3.) *No ſuch Authour was known to* Fordon, *as far as appears by his Hiſtory; and he is very punctual in quoting the Authours he makes uſe of, and ſometimes tranſcribes large paſſages out of them; as out of* Baldredus, *as he calls him, and* Turgot's *Life of* Malcolm, &c. Jocelin de Furnes, Vincentius, Adamnanus, *and any old Legends or Chronicles he could meet with, as* Chronica de Abernethy, & variæ Chronicæ *upon many occaſions. I do not therefore deny that* Fordon *doth appeal to* Chronicles *before him; but I think the Argument ſo much ſtronger againſt* Veremundus; *when one who gathered all he could meet with never once takes notice of him, as far as I can find.*

(4.) William Elphinſton, (*Chancellour of* Scotland, *Biſhop of* Aberdeen, *and Founder of the Univerſity there, a Man highly commended by* Hector Boethius) *did, as* Hector *himſelf tells us in his Epiſtle to* James V. ſearch all *Scotland* for Monuments of Antiquity, and gave the firſt intimation of *Veremundus* in the Iſland *Iona*, *Hiſt. Scot. l. 11. f. 254.*

l. 7. f. 118. 2. and followed him exactly in writing his Hiſtory. *Now as it happily falls out, this very Hiſtory of* Elphinſtoun *is in being among us, and I have at this time by me* eight Books *of it, which go as far as the* thirteenth Century. *He tells*
l. 1. c. 8. *the Story of* Gathelus *and* Scota, *as others had done before him; or rather, juſt as* Fordon *had ſet it down. For there is very little variation from him in all the firſt Book, onely the eighth Chapter in* Fordon *is very much contracted; the fifteenth about* Gathelus *his building the City* Brigantia *in* Spain *is tranſpoſed, another Chapter being ſet before it. In the ſeventeenth he follows* Fordon *exactly about the Poſterity of* Gathelus *coming into* Ireland; *and whereas* Fordon *onely quotes* Groſſum Caput *for ſaying* that *Scotia* had its Name from *Scota*, the moſt noble Perſon in that Colony; *he ſaith* it was in ſome *Chronica*; *but what* Chronica *was ever written by* Groſt-
Scotichron. l. 1. c. 14. head, *deſerves to be enquired. For it is certain* Fordon *quotes him in other Places about* Scota *and the* Scots. *Which makes me wonder that* Dempſter *doth not put him among his* Scotiſh Writers; *but as far as I can perceive, he never read* Fordon; *nor ſaw* Elphinſton. *In Chap.* 20. *where* Fordon *quotes an old Chronicle which affirms* that *Gaithelus* gave the ſame Laws to his People which *Phoroneus* did to the *Greeks*; and that the *Scots* to this day glory that they have thoſe Laws: *this laſt Clauſe* Elphinſtoun *left out*; *and he paſſes over Chap.* 21. *where* the miſerable condition of the Poſterity of *Gathelus* in *Spain* for 240 years *is ſet down. In ſome following Chapters he confutes* Geoffrey *of* Monmouth *in the very words of* Fordon, *and uſes his very expreſſions about* the firſt peopling of *Scotland* from *Ireland*, the coming of the *Picts*, and the hard uſage of the *Scots* by them, and *Fergus* his going over out of *Ireland*; *in all which not one Authority is cited which is not in* Fordon, *and not the leaſt intimation of any ſuch Authour as* Veremundus.

In the ſecond Book he follows Fordon, *not onely in other things before, but when he deſcribes the* Iſlands *of* Scotland, *and particularly* Jona; *onely he leaves out*
Scotichron. l. 2. c. 10. Fordon's *Hebrew Etymology*, making *Jona* and *Columba* the ſame; *and he ſaith not one word of any Library or Records kept there, or any old Hiſtories and Annals to be there found, as* Hector Boethius *affirms*; *all that he ſaith is,*

is, that there was a Sanctuary for Tranſgreſſours. *About* Fergus *and* Rether *he varies not a tittle from* Fordon, *and never mentions any other Kings of that Race*; *which he would never have omitted if he had known ſuch an Authour as* Veremundus. *And he doth not ſuppoſe that* Rether *ſucceeded* Fergus *in the Kingdom of* Scotland, *but that he came afreſh from* Ireland; *and ſo makes this* the ſecond coming of the *Scots* out of *Ireland: Which plainly overthrows the conſtant Succeſſion of the Monarchy from* Fergus *in* Scotland: *And he names no one King of* Scotland *from* Rether *to* Eugenius, *who was baniſhed with all the* Scots.

In the beginning of the third Book he gives an account after Fordon *of* Fergus *the Son of* Erk *coming into* Scotland, *and he reckons* 45 Kings between the two *Fergusſes, juſt as* Fordon *doth*; *and he deſires to be excuſed, as he did*, for not ſetting down diſtinctly the times of their ſeveral Reigns, becauſe he could not then find any Writings about them; *his words are* ad præſens non in Scriptis reperimus. *Now from this expreſſion I thus argue againſt* Hector Boethius *his* Veremundus: *He ſaith*, that *Elphinſtoun* gave the firſt intimation of him, and that he followed him in his Hiſtory; *either therefore* Veremundus *gave no account of this firſt Succeſſion, which* Hector *pretends to have from him*; *and ſo his Authority ſignifies nothing at all in this matter*; *or* Elphinſton *never ſaw him*; *for he ſaith*, he never could find any Hiſtory of this firſt Succeſſion. *And therefore if ever there were ſuch a Book under the Name of* Veremundus, *it was after* Elphinſton's *days. For having ſearched the whole Nation for ancient Writings, and particularly* Jona, *as* Hector *teſtifies, and finding no Hiſtory of the Succeſſion from* Fergus, *as himſelf declares, it is a plain Evidence, that* Hector Boethius *hath given a falſe account of* Elphinſton *in relation to* Veremundus, *and in all probability of* Veremundus *too. But this is not all, for* Elphinſton *doth not onely ſay*, that he could not find any Books relating to the Succeſſion of the Kings from *Fergus, but he refers his Readers to the* old *Iriſh* Annals; *his Words are*, ad antiquos Hiberniæ Libros referimus. *So that according to* Elphinſton's *judgment the moſt certain account of their* Antiquities *is to be taken from*

from the Iriſh Authours. *And ſo we may obſerve both in him and* Fordon, *the* Iriſh Legends of *S. Brendan and others, ſerved them for very good Authorities.*

And ſo much for the Advocate's ancient Hiſtorian Veremundus *the* Spaniard. *For I ſuppoſe the mention of him by* Bale, Geſner, Hollinſhed, &c. *after he was ſo much* f. 12. *celebrated by* Hector Boethius, *deſerves no farther conſi-* Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. l. 3. c. 13. *deration. But* Voſſius *did not think him worth mentioning; and although he blames* Luddus (*as the Advocate calls him*) *or* Humphry Lhuyd, *for being too ſevere upon* Hector Boethius, *yet it is evident that he looked on him as a* fabulous Writer, *and ſo durſt not ſet him* p. 31. *down on his authority. The Advocate would excuſe this Cenſure of* Voſſius, *as though it related onely* to his credulity in point of miracles, *whereas there is not the leaſt intimation that way; and* Voſſius *ſaith* that *Leland* on the account of his fabulouſneſs wrote ſharp Verſes upon him. *What! for* his having believed too many Miracles? *No certainly, but for his* fabulous Antiquities. *But he hopes to bring* Hector Boethius *better off from the Cenſure of Biſhop* Gavin Dowglas, *which the* p. 30. *Biſhop of St.* Aſaph *takes notice of from* Polydore Virgil, *becauſe* Biſhop *Dowglas* died *A. D.* 1520. and *Boethius* his Hiſtory was not publiſhed till 1526. and he had not his Records from *Icolmkill* till 1525. *To which I anſwer, that this looks like one of the* Miracles *the Advocate confeſſes that* Hector *did too eaſily report. For if he had the Records on which this Hiſtory was built but in* 1525. *how came his Hiſtory to be publiſhed the following year? For he makes uſe of* Veremundus *his Authority in the very* Hect. Boeth. Scot. Hiſt. l. 1. f. 12. *beginning of his Hiſtory, for* the *Scotiſh* Antiquities both in *Spain, Ireland* and *Albany. In his ſecond Book he* l. 2. f. 22. 2. *ſaith,* whatever he had written of the ancient Kings of *Scotland,* he had taken out of *Veremundus, Campbell* and *Cornelius Hibernicus; all which he pretended to have* l. 3. f. 35. 1 *had from* Icolmkill. *In his third Book about* Cæſar's Expedition, *he ſtill pretends to follow* Veremundus. *And* l. 7. f. 118. 2. *in his ſeventh Book he declares* he had kept cloſe to him in the whole ſeries of his Hiſtory. *Now how was this poſſible if he had never ſeen* Veremundus *till* A. D. 1525. *and his Hiſtory was publiſhed by* Badius Aſcenſius *at* Paris, A. D. 1526. *It would take up that year in ſending*

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it thither, and reviſing and correcting and publiſhing ſo large a Volume as his Hiſtory makes. So that there muſt be ſome great miſtake, as to the year of his receiving thoſe Records, if he ever did. But if this were not the Hiſtory Biſhop Dowglas *cenſured, what other was there at that time which could deſerve it? It could not be* Joh. Major, *for his Book was printed by* Badius Aſcenſius *after* Dowglas *his death: (if he died, as he ſaith,* A. D. 1520.) *and he pretends to no new Diſcoveries, as* Boethius *doth. But why ſhould the Advocate imagine his Hiſtory was not known by the learned Men at home, ſuch as Biſhop* Dowglas *was, before it was printed?* *Leſla.* l. 9. p. 378. *Dempſter. Hiſt. Eccl.* l. 4. n. 405.

But to return to Voſſius, *who is not ſparing in mentioning any of our* MSS. Hiſtorians *which he found well atteſted: and particularly* Aelredus, *Abbat of* Rhieval, *who wrote the Life of* David *King of* Scots. *But the Advocate tells us ſome news concerning him*, viz. that he was Abbat of *Mailros*, which was called *Ryval* before King *David*'s time. *But* Fordon *expreſly diſtinguiſheth the two Monaſteries of* Rieval *and* Melros; the one, *he ſaith*, was founded by King *David*, *A. D.* 1132. and the latter four years after. *And in the Chronicle of* Melros *it appears that* Richard *was the firſt Abbat there; to whom* Waltheof *ſucceeded, Uncle to King* Malcolm, A. D. 1148. (*who ſucceeded King* David A. D. 1153.) *After* Waltheof William *was Abbat of* Mailros, A. D. 1159. *after him* Jocelin, A. D. 1170. *In the mean time* Aelredus *dies Abbat of* Rieval, A. D. 1167. *and* Silvanus *was choſen in his place. From whence it is plain that the* Abbies *of* Melros *and* Rieval *were always diſtinct from their firſt foundation, and that* Alredus *was never Abbat of* Melros. *This* Aelredus *may be called a* Scotiſh *Hiſtorian, for his Lamentation of King* David *extant both in* Fordon *and* Elphinſton; *but I can find nothing of his writing relating to the* Scotiſh Antiquities. *I know he wrote a* Chronicon, *which* Boſton *of* Bury (*who calls him* Adelredus) *ſaith* was deduced from *Adam* to *Henry* I. *but if there had been any thing in it to their purpoſe, thoſe Authours who cite a great deal out of it, relating to our* Saxon *Kings, would never have omitted what had been much more material to their Hiſtory.* p. 22. *Scotich.* l. 5. c. 43.

Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. l. 2. c. 48. Turgott *is likewiſe mentioned by* Voſſius, *though a* MS. Hiſtorian; *becauſe he ſaw very good evidence for his writing ſome part of the* Scotiſh *Hiſtory. He lived ſaith the Advocate* A. D. 1098. *I grant that he is frequently cited by* Fordon *and* Elphinſton, *for the* Acts of *Malcolm* and *Margaret which he wrote; but I can find no more out of him than out of* Aelred *as to their remote Antiquities; although they ſeem to have left out very little of what* Turgott *wrote. But I wonder how the Advocate came to diſcover* Turgott *to have been* Arcſhbiſhop of St. *Andrews; when* Dempſter *could have informed him* that there was no Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* till 300 years after. *And he might have found in* Fordon, *that there was no Archbiſhop of St.* Andrews *till after* James Kennedy, *who was Biſhop of St.* Andrews, A. D. 1440. *and was Nephew to* James I. *but after his death* Patrick Graham *firſt obtained the Metropolitan Right to the See of St.* Andrews, *but it was not quietly enjoyed till his Succeſſour* Will. Sheues *came into poſſeſſion of his place.*

p. 35. *Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 18. n. 1143. *Scotich.* l. 6. c. 48. *Leſle.* l. 8. p. 304, 306. *Dempſt. Appar.* l. 1. p. 63. *Scotichron.* l. 6. c. 24.

But there is in Fordon *an account of the Succeſſion of the Biſhops of St.* Andrews *from the time of the expulſion of the* Picts; *which is wholly left out in* Elphinſton; *and there* Turgott *is ſaid to be conſecrated Biſhop* A. D. 1109. *and to continue there ſeven years.* St. Andrews *was before called* Kilremont, *as appears by* Fordon, *who calls them the Biſhops of St.* Andrews de Kilremont; Kil, *as appears by the* Scotiſh *Hiſtorians, was a place of Devotion;* Kilruil *was the Church of* Regulus (*as* Hector *ſaith* St. Andrews *was called in the time of the* Picts) *and* Kilremont, *as being the* Royal Seat *and the* principal Church, *for* Remont *is* Mons Regis; *and from hence the Clergy of this Church were called* Killedees (*from which title the fiction of the ancient* Culdees *came, as the* Biſhop *of St.* Aſaph *hath truly obſerved.*) *Theſe* Killedees *had the ancient Right of chuſing the Biſhop, and were firſt excluded, as* Fordon *ſaith by* William Wiſhart, A. D. 1273. *and next by* William Fraſer, *after him by* William Lamberton; *upon which* William Cumyng Keldeorum Præpoſitus, i. e. *Dean of the Church appealed to* Rome, *but was overruled there. But the learned Primate of* Armagh *following* Dempſter *too much, calls him* Auminus; *and yet* Dempſter *quotes the* Scotichronicon

Scotich. l. 6. c. 42. c. 43. *Uſſer. Primord.* p. 659.

nicon *for it, where it is plainly* William Cumyng. *But that the* Killdees *were nothing but the* Dean *and* Chapter *of St.* Andrews, *not onely appears by their Right of Election of the Biſhop, but by the exerciſe of the juriſdiction in the* vacancy of the See, *which* Fordon *ſaith was in them.*

I ſhould not ſo much have inſiſted on this miſtake of the Advocate in making Turgott Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews if he had not ſo ſeverely reflected on the Biſhop of St.* Aſaph *for making* Fordon *a* Monk, *as though he did it* merely for his own conveniency to ſhew him intereſted for the independency of Monks and *Culdees* from the Biſhops. *I grant it was a miſtake but not deſigned, and a very pardonable one, ſince* Dempſter *ſaith* ſome thought him a Monk, and he could not find of what condition he was; *and yet he ſaith* he read him; *and* Voſſius *makes* Joh. de Fordon *a* Monk *in* King John's *time, Authour of the* Scotichronicon.

p. 34. Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 6. n. 543. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. l. 2. c. 56.

This Book of Fordon *the Advocate ſaith* was ſo eſteemed that there were Copies of it in moſt of their Monaſteries; and *he ſaith* did agree with their ancient Annals; *which I think will appear by the precedent Diſcourſe, not to be much to the advantage of his Cauſe.*

p. 34.

And ſo much for the Authority of their Annals *and* Hiſtorians, *from the Original* Druids *and* Bards *to* Fordon *and* Elphinſton.

Having thus gone through the moſt material points, which I have not diſtinctly anſwered in the following Book, there remain onely ſome few things, which ſtand in need of being farther cleared. As,

(1.) *The Teſtimony of* Eumenius *in his* Panegyrick *to* Conſtantius, *from whence the Advocate proves* that in the time of *Cæſar* there was another Nation beſides the *Picts* who then inhabited *Britain*, and were a Colony of the *Iriſh*; and theſe muſt certainly have been *Scots. The queſtion is not, whether there were not, according to* Eumenius, Picts *and* Iriſh *which the* Britains *fought with in* Cæſar's *time* (*juſt as* Sidonius Apollinaris *ſaith* that *Cæſar* conquer'd the *Picts* and *Saxons* in *Britain*, *which is ſuch another* Prolepſis *as* Sirmondus *obſerves*, who makes the coming of the *Scots* into *Britain* after the *Saxons*; *and he was a* judicious Critick

p. 68. Carm. 7. v. 90.

Critick *and* Antiquary) *but the true queſtion is, whether* Eumenius *affirms that thoſe* Iriſh *then dwelt in* Britain? *Yes, ſaith* Buchanan, ſoli Britanni, *are to be underſtood in* the Genitive Caſe, *and ſo theſe words relate* to the *Picts* and *Iriſh* of the *Britiſh* Soil. *No, ſaith the* Biſhop *of St.* Aſaph, *they are to be underſtood in the* Nominative Caſe; *and ſo they ſet forth the advantage in* Conſtantius *his* Victory *over a* Roman Legion *above that of* Julius Cæſar, *who fought onely with the* Britains, a rude People and accuſtomed to no other Enemies but *Picts* and *Iriſh*, a half naked People. *The words are thus printed in the late* Paris *Edition, after the comparing of ſeveral* MSS. *by* Claudius Puteanus, *and therefore more correct than the* Plantin *Edition.* Ad hoc Natio etiam tunc rudis, & ſoli Britanni Pictis modo & Hibernis aſſueta hoſtibus, adhuc ſeminudis, facile Romanis armis ſigniſq; ceſſerunt.

Buch. Rer. Scot. l. 2.

The deſign of the Oratour, was to leſſen the Reputation of Cæſar's *Victory in compariſon of that of* Conſtantius; *and to that purpoſe it was very material to ſhew, that he fought with the* Britains *alone, who were themſelves* a rude People, and had no other Enemies but ſuch as were as rude as themſelves, the *Picts* and *Iriſh*. *Now to what great purpoſe was it for him to ſay that the* Britains *fought with* the *Iriſh* of the *Britiſh* Soil? *Were they ſo much better diſciplined and ſo much more famous among the* Romans *for deeds of Arms than the* original Iriſh, *that ſuch an* Emphaſis *muſt be laid upon that?* p. 72. *But the Advocate ſaith* the compariſon lies in this, that then they had been uſed onely to the *Picts* and *Iriſh*, but *Conſtantius* overcame them when they had been long trained up in War. *But if he had been pleaſed to have read the next Paragraph he would have found the Oratour taking no notice of the* Britains *greater experience in War, but of* a *Roman* Legion corrupted, foreign Souldiers and *Gallican* Merchants drawn out of the Provinces to ſtrengthen *Carauſius* and *Allectus* in their Rebellion; *ſo that the Compariſon lies between the* Britains *alone in* Cæſar's *time, and the ſtrength of a well diſciplined* Roman *Army in the time of* Conſtantius. *And it is to be obſerved, that according to* Eumenius *his own manner of ſpeaking, if he were to be underſtood in*

Bucha-

Buchanan's *ſenſe, it ſhould have been* Soli Britannici *for* the Britiſh Soil. *For ſo he hath* Victoria Britannica *at the end of the ſame Oration; and in another* Britannica Trophæa. *So that neither Senſe nor Grammar do favour* Buchanan's *Conſtruction. But he ſaith Joſeph Scaliger* approves *Buchanan's* Conſtruction in his Notes on *Tibullus. I have ſearched the place and can find no ſuch thing; but I am afraid he miſtook his own Notes; for there* Scaliger *ſpeaks about the* Scoto-Brigantes, *and which is more, he ſaith,* the *Scots* were yet in *Ireland. And becauſe he is ſo accuſtomed to Maxims of Law, I ſhall put him in mind of one;* that a Witneſs which a Man brings for himſelf, he is bound to receive againſt himſelf. p. 70.

(2.) *As to* Claudian's *Expreſſion,*

Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Iernè.

he ſaith this is not to be underſtood of *Ireland,* but of a Countrey of *Scotland* of that Name, near to which the *Romans* had a Camp, the remainders whereof are ſtill diſcernible; and in which there are Stones found with *Roman* Inſcriptions deſigning the ſtations of the Legions; and *Strathern* in *Scotland* is more ſubject to long Froſts than *Ireland* is. p. 85.

This I confeſs is ingeniouſly obſerved. But I do not underſtand what the Roman Inſcriptions *prove as to the* Scots *being in thoſe parts of* Britain; *if the queſtion were about the* Romans *they would be of ſome uſe. I do not deny that* Strathern *had its Name from the River* Ern, *and the Countrey might in* Latin *be called* Iernè *from thence. But how doth it appear that* Claudian *or the* Romans *knew it by that Name? We are certain that* Iernè *commonly paſſed for* Ireland *among them; and that it was then accounted the* Countrey of the *Scots; as appears by the expreſs Teſtimony of* Oroſius, *who lived in that Age. And* Dempſter, *who fixes the* Scots *in* Britain *long before, yet is ſo convinced by theſe words of* Claudian *that they were in* Ireland, *that he ſuppoſes them driven thither by* Theodoſius, *and there deſtroyed by him. And* Claudian *explains himſelf elſewhere, when he ſaith,* Oroſ. Hiſt. l. 1. Dempſt. Apparat. l. 1. c. 3.

De laud. Stilich. l. 2. v. 251.

---------- Totam cum Scotus Iernen
Movit, & infesto ſpumavit remige Tethys.

Where it ſeems ridiculous to ſay, that the *Scots* put all *Strathern* into commotion; *and this* Ierne *had the Sea lying between it and* Britain, *in whoſe Name* Claudian *ſpeaks*; *and* Buchanan *underſtands this of* Ireland.

Buch. l. 2. p. 16.

p. 101, 103. (3.) *He urges* the great improbability that the *Scots* ſhould manage ſo long a War, for 600 years, and not ſettle in *Britain*. *But this is that which is called* begging the Queſtion; *for the diſpute is how long the* Scots *in* Britain *did make War upon the* Britains? Claudian *ſaith in his time*, the *Scots* came from *Ierne*, and made the Sea foam with their Oars; Gildas *ſaith* the *Iriſh* uſually returned home, intending to come back, and the *Picts* then reſted for a time in the farthermoſt parts of the Iſle. *Why ſhould not* Gildas *have ſaid that the* Iriſh *and* Picts *went back to the remote parts of the* Iſland, *if they both inhabited there at that time?*

Gild. Epiſt.

If Gildas *his Authority be allowed in this caſe, I think it is clear enough to decide the Controverſie. For,* (1.) Upon *Maximus* his withdrawing the *Roman* Legions *and Britiſh* Infantry which never returned; *he ſaith* the *Britains* were then firſt infeſted with two cruel tranſmarine Nations, the *Scots* from the Southweſt, and the *Picts* from the North. *If there had been a* War of 600 years from before *Julius Cæſar's* time, *as the Advocate ſaith, how comes* Gildas *to be ſo extremely miſtaken as to ſay the firſt War began after* Maximus *his withdrawing the* Roman Militia? (2.) *He ſtill ſpeaks of their* coming by Sea, and carrying away their anniverſary Prey beyond the Seas; *and* trans Maria fugaverunt, *ſaith he, of the* Roman *Forces driving them back. How comes* Gildas *ſtill to mention the Seas if they then inhabited the ſame Iſland?*

Gild. Epiſt. p. 13. Ed. Joſſel.

p. 14.

p. 102, 103. *But the Advocate ſaith* that by Seas the *Friths* are underſtood; and that in their old Laws the *Frith* of *Forth* is called *Mare Scoticæ*, the Sea of *Scotland*; and the *Frith* of *Dumbritton* is called one part of the *Mare Scoticum* by the *Engliſh* Authours; and this paſſage to and fro he makes to be eaſie, but the other home to

Ireland

Ireland almoſt impoſſible with their Boats in the *Iriſh* Seas; from whence he ſaith, that the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*'s Hypotheſis is abſurd and incredible, but his very conſiſtent.

To clear this we may obſerve, (1.) *That to make theſe Friths* to be called Seas not improperly, *he ſaith,* they are 40 Miles broad in ſome places; *and ſo makes the paſſage more difficult over them than from* Ireland *to* Scotland; *for, as* Camden *obſerves, there is hardly* 12 *Miles diſtance between ſome part of* Scotland *and* Ireland. *But this is to demonſtrate the conſiſtency of his own* Hypotheſis, *and the abſurdity of the Biſhop's.* (2.) *The* Iriſh *Writers ſay,* their Curroghs or light Boats cover'd with Leather were very convenient for tranſporting an Army, though not ſo proper for a Sea-fight. Adamnanus *in the Life of St.* Columba *deſcribes one of them in which St.* Cormac *went to Sea, with all the Parts of a Ship, and with* Sails *and* Oars, *and a Capacity for Paſſengers*; *and he ſaith,* he was out at Sea 14 Days Northward in it. *Now what abſurdity or incredibility is there in it, that ſuch Veſſels ſhould convey the* Iriſh *forwards and backwards over ſo narrow a paſſage as that between* Ireland *and thoſe parts of* Scotland *which lay neareſt to it? Why might not the* Iriſh *paſs thoſe Seas as well in theſe as the* Britains *did in* Cæſar's *time the Sea between* Gaul *and* Britain; *for he ſaith* they gave Aſſiſtence to the *Gauls, and they had then no other kind of Ships? And* Cæſar *himſelf was ſo far from deſpiſing them, that he thought them a very uſefull invention and made uſe of them himſelf in* Spain *to tranſport his Souldiers.* The Keel and Maſts, *he ſaith,* were made of the lighteſt Wood, and the Bodies of them of Wicker, cover'd over with Leather; which he had learnt from the *Britains.* Lucan *calls them* little Ships, *and not* a miſerable little kind of ſhapeleſs Boats, *as the Advocate doth.*

p. 103.

Camd. Brit. p. 706.

Ogyg. part. 3. c. 34. p. 254.

Adamn. Vit. Columb. l. 2. *apud Canif. To.* 5. *Antiq. Lection.*

Cæſar. de Bell. Gallic. l. 3.

De Bel. Civ. l. 1.

p. 101.

Primum cana fœlix madefacto vimine, parvam
Texitur in Puppim, cæſóq; induta juvenco, &c. *Lucan.* l. 4.

and in theſe he ſaith the Britains *were wont* to paſs the Ocean.

fuſóq;

--------fuſóq; Britannus
Navigat Oceano.--------

In the old MSS. Gloſſaries *in the Margin of* Joſſelin's Gildas, Curuca *is rendred by* Navis, *and not* a little ſhapeleſs Boat. *And* Solinus *expreſly ſaith (even in the place quoted by him)* that it was common to paſs between *Ireland* and *Britain* with theſe Curroghs. *And ſuch kind of Veſſels covered with* Leather *were not onely uſed by the* Britains *and* Iriſh, *but by the* Æthiopians, Ægyptians, Sabeans, Romans *and* Spaniards; *as might be ſhewed from the Teſtimonies of* Agatharchides, Strabo, Virgil, Pliny *and others. How comes it then to be almoſt impoſſible for the* Iriſh *to paſs the Seas in ſuch Veſſels? And wherein lies the Abſurdity and Incredibility of the Biſhop's* Hypotheſis, *when he makes them to croſs but* 13 *Miles from* Ireland *to* Britain *in theſe* Curroghs, *and the Advocate allows the* Friths *over which they were to paſs to be* 40 Miles broad in ſome places? *And how could they be ſecure they ſhould not be driven into the* broadeſt places? *If theſe Veſſels then could convey them ſafely over the* Friths, *why not as well from* Ireland *to the neareſt parts of* Scotland?

Solin. c. 35.

But I have another Argument from Gildas *that the Seas cannot be underſtood of the* two Friths, viz. *that* Gildas *ſaith*, when the *Roman* Legion firſt defeated the *Picts* and the *Scots*, they commanded a Wall to be built between the two Seas to hinder their Incurſion: *which is confirmed by* Bede, *who ſaith* this Wall began at *Penneltun* not far from *Abercorny* and ended at *Alcluith*, and was deſigned to keep out their Enemies. *Now I deſire to know to what purpoſe this Wall was built between the* two *Friths* to keep out the *Scots* and *Picts*, *if their Cuſtome was, as the Advocate ſuppoſes, to croſs over the* two Friths *and to land on this ſide the Wall? Did the* Romans *and* Britains *ſo little underſtand the Way of their Enemies coming, to put themſelves to ſo much pains and trouble for no purpoſe at all? And* Buchanan *thinks* the laſt Stone Wall made by the *Romans* for the Security of the *Britains*, *mentioned by* Gildas *and* Bede, *was made in the ſame place where he thinks Severus* his Wall ſtood before.

Gild. Epiſt. p. 13. 2.

Bed. l. 1. c. 12.

Buch. p. 40. 2.

Gild. p. 15.

Bed. l. 1. c. 12.

before. *And it had been madneſs to erect a Stone Wall there to keep out the* Scots *and* Picts, *if they came out of* Scotland *over* the two Friths *and landed where the Wall could do the* Britains *no Service. But* Gildas *and* Bede *ſay* they attempted the Wall and forced themſelves *a paſſage over it*; irrumpunt terminos *ſaith* Bede; *and* with their Iron hooks drew the *Britains* from the Wall, *ſaith* Gildas. *What need all this if they came over the* Friths, *and ſo left the Wall between the* two Friths *behind them? But from hence it is very plain, that* Gildas *knew nothing of their paſſing the* Friths *and therefore muſt be underſtood of their croſſing the Seas from* Ireland *to* Scotland, *and there joining with the* Picts, *and ſo marching towards the Wall between the* two Friths *in order to their paſſing into the* Roman *Province. And it is obſervable that* Gildas *ſaith after the making the ſecond Wall,* the *Scots* and *Picts* upon the *Romans* withdrawing grew more confident and took poſſeſſion of the Northern part of the Iſland as far as the Wall, *pro indigenis*, in the Place of the Natives; *which ſhews that he looked on them as late comers, and then newly entred into poſſeſſion there.*

The laſt thing I ſhall take notice of is concerning the early Converſion *of the* Scotiſh *Nation to the* Chriſtian Faith. *And here I am particularly concerned to anſwer his Arguments, ſince in the following Book I have rejected the Tradition of* the *Scots* converſion under King *Donald, and aſſert* Palladius *to have been ſent to the* original *Scots* in *Ireland. But the Advocate thinks it ſo clear* that they were converted before *A. D.* 503. that from thence he concludes that they were ſettled in *Scotland* before that time. *And it were a piece of very ill Nature to deny this* Concluſion, *if the* Premiſſes *be well proved.*

Ch. 2. p. 52, 53.

p. 112.

(1.) *As to the* Converſion *under King* Donald; *he ſhews*,

1. That it is very probable the *Britiſh* Chriſtians being perſecuted by the *Roman* Emperours in the Southern parts, would go into the Northern and propagate their Religion there. *But this proves onely the probability of the Converſion of the* Northern Britains, *and not of the* Scots.

p. 113.

p. 114. 2. *He ſaith*, the *Druids* were prepared to receive Chriſtianity, and ſo would be eaſie to be converted themſelves and ready to convert the People. *He*
p. 117. *ſpeaks ſoon after of a double* Converſion *of their Nation from* Paganiſm *and* Pelagianiſm. *Methinks theſe words do not argue the latter* Converſion *to have been ſuch, as to have left no* Dregs *behind it. For how came the* Druids *natural improvements to facilitate their Converſion more than the Philoſophers at* Athens *or* Rome?
Ogyg. p. 203. *And the* Iriſh *Antiquaries ſay the* Druids *there* were the great oppoſers of the Goſpel. *But ſtill theſe* Druids *might be among the* Britains *and not the* Scots.

p. 118. 3. *He ſaith*, That *Donald* was their firſt Chriſtian King, *A. D.* 203. ſeems moſt fully proved. *Not by any thing yet ſaid. But what then is the full Proof? In ſhort it is this.* It was a matter of Fact. *Very true*; Matters of Fact muſt be proved by Witneſſes. *True again. But who are theſe Witneſſes? Even* the Hiſtorians of their Countrey, and the Annals of their Monaſteries. *And ſo we are thrown back upon the debate of their Authority, which I have gone through already. Let it therefore reſt upon their Credibility; onely remembring that no ſuch King as* Donald *doth appear in their moſt ancient Genealogies.*

p. 115. 4. *He affirms*, That *Baronius* allows their Converſion by Pope *Victor*, and he made Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory more his Task than the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, and was more diſintereſted. *It is poſſible, the Biſhop of St.* Aſaph *may have conſidered* Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory *with as much Care as* Baronius *himſelf; but I dare ſay, with greater judgment and impartiality. And of all things I cannot but wonder at the Advocate's looking on* Baronius *as* more diſintereſted, *when the Converſion from a Pope was in queſtion. Which ſhews him to be ſuch a ſtranger to* Baronius, *that one would think he had never looked into*
Dempſt. Appar. l. 1. c. 6. *him. For* Dempſter *is diſpleaſed with* Baronius, *as* one injurious to their Nation, as to this firſt Converſion, *ſaying* that there were no Chriſtians in *Scotland* before *Palladius* but ſuch as fled thither out of this part of
Bar. A. D. 429. n. 2. *Britain* becauſe of perſecution. *And* Baronius *doth wonder that ſuch a* Converſion ſhould be omitted not onely by *Bede* but by *Marianus Scotus.*

5. The

5. The *Magdeburgian* Centuries, *he ſaith*, agree with *Baronius*; and theſe are the Standards of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory to the Profeſſours of both Religions. *He had as good have ſaid they were the* Hercules Pillars *and there is no paſſage beyond them. But no learned* Profeſſours of either Religion *allow theſe to be* Standards. *How many Errours in* Baronius *have been diſcovered by the learned Antiquaries of his own Communion? What Complaints have been made of his partiality to the Court of* Rome, *not onely by the* Sorboniſts *but by the King's* Advocates *in* France? *And as to the* Magdeburgians, *we commend them for their noble attempt and great diligence and induſtry; but matters of Eccleſiaſtick Antiquity are extremely improved ſince that time. More ancient Authours having been publiſhed out of* MSS. *and better Editions by comparing the Authours before printed with MSS. and many counterfeit Authours diſcovered and far greater Enquiries have been made into all parts of* Eccleſiaſtick Antiquities; *ſo that after ſo many new diſcoveries to make theſe the* Standards, *were almoſt as abſurd as to make* Ptolemy *the* Standard *for modern Geography. We do not diſparage what he hath done, when we ſay many things have been found out ſince his time.* p. 117.

(2.) *As to the miſſion of* Palladius *into* Scotland, *the Advocate inſiſts on theſe three things,* 1. That *Bede* affirms that he was ſent to the *Scots* in *Britain.* 2. That there is no probability in the Circumſtances of his being ſent into *Ireland.* 3. That Dr. *Hammond* yields that the *Scots* were converted before *Celeſtine's* time; and therefore it is more probable that *Palladius* was ſent Biſhop to them. p. 114. p. 119. p. 122.

To theſe particulars I ſhall give a diſtinct Anſwer.

(1.) *To* Bede's *Teſtimony, he affirms*, that in the eighth of *Theodoſius* the younger, *Palladius* was ſent by *Celeſtine* the firſt Biſhop to the *Scots* believing in Chriſt. *Wherein* Bede *onely applies* Proſper's *Words to the eighth of* Theodoſius, *which he had placed under* Baſſus *and* Antiochus *Conſuls; but he doth not determine whether theſe* Scots *were in* Ireland *or in* Britain. *But the Advocate ſaith*, all that which *Bede* ſaith before and after concerning the *Scots* relates to the *Scots* in *Britain*, and therefore theſe Words are ſo to be underſtood. l. 1. c. 13.

derſtood. *Whereas* Bede *in the very beginning declares,*
l. 1. c. 1. that *Ireland* was the proper Countrey of the *Scots*; and that *Dumbritton Frith* did anciently ſeparate the *Picts* and the *Britains*; but the *Scots* coming afterwards to the Northern part of that *Frith*, there ſetled themſelves. *Which Words do evidently prove that* Bede *did not look on the* Scots *as* ancient Inhabitants *there*; *for then he would have ſaid that the* Frith *did* antiquitus gentem Britonum à Scotis ſecernere; *but he never mentions the* Scots *but the* Picts *as the* ancient Inhabitants *on the Northern part of the* Frith. *But, ſaith*
p. 60. *the Advocate, Bede's* Title of his Chapter is of the ancient Inhabitants of *Britain*, and he mentions the *Scots* among them. *Very true*; *but ſhall not* Bede *explain himſelf whom he means by* the ancient Inhabitants, viz. *the* Britains *and* Picts? *For, by the Advocate's reaſoning the* Saxons *will be proved to have been in* Britain *before* Julius Cæſar, *as well as the* Scots; *for they make up one of the* five Nations *ſpoken of in that* firſt Chapter. *And ſo* Bede *doth not onely* ſettle the *Scots* and the *Picts* in this Countrey, by his firſt Chapter, *but the* Engliſh *too. And it is an extraordinary ſagacity that can diſcover*
p. 65. *this* Chapter *in* Bede, *to be* clear to a Demonſtration *that* he makes the *Scots* to be ancient Inhabitants in *Britain*; *whereas to my dull apprehenſion* Bede *is clear the other Way.*

p. 146. *But the Advocate proceeds to ſhew*, that the Name of *Scots* doth originally belong to the *Scots* in *Britain*, and onely by way of communication to thoſe in *Ireland. This were indeed to the purpoſe if it were proved. And there ought to be the more care in doing it, ſince it is*
Buch. l. 2. p. 16. *ſo new and ſingular an opinion. For even* Buchanan *ſaith* that the *Iriſh* were at firſt called *Scots*; and from
p. 18. 2. thence they paſſed into *Albany*; and that by the Name *Scots* their coming from the *Iriſh* is declared. Joh.
Major. Hiſt. Scot. l. 1. c. 9. Major *ſaith*, that *Scotia* among their Anceſtours was the common Name for *Ireland. And if their* ancient Annals *may be believed, the Name of* Scot *came from* Scota *the Wife of* Gathelus, *whoſe Poſterity went firſt into* Ireland, *and then carried the Name into* Scotland. *In* Fordon *and* Elphinſton *there is another* Scota *mentioned, as a Leader of the firſt Colony into* Ireland, *who gave the*

Name

Name to that Countrey of Scotia; *and* Joh. Major *ſaith* She was the Mother of *Hiber. But whichſoever of theſe ſtands, unleſs the Advocate will at laſt give up the Cauſe of their* Ancient Annals, *which he hath contended ſo warmly for, he muſt renounce this opinion of his,* that the Name of *Scots* doth originally belong to the *Albian Scots*, and onely by way of communication to the *Iriſh*; *ſo that there is no need to produce the plain Teſtimonies of* Oroſius, Bede *and* Iſidore, *which make Ireland* the proper Countrey of the *Scots. But it is a wonderfull ſubtilty from hence to infer, as the Advocate doth*, as if it might have been juſtly doubted, and were not true in all ſenſes. *Doth he mean* proper *or* improper ſenſes? *Their words are plain that* Ireland *in a ſtrict and* proper ſenſe *was the* Countrey *of the* Scots, i. e. *the* Patria Originis, *though the other might afterwards be* Patria incolatus & Domicilii; *as the Advocate himſelf doth diſtinguiſh; but that which follows from hence is, that if the* Scots *came originally from* Ireland, *then the Name of* Scots *doth not originally belong to the* Scots *in* Britain *but to thoſe in* Ireland, *unleſs he can ſhew that the Reaſon of the Name doth agree to them onely upon their removal into* Britain. *As, to take his own inſtance; no one will queſtion that the Colony of* Virginia *are called* Engliſh, *becauſe the Inhabitants of the Countrey from whence they came are ſo called. But were not the* Iriſh *called* Scots *before they went into* Scotland? *If not, that could not be* proprie Scotorum Patria, *as* Oroſius *and* Bede *and* Iſidore *affirm; as* England *could not be ſaid to be the proper Countrey of the* Engliſh *unleſs the Inhabitants were called* Engliſh; *and the Colony of* Virginia *received its denomination of being* Engliſh *becauſe they came from hence. Unleſs therefore the Advocate be pleaſed to ſhew,* that *the Name of* Scots *doth ſo belong to the* Iriſh *upon their remove into* Britain *that it could not agree to them in* Ireland *it will be impoſſible for him to make out, that the Name of* Scots *doth originally belong to the* Iriſh *in* Britain, *and onely by way of communication to thoſe in* Ireland. *I have already ſhewed that* Joſ. Scaliger *doth aſſign ſuch a Reaſon of the Name of* Scoti *as agrees onely to thoſe who came over upon Expeditions; but I believe the* Scots *will take it far*

Oroſ. l. 1. c. 2. Bed. l. 1. c. 1. Iſidor. Orig. l. 14. c. 6.

p. 151.

p. 152.

better to receive their Name from the Iriſh Scots, *than to have had the* original *Name given them on ſuch an Account.*

p. 119. (2.) *As to the Circumſtances of* Palladius *his Miſſion the main difficulty objected, is* from St. *Patrick's* being ſent ſo ſoon after into *Ireland*; which needed not have been if *Palladius* were ſent before thither and not rather into *Scotland*, whither *Bale* ſaith he went and died not, *A. D.* 431. but 434. *This is the force of what the Advocate ſaith upon this matter. But the Biſhop of St.* Aſaph *had proved from* Proſper, *that* Palladius *was ſent to the* Scots *in* Ireland; *becauſe he diſtinguiſhes* the two Iſlands, *the one he calls* Roman, *i. e.* Britain, *the other* barbarous *where the* Scots *lived, to whom* Palladius *was ſent; which could be no other than* Ireland. *To which the*

p. 116. *Advocate anſwers*, that the Northern part of *Britain* was by *Tacitus* and *Bede* ſaid to be reduced into an Iſland by the *Roman* Wall from Sea to Sea; and *Bede* in other places calls the *Scots* Iſlanders. Tacitus *indeed ſaith, that by* Agricola's *Fortifications between the two* Friths, the *Britains* were driven as into another Iſland; *but this is a very different way of ſpeaking from that of* Proſper, *who makes a diſtinction between* two proper Iſlands. *And* Proſper *could not be ignorant that* Feſtus Avienus *not long before*, viz. *in the time of* Theodoſius *had diſtinguiſhed the* two Iſlands, *the one inhabited by the* Hiberni, *and the other he calls* Inſula Albionum, *which takes in all that we now call* Britain. *But according to the old* Geographers, Ireland *was accounted one of the* Britiſh Iſlands; *as appears by the Teſtimonies of* Pliny, Apuleius, Ptolemy, Diodorus Siculus *and* Marcianus Heracleota, *which have been produced by o-*

Uſſer. Primord. p. 722, &c. War. Antiq. Hib. c. 1. *thers, and need not to be repeated here. But no one ever mentioned* Scotland *as a* diſtinct Iſland, *and therefore it is unreaſonable to underſtand* Proſper *in that Senſe.*

Bed. l. 1. c. 12. Bede *mentions the* Inſulani *in the Chapter refer'd to; but nothing can be plainer, than that he ſpeaks of* the *Britains* on this ſide the Wall; who raiſed up the Wall of Turf between the two Friths for their own ſecurity againſt their Enemies beyond the Wall. *In the other*

l. 4. c. 26. *place of* Bede, *the* Inſulani *are to be underſtood of thoſe of* Ireland, *as* Bede *clearly expreſſeth himſelf*, miſſo in Hiber-

Hiberniam exercitu. *But the ingenious Advocate hath a fetch beyond this, for he ſaith* that *Bede* by *Ireland* meant *Scotland, which he ſets himſelf to prove from this very paſſage. For, ſaith he,* the ſame thing that is firſt ſaid to be done in *Hibernia* is afterwards ſaid to be done in *Scotia. And might it not be ſo if* Ireland *were then called* Scotia, *as appears by the former Teſtimonies? But that* Bede *could not mean any other than* Ireland *appears from hence, that he ſaith,* the Nation which *Egfred* invaded had been always kind to the *Engliſh*; *and the* Iriſh Annals *give an account of the very Place and Time of* Egfred's *landing in* Ireland *and the Captives he carried away from thence. But* Bede *elſewhere ſaith the* Scots *in* Britain *had been great Enemies to them, as appeared by the Battel at* Degſaſtan, *where the whole Army of the* Scots *was almoſt cut off by* Edilfredus *King of* Northumberland, *and their King* Edan *fled; from which time none of the Kings of* Scotland *durſt appear in the Field againſt the* Engliſh. *Which argues no great kindneſs between them; but* Bede *ſaith, that theſe had been* Nationi Anglorum gens ſuper amiciſſima; *and therefore his Words muſt relate to the* Scots *in* Ireland.

p. 153. Ann. p. 230. l. 1. c. 34.

" *But doth not* Bede *ſay,* that *Columbanus* came from " *Ireland* to *Hy* and ſo to *Britain*; and afterwards " that *Colman* returned to *Scotland, i. e.* to *Hy* from " whence *Columba came*; therefore *Scotland* was called *Ireland*; *or rather,* Ireland *was called* Scotia; *which is ſo clear in* Bede, *that I wonder that any that carefully reade him can diſpute it. He ſaith indeed,* that the *Scots* had a Kingdom in *Britain, but where he ſpeaks of the Religion of the* Scots *he then means the* Scots *of* Ireland; *as will eaſily appear by the ſeries of his Diſcourſe. When he ſpeaks of* Laurentius *his care not onely of the* Britains *but of the* Scots *too, he explains himſelf to mean thoſe who lived in* Ireland, *an* Iſland *near to* Britain. Columba, *he ſaith, came from* Ireland *to convert the* Northern Picts, *and obtained from their King the Iſland* Hy, *where he founded his Monaſtery, which he ſaith* was the chief of all the Northern *Scots, not of thoſe in* Scotland *but in* Ireland, *For in the ſame Chapter he diſtinguiſheth* the *Scots* in the Southern parts of *Ireland, from thoſe in the* Northern; *the former following the*

p. 155. l. 2. c. 4. l. 3. c. 4. c. 3.

the Roman *Cuſtome of* Eaſter, *and the Northern refuſing it. From theſe* Aidanus *came, the firſt* Scotiſh *Biſhop*
c. 3, 5. *who ſetled among the* Engliſh, *being ſent for by King* Oſ-
c. 19. wald. Furſeus, *ſaith he afterwards,* came from *Ireland,* being of the moſt noble Race of the *Scots*; *and there he mentions* the *Scots* of his own Nation, *and ſaith* he had preached a great while in *Scotia* before he came into *England*; *but he never takes notice, after his coming over, of his being any where, but among the* Britains *before*
c. 25. *he went to the* Eaſt Angles. *After* Aidan's *death* Finan *came from the ſame* Scots, *who perſiſted in the old way of the keeping* Eaſter; *after* Finan Colman *ſucceeded, who was* miſſus à Scotia, *who maintained the ſame practice*; *and*
c. 26. *afterwards he returned home,* in Scotiam regreſſus eſt; *but what he means by it* Bede *preſently informs us, when he ſaith* that *Tuda* ſucceeded who had been brought up among the Southern *Scots*, i. e. *in the* Southern parts *of* Ireland. Tuda *died of the Plague, which* Bede
c. 27. *ſaith paſſed into* Ireland, *whither many* Engliſh *went in the time of* Finan *and* Colman, *who were all kindly re-*
l. 4. c. 4. *ceived by the* Scots. *When* Colman *returned* Bede, *ſaith* he went firſt to *Hy*, then to an Iſland on the Weſt of *Ireland*; *but not a word of the* Northern parts *of* Britain.
l. 5. c. 16. *Afterwards he ſheweth how the greateſt part of the* Scots *in* Ireland *were brought to compliance in the point of keeping* Eaſter *by means of* Adamnanus, *who endeavoured to reduce thoſe of* Hy *but could not*; *but upon* Egbert's
c. 13. *coming to them from* Ireland, *the* Scotiſh *Monks of the Iſland* Hy *or* Jona *yielded, when* Duumchadus *was Abbat there. And now let any indifferent Reader judge whether by* Scotia Bede *underſtands the* Northern parts of *Britain* or *Ireland.*

p. 156. " *But after all,* doth not *Bede* ſay, that the Iſland " *Hy* did belong to *Britain* as a part of it? *And what then follows? Doth not* Bede *in the ſame place ſay it was given by the* Picts *not by the* Scots *to the* Scotiſh *Monks who came from* Ireland? *So that upon the whole matter, that which* Bede *underſtands by* Scotia *ſeems to be* Ireland, *although he affirms the* Scots *to have ſetled in the* Northern parts of *Britain, and to have ſet up a Kingdom there.*

From

From whence there appears no probability of Palladius's *being ſent to the* Scots *in* Britain; Bede *ſaying nothing of their* Converſion, *when he ſo punctually ſets down the* Converſion *of the* South Picts *by* Ninias *a* Britiſh *Biſhop and of the* Northern Picts *by* Columba, *a* Scotiſh *or* Iriſh Presbyter. l. 3. c. 4.

" *But if* Palladius *were ſent to the* Scots *in* Ireland, " *how came St.* Patrick *to be ſent ſo ſoon after him? To this the Biſhop of St.* Aſaph *anſwers, that* Palladius *might die ſo ſoon after his* Miſſion *that Pope* Celeſtine *might have time enough to ſend St.* Patrick *before his own death. And this he makes out by laying the ſeveral circumſtances of the Story together, as they are reported by Authours, which the Advocate calls* a laborious Hypotheſis, and elaborate contrivance to divert all the unanſwerable Authorities proving that *Palladius* was ſent to them in *Scotland*, *A. D.* 431. *What thoſe* unanſwerable Authorities *are, which prove* Palladius *ſent to the* Scots *in* Britain *I cannot find. And for all that I ſee by this Anſwer, the onely fault of the Biſhop's* Hypotheſis *is, that it is too exact, and doth too much clear the appearance of contradiction between the two* Miſſions. p. 120, 122.

(3.) *As to Dr.* Hammond's *Teſtimony (who is deſervedly called by the Advocate* a learned and Epiſcopal *Engliſh* Divine) *it is very eaſily anſwered. For,* 1. *He looks on the whole Story of the Scots* Converſion as very uncertainly ſet down by Authours. 2. *He ſaith,* that *Bozius* applies the Converſion under *Victor* to *Ireland* then called *Scotia*; *for which he quotes* Bede. 3. *That neither* Marianus Scotus *nor* Bede *do take the leaſt notice of it.* 4. *That if* Proſper's *Words be underſtood of the* Scots *in* Britain, *yet they do not prove the thing deſigned by his Adverſaries,* viz. *that the Churches there were governed by Presbyters without Biſhops*; *for* Proſper *ſuppoſes that they remained* barbarous *ſtill, and therefore the Plantation was very imperfect, and could not be underſtood of any formed Churches. But the Advocate very wiſely conceals one paſſage which overthrows his* Hypotheſis, *viz.* that they could not be ſuppoſed to receive the firſt Rudiments of their Converſion from *Rome*, *viz.* under Pope *Victor*, ſince the *Scots* joined with the *Britains* in rejecting the *Roman* Cuſtoms. *From whence we ſee that* p. 122. Vidication of the Diſſertation about Epiſcopacy, p. 160, &c.

Dr. Hammond *was far from being of the Advocate's mind in this matter; and what he propoſes as to ſome Rudiments of* Chriſtianity *in* Scotland *before* Palladius *his coming thither, was onely from an uncertain Tradition, and for reconciling the ſeeming differences between* Bede *and* Proſper; *or rather for reconciling* Proſper *to himſelf.*

p. 135. *But I remember the Advocate's obſervation in the caſe of their Predeceſſour's* Apology *againſt* Edward I. *viz.* that they deſigned, as moſt Pleaders do, to gain their Point at any rate; *and how far this eloquent Advocate hath made good this obſervation through his Diſcourſe I leave the Reader to determine.*

Having thus gone through all the material parts of the Advocate's *Book, I ſhall conclude with a ſerious* Proteſtation *that no* Pique *or* Animoſity *led me to this Undertaking, no* ill Will *to the Scotiſh* Nation, *much leſs to the* Royal Line, (*which I do believe hath the Advantage in point of* Antiquity *above any other in* Europe, *and as far as we know, in the World.) But I thought it neceſſary for me to enquire more ſtrictly into this* Defence *of ſuch pretended* Antiquities; *both becauſe I owed ſo much ſervice to ſo worthy and excellent a Friend as the* Biſhop *of St.* Aſaph, *and becauſe if the Advocate's Arguments would hold good they would overthrow ſeveral things I had aſſerted in the following Book; and withall I was willing to let the learned Nobility and Gentry of that Nation ſee how much they have been impoſed upon by* Hector Boethius *and his followers; and that the true Honour and Wiſedom of their Nation is not concerned in defending ſuch* Antiquities, *which are univerſally diſeſteemed among all judicious and inquiſitive Men. And it would far better become Perſons of ſo much Ingenuity and Sagacity, to follow the Examples of other* European Nations, *in rejecting the Romantick Fables of the Monkiſh times, and at laſt to ſettle their* Antiquities *on firm and ſolid Foundations.*

As to the following Book, it comes forth as a Specimen *of a greater Deſign (if* God *gives me Life and Opportunity) which is to clear the moſt important* Difficulties *of* Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. *And becauſe I look on a* General Church-Hiſtory, *as too heavy a Burthen to be undergone by any Man, when he is fit for it by Age and Conſideration,*

tion, I have therefore thought it the better way to undertake ſuch particular Parts *of it which may be moſt uſefull, and I have now begun with theſe* Antiquities *of the* Britiſh Churches; *which may be followed by others as I ſee occaſion. But I hope none will have juſt cauſe to complain that I have not uſed diligence or faithfulneſs enough in this preſent Work, or that I have ſet up Fancies and* Chimæra's *of my own inſtead of the true* Antiquities *of the* Britiſh Churches. *I have neither neglected nor tranſcribed thoſe who have written before me; and if in ſome things I differ from them; it was not out of the Humour of oppoſing any great Names, but becauſe I intended not to deliver other Mens judgments, but my own.*

ERRATA.

In the Preface:

PAge 6. line 35. for *but he did it* reade *for doing it.* p. 23. l. 31. for *And* r. *Surely.* p. 36. l. 32. for *but* r. *yet.* p. 38. l. 10. for *Cladroe* r. *Cadroe.* p. 41. l. 39. after *had* inſert *made.* p. 44. l. 33. for *a Generation* r. *three Generations,* and for *everdoe* r. *not doe.* p. 61. l. 37. for. *ſalix* r. *Saliz.*

In the Book:

PAge 2. l. 10. dele *and.* p. 25. l. 19. for *under ſtoo* r. *underſtood.* p. 59. l. 20. for *with* r. *and.* p. 70. for *Diocleſian* r. *Diocletian,* and ſo throughout. p. 115. l. 14. for *Alexander* r. *Alcander.* p. 137. l. 7. for , put , p. 179. l. 11. for *Council* r. *Church.* p. 194. l. 11. for *Frecalphus* r. *Freculphus.* p. 209. l. 39. inſtead of *but* r. *whereas.* p. 241. l. 7, 8. dele *But now the Britains were.* p. 256. l. 26. for *Edecus* r. *Ederus.* p. 266. l. 35. for *Egypt* r. *Europe.* p. 276. l. 37. for *Erimthon* r. *Erimbon.* p. 281. l. 23. for *Eanus* r. *Edanus.* p. 285. l. 18. for *Authemius* r. *Anthemius.* p. 306. l. 29. for *Scicambri* r. *Sicambri.* 330. l. 12. for *when* r. *whom.* p. 338. l. 8. for *Iſland* r. *Iſeland.*

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THE

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A Sermon preached before the King at *Whitehall*, *Feb.* 24. $167\frac{4}{5}$. upon *Heb.* III. 13.

A Sermon preached on the Faſt-day, *Nov.* 13. 1678. at St. *Margarets Weſtminſter*, before the Honourable Houſe of Commons, upon 1 *Sam.* XII. 24, 25.

A Sermon preached before the King at *White-hall*, *March* 7. $167\frac{8}{9}$. upon *Matt.* X. 16.

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Proteſtant Charity, a Sermon preached at S. *Sepulchre's* Church on *Tueſday* in *Eaſter* Week, 1681. before the Lord Mayor, *&c.* upon *Galat.* VI. 9.

Of the nature of Superſtition, a Sermon preached at St. *Dunſtan's* Weſt, *March* 31. 1682. upon *Coloſ.* II. 23.

A Sermon preached before the King, *Feb.* 15. $168\frac{1}{4}$. upon *Job* XXIII. 15.

A Sermon preached at a publick Ordination at St. *Peter's Cornhill*, *March* 15. $168\frac{4}{5}$. upon 1 *Tim.* V. 22.

THE Antiquities of *Nottinghamſhire* extracted out of Records, Original Evidences, Leiger Books, and other Manuſcripts and authentick Authorities, beautified with Maps, Proſpects and Portraictures; by *Robert Thoroton*, Dr. of Phyſick: *Folio.*

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE British-Churches.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Planting a Christian Church in *Britain* by St. *Paul.*

NO Christian Church planted in Britain, *during the Reign of* Tiberius.

Gildas *his Words misunderstood.*

The Tradition concerning Joseph *of* Arimathea *and his Brethren coming to* Glassenbury, *at large examined.*

No Foot-steps of it in the British *times.*

The pretended Testimonies of British *Writers disproved.*

St. Patrick's *Epistle, a Forgery.*

Of the Saxon *Charters, especially the large one of King* Ina.

The Antiquity of Seals in England.

Ingulphus *his Testimony explained.*

All the Saxon *Charters suspicious, till the end of the seventh Century.*

The occasion of this Tradition, from an old British *Church there.*

The Circumstances about Joseph *of* Arimathea *and* Arviragus *very improbable.*

Sr. Henry Spelman *vindicated.*
The State of the Roman *Province in* Britain *about that time.*
No ſuch King as Arviragus *then.*
Not the ſame with Caractacus.
A Chriſtian Church proved to be Planted here in the Apoſtles times.
The Authentick Teſtimonies of Euſebius, Theodoret, *and* Clemens Romanus, *to that purpoſe.*
St. Paul *in Probability, the firſt Founder of a Church here.*
The Time and Opportunity he had for it, after his Releaſe.
Of Pomponia *and* Græcina, Claudia Rufina, *Chriſtians at* Rome, *and their influence on his coming hither.*
St. Peter, *and St.* Paul *compared, as to their Preaching here, and the far greater Probability of St.* Paul's.

IT is an Opinion generally received among our later Writers, as (*a*) one of them tells the World, *That the Converſion of the* Britiſh *Nation, to the Chriſtian Faith, was performed towards the latter end of the Reign of* Tiberius Cæſar, *i. e.* about thirty ſeven years after Chriſt's Nativity. But whoſoever compares the Circumſtances of thoſe times, and conſiders the ſmall number of the years between our Saviour's Paſſion, and the death of *Tiberius*, will find very little Probability, of the founding a *Chriſtian* Church ſo ſoon, in a place ſo remote as *Britain.*

(a) *Animadverſ. on the Church Hiſt. of* Britain, *p.* 5, 6.

To make this appear, I ſhall not inſiſt upon the Teſtimony of *Apollonius* in (*b*) *Euſebius*, concerning the ancient Tradition, *That our Saviour commanded his Apoſtles, not to depart from* Jeruſalem *within twelve Years after his Aſcenſion*; nor on that of the (*c*) *Alexandrian Chronicle*, wherein it is ſaid, *That the Apoſtles did not ſeparate, till after the Council at* Jeruſalem; nor on that of *Hippolytus Thebanus* in (*d*) *Glycas*, and of *Euodius* in (*e*) *Nicephorus*, who reckon *the Martyrdom of St.* Stephen, *to be ſeven Years after Chriſt's Reſurrection* (which ſome learned (*f*) Chronologers think more probable, than the common Computation which allows but one) before which time it is not pretended by any, that the Diſciples were diſperſed abroad.

(b) Euſeb. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 5. *c.* 18.
(c) *Chronic. Alex. p.* 50.
(d) Glyc. *Annal. p.* 3. *p.* 227.
(e) Niceph. *l.* 2. *c.* 3.
(f) Cappel. *Cent. Eccleſ. Chriſtian. A. D.* 38.

But

But that which is of greater force and certainty, is, ſuppoſing the diſperſion to have been within the Reign of *Tiberius*, yet the Scripture gives ſuch an Account of the Extent, and Deſign of the Diſciples preaching upon it, as utterly overthrows any Probability of their coming hither, for the Words are, *Now they which were ſcattered abroad upon the Perſecution, that aroſe about* Stephen, *travelled as far as* Phenice, *and* Cyprus, *and* Antioch, *Preaching the Word unto none, but unto the* Jews *alone.* But the neareſt of theſe places, is at a great diſtance from *Britain*, and if they Preached to none but to the *Jews*, they were not likely to convert the *Gentile Britains.* (*g*) *Baronius* grants, *A. D.* 35. *That hitherto the* Jews *had onely the Goſpel preached to them*; Although at the ſame time he pleads for the Tradition of *Lazarus, Mary Magdalen, Martha and Marcella, coming then with Maximinus in a Ship without Oars to Marſeilles*, with a deſign no doubt, to ſpread the Goſpel among the *Gentiles* in *Gaul*, for (*h*) *Lazarus* is ſuppoſed to have been Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, and *Maximinus* of *Aix.* And he adds out of a Manuſcript in the *Vatican Library* (which not onely, like the *Houſholder* in the Goſpel, *brings forth things New and Old*, but ſometimes things *New* for *Old*, as happens in the Caſe of this Manuſcript, it being lately written, as (*i*) *Archbiſhop Uſher* hath obſerved) *That* Joſeph *of* Arimathea *did bear them Company, and came over into* Britain, *to Preach the Goſpel*; Which according to his own Suppoſition, muſt be onely to the *Jews* in *Britain*, if there were any here; But if it be underſtood of the *Gentiles*, (*k*) *Jac. Sirmondus* ſaith in plain Terms, *This Tradition contradicts the Scripture*; *For* ſaith he, *If the People of* Marſeilles (or *Britain*) *had the Goſpel Preached to them ſo ſoon, how comes it to paſs, that ſix Years after,* Cornelius *is ſaid to be the firſt Fruits of the* Gentiles? *And that upon the Incouragement of his Example, thoſe of the Diſperſion, began to Preach to the* Gentiles *at* Antioch? Which is confeſſed by (*l*) *Baronius* himſelf. The ſtrength of which Argument hath prevailed ſo much in *France*, That the (*m*) Defenders of this Tradition, have been there contented to let go the Reign of *Tiberius*, and to place it a great deal later, *Anno Dom.* 62. (*n*) For they evidently

Act. 11. 19.

(g) Baron. *ad A. D.* 35. *n.* 5.

(h) Boſquet. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gallic. l.* 1. *c.* 3.

(i) Uſſer. *de Primord. p.* 15.

(k) Sirmond. *de duobus* Dionyſiis, *c.* 1.

(l) Bar. *A. D.* 41. *n.* 15.

(m) v. Launoii *Opuſc. de* Lazaro, *&c. p.* 348.

(n) Natal. Alex. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Sæc.* 1. *Part.* 2. *p.* 80.

dently ſaw, there was no Poſſibility of defending it upon other Terms, although hereby they make *Lazarus* and *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* of great Age, when they undertook this Voyage with their *Companions*: But when ſuch a Tradition is either wholly rejected there, as diſagreeing to the Scripture, or ſet ſo much later, on purpoſe to reconcile it with the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*, it cannot but ſeem ſtrange among us, that there ſhould be ſuch an Opinion ſtill ſo generally received, *That the Goſpel ſhould be here Preached before the end of the Reign of* Tiberius.

But that which hath miſ-led moſt of our Writers, hath been a paſſage in *Gildas*, which they have applyed to *the particular Preaching of the Goſpel in* Britain, whereas it ſeems onely to be underſtood of the *General Liberty of Preaching it throughout the World*, as will beſt appear by conſidering, not barely the Words, but the Circumſtances of them. (o) *Gildas*, having undertaken to give ſome Account of the ancient *Britiſh* Church in the beginning of his *Epiſtle*, In the firſt place, ſadly laments the want of any Domeſtick Monuments, to give him certain information. *For*, ſaith he, *If there were any ſuch, they were either burnt by our Enemies, or carried ſo far by the Baniſhment of our Countreymen, that they no longer appear, and therefore he was forced to pick up what he could out of Foreign Writers, without any continued Series.* From hence, he proceeds to ſpeak *of the* Romans *eaſie Conqueſt of* Britain, *but Difficult keeping of it, the Inhabitants being ſo unable to withſtand the* Romans, *and yet ſo unwilling to obey them.* Of which he gives a remarkable inſtance, in the *Revolt* under *Boadicea*, and the harder uſage of the *Britains* after it. *Interea*, ſaith he,

(o) Gild. *Epiſt.* ed. Joſſelin. 1568.

Interea glaciali frigore rigenti Inſulæ, & veluti longiore terrarum receſſu, ſoli viſibili non proximæ verus ille non de firmamento ſolum (*L. Sol*) temporali, ſed de ſumma etiam cœlorum arce tempora cuncta excedente univerſo orbi præfulgidum

In the mean time, Chriſt the true Sun afforded his Rays, that is, the knowledge of his Precepts to this Iſland, ſhivering with Icy-cold, and ſeparate at a great diſtance from the viſible Sun, not from the viſible Firmament, but from the Supreme ever-

præfulgidum ſui coruſcum oſtendens tempore (ut ſcimus) ſummo Tiberii Cæſaris (quo abſque ullo impedimento ejus propagabatur Religio comminata ſenatu nolente à Principe morte dilatoribus militum ejuſdem) radios ſuos primum indulget, id eſt ſua præcepta Chriſtus. §. 6.

laſting Power of Heaven. For we certainly know, that in the latter end of the Reign of Tiberius, *That Sun appear'd to the whole World with his Glorious Beams, in which time his Religion was propagated without any impediment againſt the Will of the Roman Senate, death being threatned by that Prince, to all that ſhould inform againſt the Soldiers of Chriſt.*

This I take to be *Gildas* his true meaning: For it is certain, he ſpeaks of a double ſhining of the Goſpel, one more *General* to the World, the other more *particular* to this Iſland: *The former*, he ſaith, was *in the latter end of* Tiberius; The *latter* was, *Interea*, *In the mean time*, of which he firſt ſpeaks, and that refers back to the time he had ſpoken of before, which was the fatal Victory over *Boadicea*, and the *Britains*, by *Suetonius Paulinus*, and the ſlavery they underwent after it. Which happen'd in the time of *Nero*, about the middle of his *Reign*, almoſt twenty years after *Claudius* had ſent *A. Plautius* to reduce *Britain* into the form of a *Province*, to whom ſucceeded *P. Oſtorius Scapula*, *A. Didius Gallus*, and *Veranius*, in the Government of *Britain*, before *Suetonius Paulinus* came into the Province. For after *Claudius* his *Triumph* for his Victory in *Britain*, the *Romans* began to deduce Colonies, to ſettle Magiſtrates and Juriſdictions here, after the manner of other *Provinces*, and ſo continual intercourſe was maintained between the *Roman City*, and the *Britiſh Colonies*; Cities of Trade were ſet up, and the *Roman* Merchants were very buſie in furniſhing new Provinces with neceſſaries, and Superfluities: And the *Province* of *Britain*, in the beginning of *Nero*'s Reign was thought to be in ſo ſettled, and flouriſhing a condition, that (*p*) *Dio* ſaith, Seneca, *had here at one time to the value of* 300000. *p.* as Mr. *Camden* computes it. A vaſt ſum for a Philoſopher! But that which

(p) Xiphilin. in Neron.

I infer from hence is, That this was a very probable time, which *Gildas* hath pitched upon, for the bringing the Goſpel hither, *viz.* between the time of *A. Plautius* coming over, in the time of *Claudius*, and the Battel between *Boadicea*, and *Suetonius Paulinus*, as will more fully appear in the following diſcourſe. As to the more *General ſhining of the Goſpel to the World*, he pitches upon the *latter end of* Tiberius, as the certain time of it, in which he makes uſe of the very Expreſſions of (q) *Euſebius*, and that paſſage *concerning* Tiberius *and the Senate differing about Chriſt and his followers*, which *Euſebius* took from (r) *Tertullian*, who ſpeaks of it with great aſſurance; And (s) *Oroſius* gives a more particular account of it, all which is very agreeable to what *Gildas* had ſaid before, *That he muſt make uſe of Foreign Writers in ſo great a defect* of their own.

(q) Euſeb. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 2. *c.* 2.

(r) Tertul. *Apolog. c.* 5.

(s) Oroſ. *l.* 7. *c.* 4.

But to proceed clearly in this matter, there are three things I deſign, concerning the firſt planting a Chriſtian Church here.

1. To examine the *Tradition*, concerning *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, and his Brethren coming hither to plant Chriſtianity.

2. To ſhew that there was a Chriſtian Church planted here, in the *Apoſtles times*, and within that compaſs *Gildas* ſpeaks of.

3. To prove the great probability, that St. *Paul* firſt founded a Church here.

1. As to the *Tradition* concerning *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*; I confeſs I look on it, as an *Invention* of the *Monks* of *Glaſſenbury* to ſerve their Intereſts, by advancing the Reputation of their Monaſtery. But becauſe this *Tradition* hath met with better entertainment than it deſerved, among the Generality of our late Writers, who take it for granted, and believe that it is grounded on the Teſtimony of ancient *Records*; I ſhall, before I proceed farther, take the pains to examine it, both as to the *Authority*, and the *Circumſtances* of it.

It ſeems to be a little Suſpicious, at firſt view, that ſo conſiderable a part of the *Antiquities* of this Church ſhould be wholly paſt by, by the moſt ancient and inquiſitive

ſtrive Writers of our affairs; So that neither the true *Gildas*, nor *Bede*, nor *Aſſerius*, nor *Marianus Scotus*, nor any of the ancient *Annals* ſhould take the leaſt notice of this Tradition. (*t*) *Sanders* indeed ſaith, *That* Polydore Virgil *proves it from the moſt ancient* Gildas, but he never attempted any ſuch thing: For having ſet down the Tradition of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, with the beſt advantage, he onely proves from *Gildas*, *That the Chriſtian Religion was very early received here*, which might be very true, although *Joſeph* had never come from *Arimathea*. And yet, (*v*) *Card. Bona* quotes *Gildas* for this *Tradition*, on the credit of *Sanders*, unleſs he were deceived by thoſe who produce the Teſtimony of *Gildas Albanius*, in his *Book* of the *Victory* of *Aurelius Ambroſius* to the ſame purpoſe. But no ſuch Book of the true *Gildas* could ever yet be found by thoſe who have ſearched after it with the greateſt diligence. (*w*) *Leland* particularly relates, concerning himſelf, *What incredible pains he took to find out this piece of* Gildas, and ſaith, *That he hoped at laſt to have met with it in the Library at* Glaſſenbury, *where* Gildas *is ſaid by* William *of* Malmsbury, *to have ended his days, but not a Leaf of it was to be ſeen, either there, or in any of the Old Libraries in* Wales, *which he ſearched on purpoſe*. And after all, he refers us to the credit of (*x*) *Geffrey* of *Monmouth* for it, where it muſt reſt, till ſome better Authority be produced for it: Yet *Bale*, and *Pits*, keep up the Title of it, as they do of many others which were never in being, as the *Annals* of *Gildas Cambrius*, the *Epigrams* of *Claudia Ruſina*, and the *Epiſtles* of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, &c. which *Bale* thinks probable, *that he did Write*, and therefore ſets them down as *Written*: And from him a learned (*y*) Antiquary reckons them among our *Hiſtorical Antiquities*. And no better Foundation can yet be diſcovered for this Book of *Gildas*, it being *as probable, that he ſhould write a Book* of that *Victory of* Ambroſius, ſince *Gildas* ſaith, *He was born upon the day of his obtaining it*, if it were that on *Badon Hill*. But ſuch *Probabilities* are very far from *Teſtimonies*. It is true, as the (*z*) learned *Primate* obſerves, *That* Gervaſe *of* Tilbury, Nauclerus, Trithemius *and many others, ſay, That* Geffrey *followed* Gildas *in ſuch a*

(t) Sanders, *præf. ad libr. de Schiſm. Anglic.*

(v) Bona, *Rer. Liturgic. l. 1. c. 7.*

(w) Leland, *de Scriptor. in* Gildas.

(x) Gall. Mon. *l. 2. c. 1. ed.* Badii *Aſc.*

(y) Watts *Inſtrumento Hiſtoric. Manuſcript.*

(z) *Primord. c. 5. p. 57.*

Book written by him: But they produce no Authority for any ſuch Book, but *Geffrey* himſelf, and untill ſome better appears, I muſt ſuſpend my belief: It being common with ſuch Writers as himſelf, to pretend to ſuch Authorities, as no one elſe ever had the fortune to find. For it being their buſineſs to give an account of times long before their own, it were a vain thing to hope for any Credit, unleſs they could produce ſome *Teſtimonies* nearer thoſe times, which might be of ſome weight if they were Authentick. And this is the Reaſon, why theſe Inventers of Hiſtory have ſtill given out, that they met with ſome Elder Writers, out of whom they have pretended to derive their Reports. Thus (*a*) *Hunibaldus* pretends, as much to follow the Old *Sicambrian* Manuſcripts of *Waſthald*, for the remote *Antiquities* of the *Franks*, as *Geffrey* doth the Old *Britiſh* Manuſcripts, either for the Succeſſion of the *Britiſh Kings*, or the firſt bringing of Chriſtianity hither. But which makes this matter yet ſtranger, (*b*) *Nennius* himſelf, who ſometimes paſſes under the Name of *Gildas*, ſaith nothing of this *Tradition*, where he ſpeaks of the firſt receiving of Chriſtianity in *Britain*; and yet *Bale* ſaith of him, *That he collected his Writings out of the former* Britiſh *Hiſtorians*, ſuch as *Telieſin*, *Melkin*, *Gildas*, and *Elvodugus*; and it is not probable, he would have left it out, if he had found it in any of them. But (*c*) *Bale* quotes one of theſe *Britiſh* Authours, *viz. Melkinus Avalonius* for this Tradition about *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, and *Arviragus*; but withall he confeſſes him to be a very *fabulous Writer*. (*d*) *Leland* ſaith, *That he met with the Fragments of* Melkinus *in the Library at* Glaſſenbury, *by which he underſtood that he had written ſomething of the* Britiſh *affairs, but more eſpecially concerning the Antiquity of* Glaſſenbury, *and* Joſeph *of* Arimathea; *Which, ſaith* Leland, *he affirms without any certain Author, and which himſelf could not approve, not thinking it at all Credible, that* Joſeph *of* Arimathea *ſhould be buried there, but rather ſome* Eremit *of that Name, from whence the miſtake firſt aroſe.* And (*) elſewhere, when he ſpeaks of the *Glaſſenbury Tradition*; He ſaith, *That twelve* Eremits *are reported to have come thither, with one* Joſeph *in the Head of them, but not he of* Arimathea

(a) *Apud* Trithem. *Compend. Annal. l.* 1.

(b) Nen. *c.* 18.

(c) Bal. *de Script.* Brit. *l.* 1. *p.* 57.

(d) Leland, *de Script. in* Melkino.

* Leland, *in Enuan.*

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as he ſuppoſes. But ſtill the *Teſtimonies* that concern this matter are derived from *Glaſſenbury*, inſomuch that even the Britiſh Hiſtorian hath the name of *Avalonius* from thence. But ſome make uſe of this Teſtimony however to prove the *Antiquity* of this *Tradition*, ſince this Authour is ſaid to have lived *Anno Dom.* 550. under King *Vortuporius*, ſo *Bale*; but *Pits* places him ten years later, under *Magoclunus:* They might as well have made him contemporary with *Gildas Cambrius*, or to have been Secretary to *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, when he wrote his *Epiſtles*, for they have no more Evidence to ſhew for the one than for the other. The truth is, there was an *old Legend* which lay at *Glaſſenbury*, which *Leland* ſaw, and out of which *Capgrave* hath tranſcribed that part which concerns this matter, from whom *Bale* took it. But it is ſo groſly fabulous, that even *Capgrave* himſelf (whoſe Stomach was not very nice as to Legends) put an *&c.* in the middle of it, as being aſhamed to ſet down the paſſage of *Abaddar, a great man in* Saphat, *and the hundred and four thouſand which were buried with* Joſeph *of* Arimathea *at* Glaſſenbury. Yet this ſenſleſs and ridiculous Legend is by (*e*) ſome thought to be the *Britiſh Hiſtory* which *William* of *Malmsbury* appeals to for the *proof* of this *Tradition*; and, which he found in the *Libraries* of St. *Edmund* and St. *Auguſtin.* But *Malmsbury*, having deſigned to ſet the *Antiquity* of *Glaſſenbury* as high as he could, called that a *Britiſh Hiſtory*, which is now found to be written by an *Engliſh Monk*, as (*f*) *Archbiſhop Uſher* hath evidently proved (having ſeveral times peruſed it in the *Cotton Library*) there being the very ſame paſſage in it which *Malmsbury* quotes. And that he was no *Britain* is moſt certain, becauſe he calls the *Saxon* his *Mother Tongue*, and *England* his *Country.* And yet after all, there is not a word of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* or his *Companions* in it; all that is ſaid is, "That in the "Weſtern parts of *Britain* there is a Royal Iſland cal- "led *Gleſton*, large and compaſſed about with Waters "full of Fiſh, and having other conveniences of hu- "mane life; but, which was moſt conſiderable, it was "devoted to the Service of God. Here the firſt Diſci- "ples of the Catholick Law found an ancient Church, "not

(*e*) Spelman. *Conc. Brit. To.* 1. p. 11.

(*f*) Uſſer. *de Prim. p.* 107.

" not built as was reported by mens hands, but prepa-
" red by God himſelf for the benefit of Men, and
" which by Miracles was ſhewed to be conſecrated to
" himſelf and to the Bleſſed Virgin. To which they
" adjoined another Oratory made of Stone, which
" they dedicated to *Chriſt* and to St. *Peter*. The que-
ſtion is, Who are here meant by theſe *firſt Diſciples of the Catholick Law?* not *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* and his *Companions*, who are never mentioned by him, and who are never ſaid *to have found a Church there built to their hands*, but he ſpeaks of ſome of the firſt *Saxon Chriſtians* in thoſe parts, who might probably find there ſuch a low Wattled Church as is deſcribed in Sir *H.* (*g*) *Spelman*; a Remainder of the *Britiſh* Chriſtianity in that Iſland. And this Paſſage affords us the beſt light into the true *Original* of this *Tradition*, which was after ſo much heightned and improved, as the Monks of *Glaſſenbury* thought convenient for the honour and privileges of their Monaſtery.

(g) *Concil. Brit. p.* 15.

That which ſeems moſt agreeable to Truth from hence is, That in the latter times of the *Britiſh Churches*, when they were ſo miſerably haraſſed and perſecuted by the *Pagan Saxons*, they were forced to retire into places of moſt difficult acceſs for their own Security, and there they made them ſuch *Churches* as were ſuitable to their preſent condition, and lived very retired lives, being in continual fear of their barbarous Enemies. Such a place this *Iſland* of *Avalon*, or *Glaſſenbury* was; which might be of far greater requeſt among the *Britains*, becauſe it was the place where King *Arthur* was buried; for I ſee no reaſon to queſtion that which *Giraldus Cambrenſis* relates concerning the finding the Body of King *Arthur* there in the time of *Henry* II. with an Inſcription on a *Leaden Croſs*, which in Latin expreſſed, that *King* Arthur *lay there buried in the Iſland of* Avalon. For (*h*) *Giraldus* ſaith, *he was preſent, and ſaw the Inſcription and the Body*; which is likewiſe atteſted by the Hiſtorians of that time, as (*i*) *Leland* proves at large. And the account given that his Body was laid ſo deep in the Earth, for fear of the *Saxons*, farther confirms, That this was a place of retreat in the *Britiſh* times, but not

(h) Girald. *de Inſtit. Princ. & in Specul. Eccleſ.*

(i) Leland, *Collec. Vol.* 2. *p.* 14. *Aſſert.* Arthuri, *p.* 28. *&c.*

not without the apprehenſion of their Enemies Invaſion.

This Church, according to the Inſcription on the Braſs Plate on the Pillar in *Glaſſenbury* Church, was in length 60 Foot, in breadth 26. But that Inſcription, as the learned and judicious Antiquary * Sir *H. Spelman* obſerves, *was by the Character not of above 300 years Antiquity*, and ſavours very much of the Legend. In it we reade, "That the Church was firſt built by *Joſeph* and his Companions, but was conſecrated by "*Chriſt* himſelf to the Honour of his Mother. This being a very uſefull point, but not very agreeing with the ſimplicity of the primitive Chriſtians, wanted ſome more than ordinary confirmation, and ſuch we are told it had. "For St. *David* having a deſign to conſe- "crate this Church, our Lord appeared to him in a "Dream, and forbad him, having conſecrated both "the Church and Church-yard before himſelf. And, "for a Sign thereof, he thruſt his Finger through the "Biſhop's hand. Which it ſeems was to paſs for the Token of a former Conſecration. But, as much as this looks like a Monkiſh Legend, (*k*) *Alford* and (*l*) *Creſſy* are much diſpleaſed with Sir *H. Spelman* for calling it in queſtion. But they who can in earneſt believe, *That* Chriſt *himſelf did then conſecrate a Church and Church-yard to the honour of his Mother*, are paſt all Confutation by reaſon, having their minds naturally framed to believe *Legends*; and to ſuch, one *Legend* ſerves to confirm another; which is the way thoſe perſons take to confute Sir *H. Spelman*. For *Creſſy*, to prove the Antiquity of dedicating Churches to the *bleſſed Virgin*, brings the Tradition of the Temple at *Saragoça*, called *del Pilar*, *becauſe the Pillar on which her Image was placed was brought thither by the Miniſtery of Angels*. Now thoſe things are thought Proofs by ſome, which to others look onely like bringing one Abſurdity to ſupport another. But as yet we find no Teſtimony to confirm this Tradition, but what is taken from *Glaſſenbury*, which is not the beſt Witneſs in a Cauſe which ſo nearly concern'd it ſelf.

But theſe now mentioned Authours (*m*) at laſt venture on a conſiderable Teſtimony, if it hold good, *viz.*

* *Concil. Brit. p.* 14.

(k) *Annal. Eccl. A. D.* 63. *n.* 29.

(l) *Church Hiſt. l.* 2. *c.* 8.

(m) Alford. *ib. n.* 29. Creſſy, *l.* 2. *c.* 7.

viz. of Auguſtin *the Monk*, *in an Epiſtle to* Gregory, but upon Examination, that which they quote out of St. *Auguſtin*'s Epiſtle is nothing elſe but the paſſage already mentioned by *Malmsbury*, which he found in a Book taken out of the *Library* of St. *Auguſtin* at *Canterbury*; and they might as well have quoted St. *Edmund*'s Epiſtle to the *Pope* to the ſame purpoſe. For *William* of *Malmsbury* ſaith, *He met with the ſame paſſage at St.* Edmund's *as well as St.* Auguſtin's, *i. e.* in the Libraries of thoſe Monaſteries; I will not diſſemble that they cite two conſiderable (*n*) Authours of our own for this miſtake; I wiſh they had been as ready to have followed them where they were in the right, as where they were guilty of an overſight, which the moſt carefull Writers may ſometimes fall into. But it is an unhappy temper to follow Great men onely in their Errours and Imperfections.

(n) *Antiq. Brit. p.* 3. Godwin, *de Præſul. p.* 12.

So that upon the whole matter, we have not one Teſtimony which reaches to the point concerning *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, which is not originally taken from the *Glaſſenbury Legends*, where it ſeems there was great choice of them; For (*o*) *Capgrave* mentions ſeveral, one, out of which the Life of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* there is extracted, is ſaid to be taken out of a Book which the *Emperour* Theodoſius *found in the Palace of* Pilate *at* Jeruſalem; which is a very hopefull Introduction to a Legend; And there we find the Hiſtory of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, very diſtinctly ſet down, "How he was "miraculouſly delivered out of Priſon in *Jeruſalem* "and conveyed to *Arimathea*, whither the chief of the "*Jews* ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to him of ſeven Perſons, "with an Epiſtle, wherein they beg Pardon for his Im-"priſonment, and deſire his Company at *Jeruſalem*, "whither being come, upon their requeſt, he gives "an account of his Eſcape, the houſe being taken "up by four Angels, and *Chriſt* appeared to him, and "carried him to the place where he buried him, and "ſhew'd him the Linen Cloth about his Head, after "which he was baptized by *Philip*, and was preſent "with him at the Aſſumption of the Bleſſed Virgin, "and fifteen years after he came to *Philip* in *Gaul*, who "ſent him over into *Britain* with twelve of his Diſci-

(o) Capgr. *in vita* Joſephi.

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" ples and his Son *Joſephes*. But an other Tradition ſaith, " They were ſix hundred Men and Women who " were to come over, having taken a Vow of Abſtinence " till they came to Land, which they did all break, but " one hundred and fifty who paſſed the Sea upon the " Shirt of *Joſephes*, but the reſt repenting, a Ship was " ſent to convey them over which was built by King " *Salomon*, and with them came a Duke of the *Medes* " called *Nacianus*, formerly baptized by *Joſeph* in the " City *Saram*, with the King of it called *Mordraius*, " who valiantly killed a King of *North-Wales*, who " kept *Joſeph* a Priſoner; After which he and his Com- " panions preached here in the time of *Arviragus*. And then follows the common Tradition, " of his giving " the Iſland of *Avalon* to them, and the twelve Hydes " of Land by the three Pagan Kings, *Arviragus*, *Mari-* " *us* and *Coilus*. This is followed by another Tradition out of the *Acts* of King *Arthur*, and the Inquiſition of *Lancelot de Lac*; all which is concluded with the admirable Legend of *Melkinus Avalonius* already mentioned. Theſe are the choice Materials in *Capgrave*'s Collection to confirm this Tradition. And if he had found any better, he would no doubt have produced them. It muſt be confeſſed that Mr. *Creſſy*, with ſome ſcorn, rejects that part of the Tradition taken out of the *holy Graal* about the ſix hundred Companions and the Prince of *Media*, &c. But I can find no better Authority for one part than for the other; and for all that I can ſee, the *holy Graal* deſerves as much credit as the Book taken out of *Pilat*'s Palace or *Melkinus Avalonius*, eſpecially ſince (*p*) *Pits* hath given the ſuppoſed Authour ſo good a place, among his *Britiſh* Writers, under the name of *Eremita Britannus*; and ſaith, he lived about the time of King *Ina*, *Anno Dom.* 720. And (*q*) *Helinandus* takes notice of the Viſion to the *Britiſh* Eremit about that time concerning *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, and the Diſh wherein our Saviour ate the Paſſover with his Diſciples, which ſort of *Diſh* he ſaith was then called in French *Graal*; but others think the true name was *Sangreal*, being ſome of *Chriſt*'s *real bloud* which he ſhed upon the Croſs, which was ſaid to be ſomewhere found by King *Arthur*. And to con-

(p) Pits, *de Script. A.D.* 720. 80.

(q) *Apud* Vincent. *Spec. hiſtr. l.* 23. *c.* 149.

firm this, it is ſaid in the authentick Writing of *Melkinus*, That in the Coffin of *Joſeph* were two Silver Veſſels filled with the *Bloud* and *Sweat* of *Jeſus* the Prophet.

But leſt I ſhould ſeem to expoſe ſo ancient a Tradition, by ſetting down onely the fabulous Mixtures which the *Monks* thought to adorn it with, I now proceed from their *Dreams* and *Viſions*, to what ſeems to have much more weight and authority in it, *viz.* their ancient *Records* which *William* of *Malmsbury* ſeems moſt to rely upon: Among theſe, In the firſt place he mentions the *Charter* of St. *Patrick*, as he calls it, which is at large printed in the (*r*) *Monaſticon*, and both in (*s*) *Alford* and (*t*) *Creſſy*, and is magnified by them as a ſubſtantial proof of the *Glaſſenbury Tradition*, which *Creſſy* ſaith *was tranſcribed out of a very ancient MS. belonging to* Glaſſenbury *by* Marianus Victorius; and for this he quotes (*u*) *Ger. Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat.* who ſaith onely that *Bale* mentions a piece of his *de Antiquitate Avalonica*, but he adds, *that* Bale *deſerves no credit in Writers of great Antiquity.* But the perſon *Creſſy* means (or at leaſt his Authour) was another *Gerard Voſſius*, Dean of *Tongres*, (*w*) who publiſhed part of this pretended piece of St. *Patrick* among other ancient Writings, which will have no great authority among conſidering men, if they have no other Characters of Antiquity than this *Charter* of Saint *Patrick*. However, Mr. *Creſſy* is pleaſed to call it, *a monument of the goodneſs of God towards this Nation, ſo early, in the very beginning of Chriſtianity*; becauſe therein mention is made of *ſome Writings of St.* Phaganus *and* Diruvianus *wherein was declared that twelve Diſciples of the Holy Apoſtles* Philip *and* Jacob *built the ſaid ancient Church to the honour of the Bleſſed Virgin, by the appointment of the Archangel* Gabriel. *And moreover, That our Lord himſelf from Heaven dedicated the ſaid Church to the honour of his Mother. As likewiſe, That three Pagan Kings beſtowed upon them twelve Portions of Land.* If this hold good, it goes a great way towards the proving the ancient Tradition, although *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* be not mentioned. But St. *Patrick* goes on, and ſaith, *That in other Writings of a later date he found that* Phaganus *and* Diruvianus

(r) *Monaſtic. vol. I. p. 11.*
(s) Alford. *A. D. 439. n. 9.*
(t) Creſſy's *Hiſt. l. 2. c. 5. n. 10.*
(u) Voſſi. *de Hiſtor. Latinis, l. 2. c. 16.*
(w) *Miſcellan. S. Patr. ad calc. Oper. Greg. Thaumaturg.*

ruvianus *obtained from Pope* Eleutherius *thirty years of Indulgence, as himſelf likewiſe procured from Pope* Celeſtine *twelve years:* And towards the Concluſion, *he grants a hundred days of Indulgence to thoſe who would clear the way to a certain Oratory there mention'd:* And to make all plain, it begins with the Date, *Anno Dom.* 425. in theſe Words. *In the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. I* Patrick *the poor humble Servant of God, in the four hundred twenty fifth year of the Incarnation of our Lord, being ſent by the moſt holy Pope* Celeſtine *into* Ireland, &c.

I confeſs this Charter offers very fair play towards the diſcovery of it's own Forgery by ſuch open *Marks*, and *Characters* as theſe. For it is certainly known, that in St. *Patrick*'s time, no ſuch way of Computation was uſed from the year of our Lord. For *Dionyſius Exiguus*, writ his firſt Epiſtle to *Petronius*, *Anno Dom.* 525. where he firſt mentions, *The reducing the Cycle to the years of Chriſt's Incarnation, that People might be better acquainted with it*; after which it remained a great while in private uſe with the *Paſchal Cycle*, and was not publickly received, ſaith (x) *Bucherius* till about the time of Charles *the Great.* * *Joachim Vadianus*, ſaith, *He never ſaw the Year of our Lord in any ancient Charters, of which ſort he had ſeen many:* (y) Some obſerve, *That it was never uſed in Charters before the ninth Age*, and therefore the more ſubtile Pretenders to Antiquity always left it out. (z) *Joh. Aventinus* affirms, *that the uſe of it in Epiſtles and Charters, was brought in by* Carolus Craſſus, with whom (a) *Nic. Vignier* agrees, *as to the Imperial* Diplomata. But it ſeems probable, to have been brought into *England* before that time, for in the (b) *Council* at *Celichyth*, Anno Dom. 816. *Every Biſhop was required to take an Account of the year of our Lord.* And by ſome *Charters* in *Ingulphus*, it appears to have been uſed here, before it was uſed in *France*, or the *Empire*, but not long before the eighth Century; and the firſt publick Acts we find it applied to, were thoſe of *Councils*, as in that of *Becanceld*, under *King Withred*, *Anno Dom.* 694. But the ſame King doth not uſe it in the *Years* of his Reign. The like Inſtances about Councils, eſpecially in the *eighth* and *ninth Centuries* are produced by (c) *Mabillon*: Who thinks, *That* Bede

(x) Bucherius *Belg. Roman. l.* 2. c. 8. n. 4. * *Rer. Alemun. To* 3. *l.* 2. *p.* 32.

(y) Papebroch. *Propyl. ad To.* 2. *Apr.* §. 102.

(z) Aventinus *Annal. Boior. l.* 4. *p.* 461.

(a) *Chronic. Burg. ad A. D.* 885.

(b) Spelman. *Concil. p.* 330. c. 9.

(c) Mabillon *de Re Diplom. l.* 2. *c.* 2. *p.* 17. §. 23. *n.* 15.

Bede *was the firſt who brought it into the uſe of Hiſtory.* But that could not be before *Anno Dom.* 725. at which time he began to write his Hiſtory; and he adds, *That from him by the means of* Boniface, *it came into the uſe of the French Councils and Hiſtories; and at laſt of all publick Charters both in* France *and the Empire, as well as here.* But from all this it appears, that there is no Colour for this *Charter* of St. *Patrick*, which reckons from the *Incarnation*, a hundred years before *Dionyſius Exiguus* firſt introduced that way of Computation. Beſides, it cannot poſſibly agree with the time of St. *Patrick*'s going firſt into *Ireland*; for (d) *William* of *Malmsbury* confeſſeth, *He was made Biſhop by* Celeſtine, *and ſent by St.* German *into* Ireland *as an Apoſtle*: But it is on all hands agreed, that *Palladius* was ſent thither before him; and *Proſper*, who lived at that time, fixeth the ſending *Palladius*, to the year wherein *Baſſus* and *Antiochus* were Conſuls, which was *Anno Dom.* 431. The year of the firſt *Epheſine* Council. So that this *Charter* of St. *Patrick* cannot be true, no not although we allow the different Computation in *Capgrave*, who reads it, 430. But *Alford* Confeſſes, both *Malmsbury* and the *Glaſſenbury Antiquities* have it, 425. It is ſtrange that *Alford* ſhould ſay, *He found no Exception againſt the Credit of this Charter*, ſince even (e) *Capgrave* himſelf mentions it not without doubt, and Suſpicion of the truth of it: And his own Brethren (f) *Henſchenius*, and *Papebrochius* deride his ſimplicity for believing it. And among other Arguments they produce that of *the mention of Indulgences* againſt it, which Name they Confeſs was not uſed for the Relaxation of Penance, till the eleventh Century; a very Competent time after the Date of this *Charter*. The queſtion is not as Mr. *Creſſy* would put it, *Whether every Biſhop, or the Pope as Chief, hath a Power to relax Penance?* But, Whether the Name of *Indulgences* were then applied to ſuch a Senſe, as this *Charter* uſes it? Which thoſe learned Jeſuites deny. Add to all this, that St. *Patrick* ſaith, *He obtained from* Celeſtine *twelve years of Indulgence*, which being underſtood of *Glaſſenbury*, implies a plain impoſſibility: For St. *Patrick* is ſaid, to retreat thither towards the end of his Life, and *Celeſtine* dyed ſoon after his firſt ſending into *Ireland*:

(d) Gul. Malms. *de Geſtis Pontif. l.* 2. *p.* 145.

(e) Capgr. *vit.* Patricii.

(f) *Alla Sanct. Mart.* 17. *vit. S.* Patricii *Proleg.* §. 10. *n.* 72.

land: So that I need not to inſiſt on the *Style*, or the Names contained in this *Charter*, to prove the Forgery of it, it being ſo manifeſt by the *Arguments* already produced.

I now proceed to the *Charters*, whereof there are ſeveral extant in the (*g*) *Monaſticon*. The large *Charter* of King *Ina*, ſeems to be moſt conſiderable, and to favour the old Tradition, as it makes *the Church at* Glaſſenbury *dedicated to Chriſt and the Bleſſed Virgin, to be the Fountain of all Religion, and the firſt in the Kingdom of* Britain. But upon a ſtrict enquiry into the Circumſtances of this *Charter*, I ſee great reaſon to call in queſtion the Truth of it, and not merely from the diſſimilitude of *Style*, between this and other *Charters* of the *Saxon* times, which are allowed to be Authentick, ſuch as thoſe in *Ingulphus*, *William* of *Malmsbury*, the *Additions* to *Matthew Paris*, &c. But for theſe two Reaſons which ſeem to me to have weight in them.

(g) *Monaſtic. vol.* 1. *p.* 12.

1. Becauſe it refers to other ancient *Charters* of that *Church*, as to the *Exemption* of the *Monaſtery*. And the *Benedictin Monks* have a long time lain under ſo great a Suſpicion, among thoſe of their Religion, as to this matter of forging *Charters of Exemption*, that no prudent Perſons will think thoſe a ſufficient Foundation to build their Faith upon, as to any ancient Hiſtory, which muſt depend upon their Credibility. I ſhall not here mention what *Gallonius*, *Launoy*, *Naude*, and others abroad have ſaid upon this Subject, nor what inſufficient Anſwers (*h*) *Mabillon* hath lately made to their Objections; but it is reaſonable for us to conſider, how much they have been Charged here at home with this Crime, by the Biſhops of this Church, and how ill they have been able to defend themſelves. It appears by the Epiſtle of *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to *Alexander* the Third, in (*i*) *Petrus Bleſenſis*, that there was a general Suſpicion of Forgery in the *Charters* of *Exemptions*, which the *Monaſteries* pretended to, *Ut falſitas in omnium ferè Monaſteriorum exemptione prævaleat*, &c. And he there particularly inſtanceth in the *Biſhop* of *Salisbury*, charging the *Abbat* of *Malmsbury*,

(h) Mabillon *de Re Diplomat. l.* 3. *c.* 3.

(i) Petr. Bleſenſ. *Ep.* 68.

Malmsbury, with producing *falſe Charters* for his Exemption from the *Biſhop*'s Right of Election: But which is yet more conſiderable, in the time of *Gregory* the ninth, when St. *Edmond* was *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*, ſome Monks of *Canterbury* were Convicted of Forging a certain *Charter* of *Privileges*: But the Pope's Legate took up the buſineſs, and procured a *Diſpenſation* from the Pope, which put an end to the Cauſe. Which *Diſpenſation* Dr. (*k*) *Caſaubon* declares to the World, *He read in an Old Manuſcript belonging to the Church of* Canterbury, *wherein it was Regiſtred:* And wherein, as both he and Sr. *Henry* (*l*) *Spelman*, tell us, It is obſerv'd, *That that Church enjoy'd all its Lands and Privileges, onely by Cuſtome and Preſcription*, ſine Cartis vel Munimentis Regiis, *without any written Charters, untill Anno Dom.* 694. When *Withred* King of *Kent* cauſed the firſt to be written, which was the ſame with the *Council* of *Becanceld.* From hence Sr. *Henry Spelman* gives a prudent Caution, concerning *the moſt ancient Charters, which the Monks pretended to, that they be not eaſily believed: There being ſo much Suſpicion of Fraud in them.* And that not onely now, but was ſo of Old, as appears by what (*m*) *Gervaſe* reports of the *Monks* of St. *Auguſtin, That they produced very Suſpicious, and raſed Charters.* The Caſe was this, the *Monks* of St. *Auguſtine* pretended an Exemption from the *Juriſdiction* of the *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*, as thoſe of *Glaſſenbury* did from that of the *Biſhop* of *Wells*; upon an Appeal to *Rome*, a Commiſſion was granted to the *Biſhop* of *Durham*, and the *Abbat* of St. *Albans* to inſpect their *Charters*, and to let the Archbiſhop examine them: But after great Tergiverſation, they at laſt produced *two Writings*, which they called their *Originals*; The firſt was *ancient*, but *raſed* and ſubſcribed, as if it were amended and *without a Seal*, which they called *King* Ethelbert's *Charter.* The other was of much later Writing, with a *Leaden Bull* hanging at it, and the Figure of a Biſhop upon it, which they called *St.* Auguſtine's *Charter.* Againſt the Firſt, The *Raſure* was objected, and the *manner* of *Subſcription*, and *want of a Seal.* Againſt the Second, *The lateneſs of the Writing, and the novelty of hanging Leaden Bulls to Charters, eſpecially by Biſhops*

(k) *Of Uſe and Cuſtome p.* 93.

(l) Spelman. *Concil. p.* 125.

(m) Gervaſ. *Doro. A.D.*1181. *inter* 10. *Script.* 1458.

ſhops on this ſide of the Alpes: And beſides, the Style was very different from the Roman. Both theſe *Charters* are extant in the (*n*) *Monaſticon*, and a third of *Ethelbert*, with an *Inſpeximus* of 36 *Edw.* III. But another Charter of *Ethelbert* is ſet down together with theſe in the (*o*) *MS. Chronicle* of St. *Auguſtin's*, the Authour whereof was certainly a Monk there, being ſo zealouſly concern'd to defend theſe *Charters*, and to anſwer ſome of the former Objections againſt them. As to the want of a *Seal* to *Ethelbert's Charter*, he anſwers truly, *That hanging Seals upon Wax were not then uſed, but onely a Subſcription of the Name of the perſon with a Sign of the Croſs before it, in token of their Converſion.* For (*p*) *Ingulphus*, a very competent Witneſs, declares, *that the ancient Engliſh Charters to the time of* Edward *the Confeſſour were atteſted by Witneſſes who ſet their Names with Golden Croſſes, or other Marks before them. But the* Normans *brought in the uſe of Seals by Impreſſions upon Wax.* But that *MS. Authour* will not allow the *uſe* of ſuch *Seals*, *till after the Conqueſt, except in the time of* Cnut, *who was a ſtranger.* Whereas in the Conteſt between the Biſhop of *Lincoln* and the *Abbat* of St. *Albans*, before *Henry* II. When the (*q*) *Saxon Charters* were diſputed for want of *Seals*, the other Party knew not what to anſwer; But the King inſiſted on their Confirmation by *Henry* I. And the Monk, who writes the account of this Proceeding, alledgeth the *Seal* of *Edward* the *Confeſſour* to the *Church* of *Weſtminſter:* But *Edward* brought in ſeveral *Norman Cuſtoms*, as *Ingulphus* ſhews, againſt the practice of his Predeceſſours. And this the *Normans* borrow'd from the *French*, whoſe *Seals* were generally affixed on the right ſide of the *Charter*, and not pendent with *Labels*, as they began to be about the Reign of *Lewis* VI. as (*r*) *Mabillon* hath ſhewed at large. And ſo ſome of our Learned (*s*) *Antiquaries* have thought, *that pendent Seals were not brought into uſe here, till the time of* Edw. *I.* For in a *Charter* of *Henry* I. granted to *Anſelm*, the great Seal was affixed on the left ſide of the Parchment. And (*t*) *Brian Twyne* affirms that he ſaw a Charter of *William the Conquerour* ſo ſealed in the *Lumley Library.* But that this Obſervation is not certain, appears

(*n*) *Monaſtic.* p. 23, 24, 25.

(*o*) *Chronic. MS. in Bibl. A. T. C.*

(*p*) Ingulph. *Hiſt.* p. 512. *ed.* Sav.

(*q*) *Vit. Abbat. S. Alban.* p. 79, 80.

(*r*) Mabill. *de Re Diplomat. l.* 2. *c.* 16. *n.* 10, 12.

(*s*) *Antiquit. Britan. in Anſelmo.*

(*t*) *Antiquit. Oxon. l.* 1. §. 81.

appears by contrary Inſtances, as of the *Pendent Seal* to the *Charter* of *Battel Abbey*, printed by (*u*) Mr. *Selden*; and of the *Charter* of *Henry* II. to *Glaſſenbury Abbey*, which (*w*) Dr. *Caius* ſaith he ſaw *with a Seal of green Wax hanging to it by a ſtring of red and white Silk.* But from hence we may ſee how dangerous it is to make general *Rules*, as to theſe matters, from ſome particular Examples, when the Cuſtome might vary. And, notwithſtanding the Teſtimony of *Ingulphus*, there might be *Seals* ſometimes uſed to *Charters* though not ſo frequently. Mr. (*x*) *Selden* hath produced ſome Inſtances to that purpoſe, as in that of King *Edgar* to the *Abbey* of *Perſore*, which he ſaith had plain Signs of *three Labels* by the places cut for their being hanged on; which is atteſted in a Letter from *Godfrey*, Archdeacon of *Worceſter*, to *Alex.* III. And among the *Chartæ antiquæ*, *There are ſome*, ſaith he, *cum Sigillo*; and one particularly *cum Sigillo* of King *Cnout*, which very much confirms what this Hiſtorian obſerves concerning *Canutus* his *uſing a Seal.* And our great (*y*) Lawyer hath produced the *Deeds* of King *Edwin*, Brother to King *Edgar*, and of King *Offa*, with *Seals* to them. And therefore, I think, *Ingulphus* ought not to be taken in ſo ſtrict a ſenſe, that there were *no Seals* in uſe before the *Norman* times, but that *Deeds* or *Charters* before were *good* or *valid* by bare *Croſſes* and *Marks*, with *Subſcriptions*, without *Seals*; But that the *Normans* would allow none that had no *Seals* to them. And this upon due conſideration will appear to be the true meaning of *Ingulphus.*

(*u*) Seld. *Not. ad* Eadmer. *p.* 166.

(*w*) *De Antiq.* Cant. *Academ. l.* 1. *p.* 54.

(*x*) *Seld.* of the Office of Lord Chancellor, *ch.* 2.

(*y*) Inſt. f. 7. a.

And the ſame *MS. Authour* commends the diſcretion of the *Saxon* way of confirming *Charters*, above that of the *Normans*, *a Seal of Wax being ſo apt to decay, or to be loſt or taken off.* And he obſerves one particular Cuſtome of the *Normans*, *That they were wont to put ſome of the hair of their Heads or Beards into the Wax of their Seals.* I ſuppoſe rather to be kept as Monuments than as adding any ſtrength or weight to their *Charters.* So he obſerves, *That ſome of the Hair of* William, *Earl of* Warren, *was to his time kept in the Priory of* Lewes.

To that of the *Leaden Bull appending to the Charter of St.* Auguſtin, he makes a pitifull Anſwer, viz. *That he, being*

being deputed hither by the Pope, might uſe the ſame Seal which he did at Rome. And ſo every *Legate* might grant *Bulls* with *Leaden Seals*, which would not be well taken at *Rome*. But it is much more to the purpoſe which he adds, viz. *That when in the time of* Henry *III. this Privilege was queſtioned by the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *becauſe of this Leaden Bull, the Earl of* Flanders *produced ſuch another, given him by a foreign Biſhop, which he and his Predeceſſours had uſed*; the Faſhion whereof he ſets down, and the *Bull* it ſelf was preſerved as a *Monument* in St. *Auguſtine's*. But if this were then ſo common a Cuſtome, eſpecially at *Rome*, why had they no ſuch *Bulls* of *Gregory* the Great, who ſent *Auguſtine*? To that he gives a frivolous Anſwer, viz. *That* Gregory *died the ſame year of the endowment of St.* Auguſtine's. But, did he leave no Succeſſour? And, had it not been more to their purpoſe to have produced one *Leaden Bull* of the *Pope's* at that time, than twenty of *Auguſtine's* the *Monk*? But he gives no manner of anſwer to the *Raſure* of the *firſt Charter*, nor to the *late Writing of the ſecond*: And although the uſing of *Leaden Bulls* were not ſo ſoon appropriated to the *Conſiſtorial Grants* of the *Biſhop* of *Rome*, but Princes and Biſhops might uſe them, as Sir *H. Spelman*, and *Monſieur du Cange*, and *Mabillon* have all proved; yet there ought to be better proof brought of the matter of Fact, as to St. *Auguſtine's* Privilege, for it is ſtill very ſuſpicious, not onely on the account of the *Leaden Bull* (which (z) *Polydore Virgil* could not find ſo early uſed even at *Rome*, and he allows it to be no elder than *Anno Domini* 772. and all the Inſtances brought before by (a) *Dom. Raynaldus* are confeſſed to be ſuſpicious by (b) *Mabillon* himſelf) but there are ſeveral things in it which in (c) Sir *H. Spelman's* Judgment favour of the *Norman times*, as the *Jus conſuetudinarium*, *Judicia intus & foris*, and the very Title of *Archbiſhop*, as it is there uſed, was hardly of that *Antiquity* in the Weſtern Church, and was never given to *Auguſtine* by *Gregory*. But according to (d) *Iſidore's* explication of it, who was *Gregory's* Diſciple, and underſtood the Language of that Age, *Auguſtine* could not properly call his *Succeſſours Archbiſhops*, for he ſaith,

(z) Polyd. Virg. *de Invent. l.* 8. *c.* 2.

(a) *Apud* Leon. Allat. *de Conſenſ. Eccleſ. Orient. & Occident. l.* 1. *c.* 6. *n.* 2.

(b) Mabillon. *de Re Diplomat. l.* 2. *c.* 14. *n.* 9.

(c) Spelman. *Concil. p.* 124.

(d) Iſid. *Orig. l.* 7. *c.* 12.

That Title belong'd to them who had power over Metropolitans as well as other Biſhops, and it was not before the ninth Age, as (e) *Mabillon* and others obſerve, that it came to be commonly uſed for a Metropolitan.

(e) Mabill. *l.* 2. *c.* 2. *n.* 13.

It was therefore a judicious Rule laid down by the Learned Authour of the (*f*) Preface to the *Monaſticon* concerning the *Charters* of *Monks*, *that the elder they pretend to be, the more they are to be ſuſpected*; For which he is deſervedly praiſed by (*g*) *Papebrochius*; but (*h*) *Mabillon* is very unwilling to allow it, *as overthrowing at once the authority of all their ancient* Charters. And therefore he hath endeavoured with mighty Induſtry to defend chiefly the old *Benedictin Charters* in *France*; But he cannot deny many of them to be counterfeited (*Papebrochius* ſaith almoſt all) and at the Concluſion of his Diſcourſe he vindicates the Monks *by the commonneſs of the fault in elder times*: which is an Argument of Caution to us, rather than of any credit to be given to them. And it cannot be denyed, that he hath laid down many uſefull Rules for diſcerning the true and falſe, with reſpect to the Cuſtoms of *France*. But we are ſtill as much to ſeek as to our pretended *Charters*, ſince the Cuſtome of making *Charters* cannot be made appear to be ſo old here as it was there. He doth indeed endeavour to prove from *Bede*'s Epiſtle to *Egbert*, that in his time *there were written Privileges granted to Monaſteries among the* Saxons, and ſomething before that, among the *Britains*, by the *Synod* of *Landaff*, *Anno Dom.* 660. But he cannot prove, nor doth he attempt it, that there were any *Charters* among the *Saxons* before that of *Withred*, *Anno Dom.* 694. and if not, all the ancient *Charters* referr'd to in this *Charter* of *Ina* muſt be falſe and counterfeit.

(f) *Propula. ad Monaſt. Angl.*

(g) Papebroch. *Propyl. ad To.* 2. *Apr. c.* 10. *n.* 125.

(h) Mabillon. *l.* 1. *c.* 4. *l.* 3. *c.* 2.

l. 3. *c.* 6. *n.* 10.

l. 1. *c.* 4. *n.* 4.

2. How comes King *Ina* to have ſo great authority over all the Kings of *Britain*, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Dukes and Abbats, as this *Charter* expreſſeth? In the beginning of the *Charter*, he mentions *Baldred* as one of his *Vice-Roys*. In the middle he ſpeaks of *Baldred* as one of his *Predeceſſours*, and joins him with *Kenewalchius*, *Kentwin* and *Cedwalla*. But in the end he makes him

him to confirm what *Ina* has granted, *Ego*, Baldredus *Rex*, *confirmavi*. But who was this King *Baldred?* In the Kingdom of *Kent*, *Edricus* was in the beginning of *Ina*'s Reign, according to the *Savilian Faſti*, and *Withredus* from the ſixth to the end. In the Kingdom of the Eaſt *Saxons* there were *Sighardus*, *Senfredus*, *Offa* and *Selredus*. In the Kingdom of Eaſt *Angles*, *Beorna* and *Ethelredus*. In the Kingdom of *Mercia*, *Adelredus*, *Kenredus*, *Ceolredus*, *Athelbaldus*. In the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, *Alfredus*, *Osfredus*, *Kenredus*, *Oſricus*, But among all theſe not one *Baldredus* appears. There was indeed one of that Name King of *Kent* near an hundred years after; but what is that to the time of *Ina?* But ſuppoſe *Baldred* then in being, and onely a *Vice-Roy* in ſome part of *Ina*'s Dominions, how comes *Ina* to this *Univerſal Monarchy* or Power to command all the Kings of *Britain*, which is expreſſed in the *Charter? Sed & omnibus Regni mei Regibus*, &c. *Præcipio.* By what Authority did the King of the Weſt *Saxons* at that time make ſuch a Precept to all other Kings in *Britain?* But, I remember, (*i*) *Geffrey* of *Monmouth* makes him *Grandchild* to *Cadwallader*. And the (*k*) Authour of the Additions to King *Edward*'s Laws ſaith, *he had the Kingdom of* Britain *with his ſecond Wife* Wala, *Daughter of* Cadwallader; *and then* Ina *called a Parliament for the Intermarriage* of Britains *and* Saxons. So that there was an Opinion among ſome, that *Ina* had the Monarchy of *Britain*, which Opinion was certainly follow'd by the Contriver of this *Charter*. But Mr. *Lambard* confeſſeth, that theſe Paſſages are not in the ancient *MS.* of King *Edward*'s Laws, and it is a wonder they ſhould ever come into them, being ſo deſtitute of any colour of authority, and ſo remote from the deſign of his Laws.

(i) Galfrid. *l.* c. P. 101. *ed. Bad. Aſcenſ.*

(k) *LL. Ed. Confeſſ.* c. 35.

As to theſe counterfeit *Charters*, the Opinion of (*l*) *Papebrochius* ſeems moſt probable to me, that they were for the moſt part framed in the eleventh *Century*, when there was Ignorance enough to make them paſs, and occaſion enough given to the Monks to frame them for their own ſecurity, againſt the encroachments of others upon their Lands, and the Juriſdiction of Biſhops over their Monaſteries. And *William* the *Conquerour* ha-

(l) *Propyl. ad To. 2. Apr. c. 8. n.* 103.

ving given ſuch invidious Privileges to *Battell Abbey*, as may be ſeen in his *Charter*, the *elder Monaſteries* thought much to be ſo far behind them, and therefore made themſelves as great *Privileges* by the favour of *Saxon* Kings. From hence in the next Age aroſe ſo many Conteſts about *Juriſdiction* between the *Biſhops* and the ſeveral *Monaſteries*, of which we reade not before, as we have already obſerved between the *Abbey* of St. *Auguſtine* and the *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*; between the *Abbey* of *Malmsbury* and the *Biſhop* of *Salisbury*; and the *Abbey* of St. *Albans* and the *Biſhop* of *Lincoln*. And at that time thoſe *Abbies* were charged with forging their *Charters*. And when they were ſo charged were not able to defend them, as was remarkable in the caſe of Saint *Auguſtine's*, as it is related by (*m*) *William Thorn* a *Monk* of that *Abbey*: He confeſſeth *the Archbiſhop chargeth their Privileges with Forgery, and that the* Monks *appealed to* Rome, *and that upon their Appeal ſeveral Commiſſions were granted to examine them*; but by his own relation, they ſhamefully declined to produce them as long as they durſt, and ſtill continued their *Appeal*. But when they ſaw no remedy, they produced the *Charters* of *Ethelbert* and *Auguſtine*, the Copies whereof the *Delegates* ſent to *Rome*. But before they came thither the Pope died; and the next Pope, *Lucius*, ſent an Inhibition to the Archbiſhop, requiring him not to invade their Privileges till the queſtion of *Forgery* were determined; and he writes to King *Henry* II. in the behalf of the *Abbey*. Things being at this paſs, they fairly made a Compoſition with the Archbiſhop, *viz.* That he ſhould withdraw his Accuſation of Fraud, in the Court of *Rome*, and they would yield up to him the main Points conteſted as to *Juriſdiction*. The form of which Compoſition is at large extant in *Thorn*. And the Confirmation of it by *Henry* II. in the other *MS. Chronicon* of that *Abbey*. Which in effect amounted to the Monks giving up the Cauſe of their *Charters*. Such a Controverſie about *Juriſdiction* there was between *Jocelin*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and the *Abbey* of *Glaſſenbury*, about *Anno Dom.* 1215. as appears by the Book called *Secretum Domini Abbatis* lately in the *Arundell Library*, but now in a private hand. So that there appears

(m) Thorn. *Chronic.* c. 14. § 3.

pears a ſufficient inducement for them to forge ſuch large *Immunities* and *Exemptions*, with reſpect to the Biſhop's *Juriſdiction*, as this *Charter* contains; and that ſeems to be the main Point aimed at in it. But in order to it, ſome extraordinary matter was to be alledged in favour of this Place, and nothing ſerved ſo much in that Age, as to amuſe the People with wonderfull Stories of the *Antiquity* of it, Calling it *the Mother of Religion, and the Place of Viſions and Revelations and Miracles, where St.* Patrick *and St.* David *dwelt in former times, before ever the* Saxons *came* (but not a word yet of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea:*) which were very plauſible Pretences for extraordinary Privileges, and ſo they are alledged in this *Charter* of King *Ina*, *Ita & ipſa ſupereminentem Privilegii obtineat dignitatem, nec ulli omnino hominum ancillare obſequium faciat in terris*, &c. Which words are ſpoken of the *Bleſſed Virgin*, but, according to the Conſtruction of that Age, to be under ſtood of *Glaſſenbury Abbey*, becauſe the *Church* was believed to be conſecrated to her by our *Saviour* himſelf.

But it ſeems ſtrange that ſuch a *Charter* ſhould ever paſs for *authentick* with any who compare the Language of it with the Hiſtory of King *Ina*, as it is delivered by the Monkiſh Hiſtorians. For by them it appears what Wars he had with his neighbour Princes, and how far he was to the laſt from commanding *Kings* and *Princes* and *Archbiſhops*, whoſe Kingdom was confined to the Weſt and South *Saxons*, and had but one Biſhop in it till the eighteenth yeat of his Reign, when it was divided into two, *Daniel* having one ſhare, and *Aldelm* the other. And ſome years after *Eadbertus* was Biſhop of the South *Saxons*, ſo that he had but three *Biſhops* at the moſt, and never an *Archbiſhop* in his Dominions: How then could he call *the ſeveral Kings, Archbiſhops* and *Biſhops* together to paſs this *Charter*? The like groſs abſurdity there is in the (*n*) Charter of *Eveſham Abbey*, wherein *Brightwaldus* is ſaid to draw it up *with the conſent of all the Princes in* England *met in Council*, as the Pope *Conſtantine* explains it; which is ſomewhat hard to believe concerning that Age, wherein they were under no common Head, but continual-

(n) *Monaſtic. Vol.* 1. *p.* 146.

ly

ly fighting with each other, till the Weſt *Saxons* prevailed. And the Caſe of the *Abbey* of *Eveſham* ſeems to have been much the ſame with that of *Glaſſenbury*. For (o) *William* of *Malmsbury* wonders how *Bede* came to omit the Foundation of it, if it were ſo ſolemnly declared at *Rome* as the *Charters* import, when *Kenred* and *Offa* were both there, which is mention'd by *Bede*. And in truth it is very ſtrange that ſo diligent a Writer, eſpecially of ſuch things, as *Bede* was, ſhould ſay not a Word either of *Glaſſenbury* or *Eveſham*. But he judiciouſly imputes the occaſion of founding this *Monaſtery* to ſome *old Church of the* Britains *ſtanding there in a deſolate place*, which *Egwin*, then *Biſhop* of *Worceſter*, took a great Fancy to, and ſo raiſed a Monaſtery there. But ſuch a plain Story as this would never doe the Monks buſineſs, and therefore they muſt have a Legend of *Egwin's Chains*, &c. and the *Viſion* of the *Bleſſed Virgin* there, and large Immunities granted to the Place on theſe accounts, as they have fully done in the *Charters* of *Kenred* and *Offa*, the Bull of *Conſtantine* and the Privilege of *Egwin*. But yet this unlucky charge of Pope *Conſtantine* to *Brightwaldus*, *to ſummon a Council of the whole Nation, Princes and Biſhops, to confirm this Charter*, at a time when there were ſo many Kingdoms not onely divided, but moſt commonly in actual War with each other, makes this whole *Charter* appear to be an undoubted Forgery of the Monks to obtain great Privileges to themſelves.

(o) W. Malmſbur. *de Geſt. Pontif. l.* 4. *p.* 162.

But to return to *Glaſſenbury*; I do not queſtion that King *Ina* did found a *Monaſtery* there, where before had been an ancient Church in the *Britiſh* times. But I ſee no ground to believe, that either *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, or St. *Patrick*, or St. *David* had ever been there. But theſe were great and well ſounding Names to amuſe the People with, and by degrees advanced that Monaſtery to ſo high a Reputation, that the very Monks of other places were concerned to leſſen the authority of this *Tradition*, as is evident by the (p) *MS. Chronicle* of St. *Auguſtine's*, wherein the Monks of *Glaſſenbury* are charged *with pretending to greater authority than they had reaſon for*, *that Monaſtery being firſt founded by King* Ina, *but they give out they had Land given*

(p) *Chron. S. Auguſt. MS. in Bibl. A. T. C.*

by

by Arviragus *a King of the* Britains. And even (q) *William* of *Malmsbury*, although when he writes the *Antiquities* of *Glaſſenbury*, he ſeems firmly to believe Saint *Patrick*'s being there, yet when he comes elſewhere to ſpeak of his being buried there, he adds that cooling Expreſſion, *Si credere dignum*, and takes not the leaſt notice of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* and his Companions. So much difference he thought there ought to be between writing the *Legend* of a *Monaſtery* and a true *Hiſtory*. And there he plainly affirms, *that King* Ina *was the firſt Founder of it.* To which (r) *Aſſerius* agrees in an ancient MS. Copy of his *Annals*. For *A. D.* 726. he ſaith, Ina *went to* Rome, *and there died, having built and dedicated a Monaſtery in* Glaſſenbury. But what Preſumption was it to ſay, *He dedicated it*, if it were dedicated ſo long before by *Chriſt* himſelf, as the *Viſion* of St. *David* and the *Glaſſenbury Tradition* affirm? I do not then deny that there was an ancient Church before *Ina*'s time, which after the Weſtern *Saxons* became Chriſtians, grew into mighty Reputation, but all the Succeſſion of Abbats before, either of *Worgreſius*, or *Brightwaldus*, or others, I look on as fabulous. For (s) *Bede* and others ſay, Brightwaldus *was Abbat of* Reculver *before he was Archbiſhop*; which is a good diſtance from *Glaſſenbury*. But the firſt Abbat there was *Hemgiſlus*, to whom *Ina* granted a *Charter*; after him *Beorwaldus*, to whom King *Ina* granted ſeveral Lands by *Charters*, far more probable than this large one, whoſe authority I have hitherto diſcuſſed. Thoſe *Charters* are ſhort, and the Style agreeable to thoſe times, and not one Word of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, or St. *Patrick*, or St. *David*, in any of them. And thoſe, I believe, were the *original Charters* of that Abbey.

(q) Malmsbury. *de Geſtis Pontif. l.* 2. *p.* 145.

(r) Aſſerii *Annales, MS. A.D.* 726.

(s) Bed. *Hiſt. Eccl. l.* 5. *c.* 9.

But the *Abbey* being thus founded and well endowed, then, like a man that hath made his own Fortunes, who pretends to be derived from ſome ancient Stock, ſo this Monaſtery growing rich betimes, ſaw it muſt be caſt much behind in Place and Dignity, unleſs it could lay claim to ſome greater *Antiquity*. And for this, the *old* Britiſh *Church* was an admirable Foundation. And St. *Patrick* and St. *David*, being two Saints

of

of wonderfull eſteem in *Ireland* and *Wales*, they firſt ſet up with the Reputation of their being at *Glaſſenbury*, *the former lying buried there*, *and the latter building a little Chapel.* The Monks finding the advantage of theſe Pretences, made a farther ſtep towards the advancement of their Monaſtery, by giving out that their *old Church* was the firſt *Church* in *Britain*, and that *all Religion came from thence into other parts*, which by degrees gaining belief, they at laſt pitched upon *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, as the perſon who came firſt hither, being a Man whoſe Name was every where in great eſteem for the reſpect he ſhew'd to our Saviour's Body: And him they thought they might ſafely pitch upon, not being pretended to by any other Church. But it was a conſiderable time before the Name of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* came to be mention'd, not being found in any of the *Saxon Charters*, which ſpeak moſt to the advantage of *Glaſſenbury*; as may be ſeen by thoſe of King (*t*) *Edmond* and King *Edgar* in the *Monaſticon.* But by the time of *Henry* II. the Tradition was generally received, *that the old Church at* Glaſſenbury *was built by the Diſciples of our Lord*; *and that it was the original Church of this Nation*, as appears by the *Charter* of *Henry* II. omitted in the *Monaſticon*, but printed by (*v*) *Harpsfield*, and the learned Primate of (*w*) *Armagh*, by which we ſee what Authority the Monks of *Glaſſenbury* had then obtained, for not onely this Tradition is inſerted in the *Charter*, as a thing certain, but a Repetition is there made of ſeveral other *Charters*, as ſeen and read before the King, which were undoubtedly counterfeit, ſuch as that of King *Arthur*, and ſeveral others; yet all theſe went down then, and were confirmed by the King's *Inſpeximus.* From this time the Monks of *Glaſſenbury* were triumphant, and no one durſt diſpute their Traditions how improbable ſoever. This *Charter* being confirmed by the *Inſpeximus* of *Edw.* II. *An.* 6, 7. of *Edw.* III. *An.* 1, 6. and 1 *Edw.* IV. And from hence it grew to be the common opinion of the *Nation*, and was pleaded for the honour of it in the *Councils* of *Piſa*, *Conſtance*, *Siena* and *Baſil*, of which the (*x*) *Primate* hath given a full account, and, as things paſſed among them then,

(t) *Monaſtic. Vol.* 1. *p.* 15, 16.

(v) Harpsfield. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 1. *c.* 2.

(w) Uſſer. *Primord. p.* 122, 123.

(x) *Id. p.* 23, &c.

Our

Our Nation had as juſt Right to inſiſt on their Tradition of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, as the *Spaniards* on that of St. *James* going into *Spain*; for certainly one Tradition was as good as the other.

But having thus far examined the *Authority* of this Tradition, I now come to conſider the *Circumſtances* of it. And ſuppoſing the Teſtimonies to confirm it to have been of far greater Authority than I find them, yet the very improbable Circumſtances of the Story it ſelf would be a ſufficient reaſon for me to paſs it over (leaving every one to believe as much of it as he ſees cauſe) *viz.*

(1.) The Tradition of the Church mentioned by (*y*) *Euſebius*, (*z*) *Sophronius*, (*a*) S. *Chryſoſtome*, and (*b*) *Hippolytus Portuenſis*, *That Saint* Philip *continued Preaching in the Eaſtern parts, about* Phrygia, *and ſuffer'd at* Hierapolis.

(y) Euſeb. l. 3. c. 24.
(z) Sophron. *de Script. Eccleſ.*
(a) Chryſ. *de 12 Apoſt.*
(b) Hippolyt. *de 12 Apoſt.*

(2) The Eremitical courſe of their Lives ſo wholly different from that of the Apoſtles, and other Diſciples of our Lord, in an Age of ſo much buſineſs and employment in Preaching the Goſpel, who went from one City and Countrey to another for that End.

(3.) The building of the Church by a *Viſion* of the *Archangel*, and devoting it and themſelves to the *Bleſſed Virgin*, ſavours too groſly of Monkiſh Superſtition to be near the time pretended.

(4.) The Conſecrating a *Church-yard* together with a *Church*, in order to the burial of perſons in it at that time, is none of the moſt probable Circumſtances, and yet it is a material one, *Quod ipſe Dominus Eccleſiam ſimul cum Cæmeterio dedicarat.* (*c*) Sir *H. Spelman* obſerves, *That the cuſtome of compaſſing Churches, with Church-yards, was not ſo ancient:* And withall he adds, *That although the* Britiſh *Cities had Churches from the beginning of Chriſtianity, yet there were no burying places within Cities, till* Cuthbert, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *obtain'd leave for it, about* Anno Dom. 758. Upon this (*d*) *Alford* and (*e*) *Creſſy* charge him with *a manifeſt miſtake and great*

(c) Spelman. Concil. p. 11.
(d) Annal. A.D. 63. n. 26.
(e) Church Hiſtory, l. 2. ch. 8. n. 5.

impertinency. A miſtake, *in that* Ethelbert *and* Auguſtine *were both buried in the Church of St.* Peter *and Saint* Paul. And what then? Doth Sir *H. Spelman* ſay there was no burying *in Churches* before *Cuthbert*'s time? No. But that there was no Burying Place *in Cities* before that time. For the *Church* of St. *Auguſtine*, or St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, was *without the City.* For ſo the (*f*) *MS. Chronicle of St.* Auguſtine's ſaith, *That when the Bodies of the Kings and Archbiſhops were carried thither to burial, they follow'd our Saviour, who ſuffer'd without the Gate. And that it was like the children of* Iſrael's *going out of* Egypt, *&c.* Which is ſufficient to prove the truth of Sir *H. Spelman*'s Obſervation, which relates to Burying *in Cities* and not *in Churches.* And withall the Reaſon alledged in one of the *Charters* of (*g*) King *Ethelbert*, why that place was aſſigned for a Burying place, is, *becauſe the City is for the Living, and not for the Dead.* But why do they not prove the *Antiquity* of *Church-yards* to be ſo great, which was the moſt to the purpoſe? But they ſay, *Sir* H. Spelman's *Obſervation was impertinent*, Glaſſenbury *being then a ſolitary place, and very far from being a City.* It is true, If the weight had been laid by him onely upon that, there being no Evidence of any *Roman City* there. But his deſign was to prove, *That Church-yards were not then adjoining to Churches, becauſe the Cemeteries were without the City, and the Churches within in the* Britiſh *times*; And even in the *Saxon* times, (*h*) he ſaith, *although they buried in Churches, yet thoſe Churches in which they buried were without the Cities, till* Cuthbert *firſt procured the alteration by Royal authority, and, ſome ſay, by Papal too.* But the Monks of St. *Auguſtine*'s denied the Pope's confirmation.

(*f*) *Chronic. MS. Tit.* 12.

(*g*) *Monaſtic. Vol.* I. *p.* 24.

(*h*) Spelman. *Concil. p.* 290.

But the main Circumſtance I ſhall inſiſt upon, is, the *Incongruity* of this Story with the *condition* of the *Roman Province* at that time. For there was no ſuch *Britiſh* King then as *Arviragus*, and in that Countrey, as will appear by the more Southern parts of the Iſland being reduced into the *form of a Province* before *Anno Dom.* 63. when the *Glaſſenbury* Tradition ſaith, *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* came firſt to *Britain.* For (*i*) *Tacitus* ſaith, it was done *as to the neareſt part of the Iſland, when*

(*i*) Tacit. *in.* Agric. *c.* 14.

A. Plauti-

A. Plautius *and* Oſtorius Scapula *were Governours here*, and between them and *Suetonius Paulinus* were *Didius Gallus* and *Veranius*. In probability the *Belgæ* were ſubdued by *Veſpaſian*, of whom (*k*) *Suetonius* ſaith, *That he conquer'd here two powerfull Nations, above twenty Towns, and the Iſle of* Wight. By which we find his employment was Weſtward, and the *Belgæ* and *Damnonii* were *the two powerfull Nations* that way. And in all the Actions afterwards, we find no Care taken by the *Roman* Generals to ſecure themſelves againſt the *Belgæ*, as they did againſt the *Brigantes* and *Silures*, among whom *Caractacus* commanded; ſo that there could be no ſuch *Britiſh* King at that time among the *Belgæ* as *Arviragus* is ſuppoſed to have been. For if there had been when (*l*) *Oſtorius* marched Northwards, having ſuppreſſed the *Iceni*, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that he would have fixed his Garriſons on the *Severn* and the *Avon*, to ſecure the *Province*. For, as our (*m*) Judicious Antiquary hath well obſerved, *The deſign of* Oſtorius *therein was to keep the Provincial* Britains *from joining with the others*; and therefore, all on this ſide thoſe Garriſons were within the *Roman Province*; Now the Places where the Garriſons were placed are by *Tacitus* ſaid to be *Antona* and *Sabrina*. The latter is certainly the *Severn*, which parted the *Belgæ* and the *Silures*. For *Antona*, *Camden* reads *Auſona*, (although *Northanton* comes nearer the former Name, and *Southanton* had its Name from the River *Anton*, which there runs into the Sea; and *Ptolemy* calls *Triſanton*, *i. e.* ſaith *Camden*, *Traith Anton*, the *Mouth of Anton*) But he chuſes *Auſona*, for this reaſon, becauſe the two *Avons* riſe both in the County of *Northampton*, and ſo cut the Iſland, that none can paſs out of the North, but they muſt croſs one or the other of them, or elſe fall upon the *Roman Garriſons* between; the Remainders whereof he takes notice of between the riſe of the two *Avons* at *Gildsborough* and *Daintry*; by which means he hindred all intercourſe between the *Brigantes* and the *Roman Province*, as the other did between the *Silures* and them. But if there had been ſuch a *Britiſh* King as *Arviragus* among the *Belgæ*, what would the fortifying the *Severn* have ſignified, when

(*k*) Sueton. *in* Veſp. *c.* 4.

(*l*) Tacit. *Annal.* 12. *c.* 30.

(*m*) Camd. *Britan. p.* 375.

the Enemies to the *Romans* lived on the *Roman* ſide? *Tacitus* indeed mentions an Expedition of *Oſtorius* againſt the *Cangi*, whom (*n*) *Camden* ſometimes thought *a ſmall People among the* Belgæ, but upon better conſideration, (*o*) he places them in *Cheſhire*, where he found an *Inſcription* concerning the *CEANGI.* And *Tacitus* ſaith, *They were not far from the Sea coaſt which looks towards* Ireland.

(n) *Britan. p.* 68.

(o) *Brit. p.* 463.

(p) R. Whit. *Baſing. l.* 4. *p.* 293.

(p) *R. White* of *Baſingſtoke* ſuppoſes this *Arviragus* to beſtow the *Iſland* on *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, when *Trebellius Maximus* was Governour here, who ſucceeded *Petronius Turpilianus* the year *C. Suetonius Paulinus* was *Conſul* at *Rome*; Which, according to the *Savilian Faſti*, was in the twelfth year of *Nero*, and *Anno Domini* 67. (four years after *Joſeph*'s coming, according to the *Glaſſenbury Tradition*) but that is no great matter, if at that time we are ſure there was ſuch a King as *Arviragus* among the *Belgæ*: But he again contradicts the *Glaſſenbury* Story. For *Malmſbury* ſaith, *That the Barbarous King obſtinately refuſed to quit his Religion, but, out of pity to them, gave them the Iſland to live in*; but *White* ſaith, *He was well affected to the Chriſtian Religion, and was in all reſpects an admirable Prince.* This *Arviragus* he takes out of the (*q*) *Britiſh Hiſtory*, where pleaſant Stories are told of him, and from thence in (*r*) *Matthew Weſtminſter*, as, of his oppoſing *Claudius*, and then marrying his Daughter *Geniſſa*, and the reconciliation between him and *Veſpaſian* by her means, &c. And how his Son *Marius* ſucceeded him, and then *Coillus* who was wonderfully beloved by the *Roman* Senate. Here we have found at laſt the three Kings of *Glaſſenbury*, *Arviragus*, *Marius* and *Coillus*, as they are extant in *Capgrave* and others: So that the *Glaſſenbury* Tradition had not its perfection till it had received theſe improvements from the *Britiſh Hiſtory*. For *William* of *Malmſbury*, though he took ſo great pains in this matter, yet knew nothing of *Arviragus*, *Marius* and *Coillus*. He ſpeaks indeed of *three Pagan Kings giving twelve portions of Land to the twelve Brethren*, but he knew not their Names. *Which Grant*, he ſaith, *was confirmed by King* Lucius *to twelve others who were placed there, in imitation of the firſt twelve.* And this

(q) Galfr. *Mon. l.* 1. *c.* 25, 26.

(r) Matt. *Weſt. A. D.* 44.

this continued to the coming of St. Patrick. And yet towards the Concluſion of this Book he ſaith, *That* Anno Domini 601. *the King of* Dompnonia, *i. e.* Devonſhire *and* Cornwall, *gave to the old Church in* Glaſſenbury *the Land called* Ynis Withrin, *or, the* Iſland of Avalon. Who this King was, he ſaith, he could not learn, but he concludes him to have been a *Britain*, by calling the *Iſland* by the *Britiſh* Name. But as to *Arviragus*, that there was a *Britiſh* Prince of that name cannot be denied, ſince *Juvenal* mentions him in *Domitian*'s time.

Omen habes, inquit, magni clariſque Triumphi, Satyr. 4. v. 124.
Regem aliquem capies, aut de Temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus

The (*s*) Authour of the *Chronicle* of *Dover* underſtands this Paſſage as ſpoken to *Nero*; which agrees much better with the Tradition of *Glaſſenbury*, but will by no means agree with *Juvenal*, who ſaith plainly enough that Satyr related to *Domitian* and his Flatterers. And this was a very inſipid Flattery to *Domitian*, unleſs *Arviragus* were a conſiderable Prince then living, and an Enemy to *Cæſar*. For what Triumph could he have over a Subject or a Friend as *Aviragus* is ſuppoſed after the reconciliation with *Veſpaſian*? And no ſuch Enemy could appear at that time in theſe parts of *Britain*. For (*t*) *Petilius Cerealis* had conquer'd the *Brigantes*, and *Julius Frontinus* the *Silures*, and *Agricola* after them the *Ordovices*: And in the time of his Government, *Tacitus* ſaith, *Even the confederate Cities among the* Britains, *who ſtood upon Terms of Equality before, then ſubmitted themſelves to the* Roman *Power, and received Garriſons among them. After this* Agricola *proceeded Northwards againſt new People, and deſtroyed them as far as the Frith of* Taus (Tweed.) *Then he fortified the Paſſage between* Glota *and* Bodotria (Dumbretton *and* Edenborough *Frith.*) So that the *Romans* were abſolute Lords of all this ſide, *having caſt out the Enemy as it were into another Land*, as Sir *H. Savil* tranſlates the words of *Tacitus*. From which it is evident, there could be no ſuch King as *Arviragus* at that time in theſe

(s) *Chron. Dover. apud* Leland. *Collect.* vol. 2. p. 50.

(t) Tacit. Agric. c. 17, 18, 20.

theſe parts of the Iſland, over whom *Domitian* could expect a Triumph.

But ſuppoſe there were, what is this to the eighth of *Nero*, when *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* is ſaid to have come hither, at what time *Arviragus* is ſaid to be King in *Britain*? It is poſſible he might live ſo long, but how comes he to be never mention'd in the *Roman* Story, as *Praſutagus*, *Cogidunus*, *Caractacus*, *Togodumnus* and *Galgacus* are? *Arviragus* his name was well known at *Rome* in *Domitian*'s time; why not ſpoken of before? (u) Some think he was the ſame with *Praſutagus*; but this cannot be, for *Praſutagus* was dead before the Revolt of the *Britains* under *Boadicea*, which was occaſion'd by the *Romans* ill uſage of the *Britains* after his death. And *Praſutagus* left onely two Daughters, what becomes then of his Son *Marius*? whom (w) *White* would have to be *Cogidunus*. But *Marius* is ſaid to ſucceed *Arviragus*, who was alive in *Domitian*'s time, and *Cogidunus* had the Cities conferred upon him before *Suetonius Paulinus* came into *Britain*, as appears by *Tacitus*; which are things inconſiſtent. (x) Others ſay that *Arviragus* was the ſame with *Caractacus*; for this Opinion *Alford* contends, and *Juvenal*, he ſaith, mentions the name by a *Poetical Licence*, although he lived long before. But what reaſon is there to ſuppoſe that *Fabricius Veienti* ſhould make ſuch a courſe Complement to *Domitian*, that he ſhould triumph over a man dead, and triumphed over once already, by *Claudius*, who was never known at *Rome* by any other name than *Caractacus* (as far as we can find) by which he was ſo famous for his long Oppoſition to the *Romans*? But it is very probable, that in *Domitian*'s time, after the recalling *Agricola*, and taking away the Life of *Saluſtius Lucullus*, his Succeſſour, The *Britains* took up Arms under *Arviragus*. And the (y) Learned Primate of *Armagh* mentions an old *Britiſh Coin* in Sir *R. Cotton*'s *Collections* with theſe Letters on it *ARIVOG*, from whence he thinks his true name was *Arivogus*, which the *Romans* turned to *Arviragus*. And the old Scholiaſt there ſaith, *that was not his true name.* The *Britains* being now up in Arms, as far as we can learn, were not repreſſed till *Hadrian* came over in Perſon, and

(u) D. Powel. *in Catal. Reg. Brit.*

(w) White *Hiſt. Brit. l. 4. p. 384.*

(x) Alford. *Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 45. n. 9.*

(y) Uſſer. *Prim. p. 583.*

and built the firſt Wall, to keep them out of the *Roman* Province. For, before this, (z) *Spartianus* ſaith, *The* Britains *could not be kept in ſubjection to the* Roman *Power.* So that here was a fit ſeaſon in *Domitian's* time (*Agricola* being recalled in the beginning of *Domitian's* Reign) for ſuch a King as *Arviragus* to appear in the head of the *Britains*, and it was then a ſuitable Complement to him, to wiſh him a Triumph over *Arviragus.* But (a) *Alford* ſaith, *that* Claudius *ſent* Caractacus *home again, and after many years he dyed in Peace, being a Friend to the* Romans. How then comes *Tacitus* to take no notice of him, as he doth of *Cogidunus?* Is it probable the *Romans* would reſtore ſo ſubtile and dangerous an Enemy as *Caractacus* had been to them? *Cogidunus* had been always faithfull to them, but *Caractacus* an open Enemy, and the *Silures* ſtill in being, over whom he commanded, and not over the *Belgæ*, as he muſt have done, if he were the *Arviragus who gave the Hydes of Land to* Joſeph *of* Arimathea *and his Companions.*

(z) Spartian. *in* Hadriano.

(a) Alford. *A.D.* 53. *n.* 7.

Theſe things I have here put together to ſhew for what Reaſons I decline the Tradition of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea's* coming hither to Preach the Goſpel. And although they may not be ſufficient to convince others, yet I hope they may ſerve to clear me from *unexcuſable Partiality*, which (b) Mr. *Creſſy* charges on all who call this Tradition into queſtion.

(b) *Church Hiſtory, l.* 2. *ch.* 1. *n.* 9.

(2.) But, notwithſtanding, I hope to make it appear from very good and ſufficient Evidence, *that there was a Chriſtian Church planted in* Britain *during the Apoſtles times.* And ſuch Evidence ought to be allow'd in this matter which is built on the Teſtimony of ancient and credible Writers, and hath a concurrent probability of Circumſtances.

I ſhall firſt produce *the Teſtimony* of ancient and credible Writers. For it is an excellent Rule of (c) *Baronius* in ſuch Caſes, *That no Teſtimonies of later Authours are to be regarded concerning things of remote Antiquity, which are not ſupported by the Teſtimony of ancient Writers.* And there is a difference in the force of the Teſtimony of ancient Writers themſelves, according to their Abilities

(c) Baron. *A.D.* 1. *n.* 12.

lities and Opportunities. For ſome had far greater judgment than others, ſome had greater care about theſe matters, and made it more their buſineſs to ſearch and enquire into them; and ſome had greater advantages by being preſent in the Courts of Princes or Councils of Biſhops, whereby they could better underſtand the Beginning and Succeſſion of Churches. And for all theſe, there was none more remarkable in *Antiquity* than *Euſebius*, being a learned and inquiſitive Perſon, a Favorite of *Conſtantine*, the firſt Chriſtian Emperour (born and proclaimed Emperour in *Britain*) one preſent at the Council at *Nice*, whither Biſhops were ſummoned from all parts of the Empire, and one that had a particular curioſity to examine the Hiſtory of all Churches, deſigning an *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* out of the *Collections* he made. The Teſtimony of a Perſon ſo qualified cannot but deſerve great Conſideration, eſpecially, when it is not delivered by way of Report, but when the force of an *Argument* depends upon it. And (*d*) *Euſebius*, in his third Book of *Evangelical Demonſtration*, undertakes to prove, *that the Apoſtles, who firſt preached the Goſpel to the World, could be no Impoſtours or Deceivers*; and, among other Arguments, he makes uſe of this, *That although it were poſſible for ſuch men to deceive their Neighbours and Countreymen with an improbable Story, yet what madneſs were it for ſuch illiterate men, who underſtood onely their Mother Tongue, to go about to deceive the World by preaching this Doctrine in the remoteſt Cities and Countries?* And having named the *Romans*, *Perſians*, *Armenians*, *Parthians*, *Indians*, *Scythians*; he adds particularly, that ſome paſſed over the Ocean ὅτι τὰς καλουμένας Βρεττανικὰς νήσους, *to thoſe which are called the* Britiſh *Iſlands*. From whence he concludes, *that ſome more than humane power did accompany the Apoſtles, and that they were no light or inconſiderable men, much leſs Impoſtours and Deceivers.* Now unleſs this had been a thing very well known at that time, that Chriſtianity was planted here by the Apoſtles, why ſhould he ſo particularly and expreſly mention the *Britiſh* Iſlands? It cannot be ſaid that they are onely ſet down to denote the moſt remote and obſcure places. For, long before that time, the

(d) Euſeb. *Demonſt. Evang. l.* 3. *c.* 7. *p.*113.

the *Britiſh* Iſlands were very well known all over the *Roman* Empire, *Britain* having been the Scene of many Warlike Actions from *Claudius* his time; The Occaſion of Emperours additional Titles and Triumphs; The Reſidence of *Roman* Lieutenants and Legions; The Place of many *Roman* Colonies, Cities and Ways: But eſpecially, about *Conſtantine*'s time, It was the talk of the World, for the Revolt of *Carauſius* and *Allectus*; The Victory and Death of *Conſtantius* here; The Succeſſion of *Conſtantine*, and his being declared Emperour by the Army in *Britain*. So that ſcarce any *Roman* Province was ſo much intereſted in the ſeveral Revolutions of the Empire as *Britain*, and therefore *Conſtantine* going from hence, and being ſo much in the eſteem of *Euſebius*, it is not to be conceived, that he ſhould ſpeak theſe Words at random, but that he had made a diligent Enquiry both of *Conſtantine* himſelf, to whom he was well known, and of others of his Court, concerning the State of the *Britiſh* Churches, of what continuance they were, and by whom planted. After all which *Euſebius* affirms it with ſo much aſſurance, *That ſome of the Apoſtles preached the Goſpel in the* Britiſh *Iſlands.*

Much to the ſame purpoſe (*e*) *Theodoret* ſpeaks, another learned and judicious Church Hiſtorian. For among the Nations converted by the Apoſtles, he expreſly names the *Britains*; and elſewhere ſaith, (*f*) *That St.* Paul *brought Salvation to the Iſlands that lie in the Ocean*, after he had mention'd *Spain*, and therefore in all probability the *Britiſh* Iſlands are underſtood by him. And in another place (*g*) he ſaith, *That St.* Paul, *after his Releaſe at* Rome, *went to* Spain, *and from thence carried the Light of the Goſpel to other Nations.* What other Nations ſo likely to be underſtood as thoſe which lay the neareſt, and are elſewhere ſaid to be converted by the *Apoſtles*, as the *Britains* are by him? St. (*h*) *Jerome* ſaith, *That St.* Paul, *having been in* Spain, *went from one Ocean to another, imitating the motion and courſe of the Sun of Righteouſneſs, of whom it is ſaid, his going forth is from the end of Heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it; And that his diligence in Preaching extended as far as the Earth it ſelf.* Which are

(e) Theodoret. *To.* 4. *Serm.* 9. *p.* 610.

(f) *To.* 1. *in* Pſal. 116. *p.* 870.

(g) *In* 2 *ep. ad* Tim. 4. *v.* 17.

(h) Hieron. *in* Amoſ. *c.* 5.

more indefinite Expreſſions. But elſewhere he ſaith, (i) *That St.* Paul, *after his Impriſonment, preached the Goſpel in the Weſtern parts*; By which the *Britiſh* Iſlands were eſpecially underſtood; As will appear by the following Teſtimony of (k) *Clemens Romanus*, who ſaith, *St.* Paul *preached Righteouſneſs through the whole World, and in ſo doing went* ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως, *to the utmoſt bounds of the Weſt.* Which Paſſage will neceſſarily take in *Britain*, if we conſider what was then meant by *the Bounds of the Weſt*. *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Cæſar*, ſpeaking of his Expedition into *Britain*, ſaith, *He was the firſt who brought a Fleet into the Weſtern Ocean*; By which he underſtands the Sea between *Gaul* and *Britain*. And (l) *Euſebius* ſeveral times calls *the* Britiſh *Ocean*, *the Weſtern*, and joins the *Britiſh* Ocean and the Weſtern parts together. And (m) elſewhere he mentions *Gaul and the Weſtern parts beyond it*; by which he underſtands *Britain*. And (n) *Theodoret* reckons up *the Inhabitants of* Spain, *of* Britain *and* Gaul, (*who*, ſaith he, *lie between the other two*) as thoſe *who dwell in the bounds of the Weſt*; And among theſe the *Britains* muſt be in the *utmoſt bounds*, becauſe the *Gauls* lie in the midſt. (o) *Herodotus* ſaith, *the* Celtæ *are the moſt Weſtern of all the* Europeans. Now the ancient *Greek* Geographers knew of but two Nations in *Europe* beſides themſelves, the *Celtæ* and the *Scythæ*; theſe latter comprehended all in the moſt Northern parts of *Europe*, and the *Celtæ* the Weſtern; And among theſe the remoteſt were the *Britains*. Thence (p) *Horace* calls them, *Ultimos Orbis* Britannos; As (q) *Catullus* before him, *Ultimíſque* Britannos. For before the diſcovery of *Britain*, the *Morini*, who lived over againſt it, were ſaid to be the utmoſt People of the Earth. So (r) *Virgil* calls them, *Extremos hominum* Morinos. And (s) *Pliny*, *Ultimique hominum exiſtimati* Morini. *Æthicus* ſaith they were, *Gentes Oceani Occidentalis*. But *Britain* being throughly made known in the time of *Claudius*, The *utmoſt bounds of the Weſt* muſt be underſtood of *Britain*, eſpecially ſince (t) *Catullus* calls *Britain*, *Ultimam Occidentis Inſulam*. And (u) *Arnobius* ſetting down the *bounds* of the Goſpel Eaſt and Weſt, for the Eaſt he mentions the *Indians*, and for the Weſt the *Britains*.

(i) De Script. Eccleſ.
(k) Clem. *Epiſt. ad* Corinth. *p.* 8.
(l) Euſeb. *vit.* Conſt. *l.* 1. *c.* 25, 41. *l.* 2. *c.* 28.
(m) Euſeb. *de Martyr Paleſt. c.* 13.
(n) Theod. *Hiſt. Religioſ. c.* 26. *p.* 881.
(o) Herod. *l.* 4. *p.* 273.
(p) Horat *Carm. l.* 1. *c.* 35.
(q) Catull. *ad* Aur.
(r) *Æneid. l.* 8.
(s) Plin. *l.* 19. *c.* 1.
(t) Catull. *ad* Cæſar.
(u) Arnob. *in* Pſal. 147.

Britains. I cannot but wonder what ſo Learned a man as (*w*) *Joh. Launoy* means, when, being urged by his Adverſaries with this place of *Clemens his Epiſtle* to prove the *Apoſtolical Antiquity* of the *Gallican Churches*, He fairly rejects the authority of this *Epiſtle*, which hath been ſo univerſally received by all Learned men ſince the firſt publiſhing of it. But then he argues well, that if this paſſage holds for *Gaul*, *it will much more hold for* Britain. So that from this undoubted Teſtimony of *Clemens* it follows, not onely, *That the Goſpel was preached in* Britain *in the times of the* Romans, but, *That St.* Paul *himſelf was the Preacher of it.* Which is affirmed by (*x*) *Venantius Fortunatus*, where he deſcribes St. *Paul*'s labours.

(w) Launoy *de loco* Sulpic. Severi, § 20. *p.* 123.

(x) Ven. Fortunat. *vit.* St. Martini, *l.* 3.

Tranſit & Oceanum, vel quà facit Inſula Portum,
Quæſque Britannus *habet terras quæſque ultima* Thule.

But becauſe this may look onely like a *Poetical Expreſſion*,

(3.) To make this out more fully, I ſhall conſider the *concurrent probability of Circumſtances*, together with theſe *Teſtimonies*. And I ſhall make it appear, (1.) From St. *Paul*'s *Circumſtances*, that he had Leiſure and Opportunity enough to have come hither. (2.) From the *Circumſtances* of *Britain*, that here was incouragement and invitation enough for him to come. (3.) From the *Circumſtances* of the *reſt* of the *Apoſtles*, That he was the moſt likely to come hither of any of them.

(1.) That St. *Paul* had Leiſure and Opportunity enough to come hither to preach the Goſpel. It is agreed by (*y*) *Euſebius*, St. (*z*) *Jerome*, and others of the Ancients, *That St.* Paul *ſuffer'd at* Rome, *14th. of* Nero. (*a*) *Baronius* ſaith, the 13th. reckoning the years of *Nero* exactly from the beginning of his Reign in *October*; But (*b*) *Petavius* ſaith, *That the Ancients reckon'd the years according to the uſual cuſtome of a civil year.* So that the 13th. of *Nero*'s Reign is the 14th. from the *Calends* of *January*. St. *Paul* was ſent to *Rome*, when *Feſtus* was made *Procuratour* of *Judæa*, in the room of *Felix*,

(y) Euſeb. *in Chron.*
(z) Hieron. *in Catal.*
(a) Baron. *A. D.* 69. *n.* 1.
(b) Petav. *de Doctr. Temp. l.* 11. *c.* 14.

lix, which was, ſay *Euſebius* and St. *Jerome*, in the ſecond of *Nero*; And I ſee no reaſon to queſtion it; For although *Felix* ſucceeded *Cumanus* in the Government of *Judæa*, who was not condemned till the 12th. of *Claudius* (from whence to the ſecond of *Nero* cannot be reckon'd thoſe *many years* (*c*) St. *Paul* ſaith *he had been Governour among the* Jews) yet we are to conſider, that *Felix* was not ſent immediately from *Rome*, as (*d*) *Baronius* miſtakes, but upon *Cumanus* his Sentence, had his former Government inlarged. *Judæa* being then added to his *Province*, and part of the Province which he had before being given to *Agrippa*, as (*e*) *Joſephus* ſaith; So that part of *Galilee* and *Samaria* having been under his Government before, Saint *Paul* might well ſay, he had been *a Ruler among them many years*, although he were diſmiſſed in the ſecond of *Nero*. And although (*f*) *Tacitus* ſaith, *That* Felix *had been a long time Governour of* Judæa, yet it appears, by the diſtribution of the Province between *Cumanus* and him, That before *Cumanus* his Baniſhment, that which was properly *Judæa* fell not to his ſhare; And it is not probable that his Government ſhould outlaſt the Favour of *Pallas* with *Nero*, which mightily declined in his ſecond year. After Saint *Paul*'s coming to *Rome*, Saint *Luke* ſaith, he abode there (*g*) two years. But (*h*) *Maſſutius* obſerves from the *Circumſtances* of Saint *Paul*'s Voyage, *That he could not come to* Rome *till the third of* Nero. So that he could not have his liberty till the fifth, upon occaſion of the Favours ſhew'd, as he conjectures, to Priſoners and Exiles on the Murther of *Agrippina*. But from this time to his returning to *Rome*, he went up and down Preaching the Goſpel. To which time (*i*) *Godeau*, in his *Life of Saint* Paul, allows eight years: (*k*) *Maſſutius* rather more; (*l*) *Baronius* the ſame; And he ſaith, *it was time enough for him to paſs through the whole World*; Which *Maſſutius* repeats after him. The Queſtion now is, Where Saint *Paul* employ'd all this time? The Ancient Writers of the Church generally ſay, *in the Weſtern parts*; ſo *Clemens*, *Theodoret*, St. *Jerome*, *Athanaſius*, *Epiphanius*, and others. But I need not to inſiſt on particular Teſtimonies, ſince the onely Learned (*m*) Perſon who hath

(c) Act. 24. 10.

(d) Baron. *A. D.* 50. *n.* 8.

(e) Joſeph. *de Bell. Jud. l.* 2. *c.* 11.

(f) Tacit. *Annal.* 12. *c.* 54.

(g) Act. 28. 30.

(h) Maſſut. *de vit. S. Pauli*, *l.* 13. *c.* 1.

(i) *Vie de St. Paul*, *l.*2. *p.*286.

(k) Maſſut. *ib. c.*67.

(l) Baron. *A. D.* 61. *n.* 2.

(m) L. Cappell. *ad Hiſt. Apoſtol. Appen. p.* 29.

hath oppoſed this Opinion doth ingenuouſly confeſs it to have been *the common and received Opinion of all the Fathers.* And I ſee no reaſon, by any thing he hath produced, to recede from it. For ſuppoſe we ſhould grant, that he went back into the Eaſtern parts, and viſited the Churches there, ſome part of this time; yet there is enough ſtill left for St. *Paul* to Preach the Goſpel in *Britain* and other Weſtern parts, as the Fathers ſay that he did. And if we compare the time ſpent by St. *Paul* in his former Travels in the Eaſt, and allow him to uſe an equal diligence afterwards, there cannot appear any improbability that he ſhould come into *Britain*, and eſtabliſh a Chriſtian Church here. Three *Peregrinations* of St. *Paul* we have an Account of in the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*, before his Voyage to *Rome.* The (*n*) firſt is of him and *Barnabas*, from *Antioch* to *Seleucia*, *Cyprus*, *Perga*, *Iconium*, *Lyſtra*, and *Derbe* of *Lycaonia*; from whence they returned back and ſettled the Government of the *Churches* then planted by them. And although it be ſaid (*o*) *that they abode long at* Iconium *and* Antioch, yet (*p*) *Maſſutius* ſhews, *That this whole Peregrination took up but five years:* Which is as much as (*q*) *Baronius* allows from the beginning of it, to the Council of *Jeruſalem.* For that he placeth in the 4th of *Claudius*, and this in the 9th. But (*r*) he makes their return to *Antioch* in the 7th, ſo that he allows but three years to the founding and ſettling ſo many Churches. After the *Council* at *Jeruſalem*, Saint *Paul* takes another Progreſs from *Antioch*, and went through (*s*) *Syria* and *Cilicia*, from thence to *Derbe* and *Lyſtra*; and ſo through *Phrygia*, and *Galatia*, and *Myſia*; and then from *Troas* croſſed the Sea into *Macedonia*, where he firſt Preached at *Philippi*, a *Roman Colonie:* And from thence paſſed to *Theſſalonica*, and ſo to *Berrhæa*, *Athens* and (*t*) *Corinth*, where he tarried a year and ſix months and more, and then ſailed into *Syria*, and made haſte to *Jeruſalem*, and ſo returned to *Antioch.* This ſecond Progreſs (*u*) *Baronius* reckons from the ninth of *Claudius* to the twelfth, and half the time was ſpent at *Corinth.* The third was again from *Antioch* over all the Countrey of *Galatia* and *Phrygia*, to which (*w*) *Baronius* allows a years time; And the next

(n) Act. 13. 14.

(o) Act. 14. 3, 8.

(p) Maſſut. *l.* 4. *c.* 9.

(q) Baron. *A. D.* 46. *n.* 12.

(r) *A. D.* 49. *n.* 1.

(s) Act. 15. 41.

(t) Act. 18. 11, 18, 22.

(u) Baron. *A. D.* 51. *n.* 56.

(w) Baron. *A. D.* 54. *n.* 1. Act. 18. 23.

(x) Act. 20. 31. next he fixes at *Epheſus*, where St. *Paul* ſaith he (x) tarried three years (not exactly, but the far greateſt part (y) Act. 19. 8, 10. of it, having taught (y) *three months in the Synagogue*, and *two years in the School of* Tyrannus.) From *Epheſus* he goes into *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, and having abode there *three months*, he returned through *Macedonia* to *Troas*, and from thence went to *Miletus*, whither he ſent for the *Elders of the Church*, and took his (z) Act. 20. 25, 38. ſolemn leave of them, ſaying, (z) *that they ſhould ſee his Face no more.* From *Miletus* he paſſed to *Phœnicia*, and ſo to *Jeruſalem*, where he was kept *two years* in cuſtody, and then ſent by *Feſtus* to *Rome*. This is a ſhort account of St. *Paul*'s labours and diligence in Preaching the Goſpel before his Impriſonment at *Rome*. And we cannot ſuppoſe a Perſon of ſuch indefatigable Induſtry and Pains, ſhould lie ſtill ſo many years after. It is certain he thought he ſhould never return more to the Eaſtern parts, when he ſaid ſo ſolemnly, *I know that ye all, among whom I have gone Preaching the Kingdom of God, ſhall ſee my Face no more.* Which Words do not onely concern the *Church* of *Epheſus*, but all the other *Churches* planted by him in the Eaſt; And this he ſpeaks not as his fear or conjecture, but out of certain Knowledge. And therefore it is not probable he ſhould return into the Eaſt, nor, if he did, would this hinder his coming into theſe parts afterwards, where he might plant *Churches* within that time. But it is objected, *That there are no certain Monuments of ſuch Churches planted by him in* Italy, Gaul, Germany *or* Spain. What certain Monuments are there of new *Churches* planted by him in the Eaſt after his return? And it is ſo much leſs probable, becauſe the Eaſtern Writers, who ſhould know beſt, allot this time to his Preaching in the Weſt. But it is well ob-

(a) M. Velſer. Rer Vindel. l. 6. ſerved by the Learned (a) *M. Velſerus*, ſpeaking of the Preaching of the Apoſtles, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, in theſe Weſtern parts, *That we are not to judge of the Planting of Churches by the remaining Annals and Monuments, becauſe on the one ſide we are certain that their ſound went out into all the Earth: And on the other, great care was taken in the ſeveral Perſecutions, eſpecially that of* Diocleſian, *to burn all the Monuments which concerned the Chriſtian*

Chriſtian Churches. But yet, as to *Britain*, we have undoubted Teſtimony of a Chriſtian Church planted here by the *Apoſtles*, and by none ſo probably as Saint *Paul.* For *Gildas* ſaith, *The Goſpel was here received before the fatal defeat of the* Britains *by* Suetonius Paulinus; which, according to Sir *H. Savil's Faſti*, was the ſeventh of *Nero*, the eighth ſaith *Petavius:* And St. *Paul* being at liberty the fifth, had time and conveniency enough to ſettle a *Chriſtian Church* in *Britain.*

(2.) That there was Incouragement and Invitation enough for St. *Paul* to come into *Britain*, not onely from the *Infinite numbers of People*, which, (*b*) *Cæſar* ſaith, were here in his time, but from the new Settlements that were daily making here by the *Romans*, after the firſt Succeſs, which they had in the time of *Claudius:* For then *Colonies* were drawn over hither; And not onely *Military Colonies* ſettled for the ſecurity of the *Roman Conqueſts*, ſuch as that of *Camalodunum* is deſcribed by (*c*) *Tacitus*, formerly *the Royal Seat of* Cynobelin, *King of the* Trinobantes; but alſo *Civil* and *Trading Colonies*, ſuch as *London* was from the beginning, and therefore commended by *Tacitus* for its admirable Situation for Trading, and all Accommodations to that end; and, upon the beſt enquiry I can make, I very much incline to believe it of a *Roman Foundation*, and no elder than the time of *Claudius* (as will be made appear in another Diſcourſe:) And that in the time of *Suetonius Paulinus* it was inhabited by *Romans* and *Britains* together, is evident from *Tacitus*; When *Suetonius Paulinus* drew out the *Inhabitants*, the City not being then defenſible againſt the *Britains*, who in that Revolt *deſtroyed LXX thouſand* Romans *and their Allies*, ſaith *Tacitus*; But (*d*) *Dio* ſaith, *two Cities* (*London* and *Verulam*; for *Camalodunum* was deſtroyed before) *and Eighty thouſand Men.* This was a time of ſo much Diſorder and Bloudſhed, That *Gildas* with great reaſon places the Planting of *Chriſtianity* here before it. And St. *Paul* might have ſome particular incouragement at *Rome* to come hither from *Pomponia Græcina*, Wife to *A. Plautius*, the *Roman* Lieutenant under *Claudius* in *Britain*; For that ſhe was a *Chriſtian* appears very

(b) Cæſar. *l.* 5.

(c) Tacit. *Annal.* 12. *c.* 32. 14. *c.* 31.

(d) Xiphil. *p.* 168.

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ry probable from the account *Tacitus* gives of her; (e) He ſaith, *ſhe was accuſed of foreign Superſtition, and that ſo far as to endanger her Life; But her Husband clear'd her, ſitting as Judge according to the ancient form; and ſhe lived long after, but in perpetual ſadneſs.* If *Tacitus* were to deſcribe the *Primitive Chriſtians*, he would have done it juſt after this manner, Charging their *Religion* with *Superſtition*, and the *Severity* of their *Lives* (abſtaining from all the *Feaſts* and *Follities* of the *Romans*) as a *continual Solitude.* It was the way of the Men of that time, ſuch as (f) *Suetonius*, and (g) *Pliny*, as well as (h) *Tacitus*, to ſpeak of *Chriſtianity* as a *Barbarous* and *Wicked Superſtition* (as appears by their Writings) being forbidden by their Laws; which they made the onely *Rule* of *Religion.* And this happen'd when *Nero* and *Calphurnius Piſo* were *Conſuls*, after St. *Paul*'s coming to *Rome*, and therefore it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe her one of his *Converts*, by whom he might eaſily be informed of the ſtate and condition of *Britain*, and thereby be more incouraged to undertake a Voyage thither. It is certain that St. *Paul* did make conſiderable Converts at his coming to *Rome*; Which is the reaſon of his mentioning (i) *the Saints in* Cæſar's *houſhold.* And it is not improbable that ſome of the *Britiſh Captives* carried over with *Caractacus* and his *family* might be ſome of them; who would certainly promote the *Converſion* of their Countrey by St. *Paul.* But I cannot affirm, as (k) *Moncæius* doth, *That* Claudia, *mention'd by St.* Paul, *was* Caractacus *his Daughter, and turn'd Chriſtian, and after married to* Pudens *a* Roman *Senatour*; *whoſe Marriage is celebrated by* Martial *in his noted Epigrams to that purpoſe.* It is certain that *Claudia Ruffina* was a *Britain*, who is ſo much commended by (l) *Martial* for her *Wit* and *Beauty.* But if theſe *Epigrams* were written in *Trajan*'s time, as is very probable, It is ſomewhat of the lateſt for the Daughter of *Caractacus* who came in *Claudius* his time to *Rome.* But (m) *Alford* digeſts all this well enough, onely he is extremely concern'd, *leſt ſhe ſhould be made the Apoſtle of* Britain, *and Preach here before St.* Peter. But the (n) *Authour* of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, whom he reflects upon, ſaith no ſuch thing as

(e) Tacit. *Annal.* 13. *c.* 32.

(f) Suet. *l.* 6. *c.* 16.

(g) Plin. *Epiſt. l.* 10. *ep.* 98.

(h) Tacit. *Annal.* 15.

(i) Phil. 4. 22.

(k) Moncæius, *de Incunab. Regiis Eccleſ. Chriſtiana Vet. Britan.*

(l) Martial. *l.* 4. *ep.* 13. *l.* 11. *ep.* 53.

(m) Alford *Annal. Eccleſ. A. D.* 53. *n.* 5, 6.

(n) *Antiq. Britan. p.* 3.

as he would impute to him. He onely ſaith, *That if ſhe were a Chriſtian ſhe would acquaint her Countreymen as much with the Chriſtian Doctrine as ſhe did before with* Martial's *Witt.* Wherein there is no Profaneneſs or Abſurdity. But he adds, *that in ſo Noble a Family; The reſt of her kindred who were baptized with her might be the Occaſions of diſperſing Chriſtianity in the* Britiſh *Nation.* So that there was no need, *for his bidding* Claudia *to keep at home, and make room for St.* Peter *to come to* Britain *to preach the Goſpel.* But if this *Claudia* were St. *Paul*'s Diſciple, why might not ſhe excite that *Apoſtle* to go into her Countrey, to plant *Chriſtianity* there, as he had done with ſo much Succeſs in other Places? And whether St. *Peter* or St. *Paul* were more probably the *Apoſtle* of *Britain*, is now to be conſidered. And I affirm,

(3.) That St. *Paul* was the moſt likely to come hither of any of the *Apoſtles.* The ſeveral *Traditions* about St. *James*, *Simon Zelotes* and *Philip*, are ſo deſtitute of any ancient Teſtimony or Probability, that the Competition among the *Apoſtles* can lie onely between St. *Peter* and St. *Paul.* Some Writers of our Church Hiſtory have endeavoured for particular Reaſons, to prove St. *Peter* to have preached the Goſpel in *Britain*; But their Proofs are very ſlight and inconſiderable, and depend chiefly on the authority of *Simeon Metaphraſtes* or other *Legendary Writers*, or ſome *Monkiſh Viſions*, or ſome *Domeſtick Teſtimonies* of his pretended Succeſſours, or ſome late *partial Advocates*, ſuch as (*o*) *Eyſengrenius*, who profeſſes to follow *Metaphraſtes.* All which together are not worth mentioning in compariſon with the Authours on the other ſide; I ſhall therefore examine the Probability of the thing from the *Circumſtances* of St. *Peter*, as I did before from thoſe of St. *Paul*; and I ſhall endeavour to ſhew, That his buſineſs lay quite another way, and that there is no probable Evidence of his coming hither.

(o) Eyſengren. *Cent.* 1. *part.* 7. *diſt.* 8.

I take it for granted, that the *Apoſtles* were employ'd according to the Tenour of their *Commiſſions*, viz. That the Apoſtle of the *Circumciſion* was to attend the *Jews*,

and of the *Uncircumciſion* the *Gentiles*. Now St. *Paul* ſaith, That (*p*) *the Goſpel of the Uncircumciſion was committed to him, as the Goſpel of the Circumciſion was unto* Peter. *This*, (*q*) *Baronius* ſaith, *was agreed at the Council at* Jeruſalem. But he will not have it to be ſuch a diſtribution of *diſtinct Provinces*, as that the one upon no occaſion ſhould meddle with the *Gentiles*, nor the other with the *Jews*: But yet he grants, *that the Apoſtleſhip of the* Gentiles *was in a particular manner committed to St.* Paul, *as of the* Jews *to St.* Peter. And whatever they might doe *occaſionally*, This, as he proves from (*r*) St. *Jerome*, was the *Principale Mandatum*, the *Main of the Commiſſion to either of them.* Which being ſuppoſed, It neceſſarily follows, that St. *Peter*'s *chief employment* muſt be where the greateſt *numbers* of *Jews* were. And from hence (*s*) *Petrus de Marca* infers, That St. *Peter*, having preached to the *Jews* in *Judæa*, employed himſelf in converting the *Jews* abroad both of the *firſt* and *ſecond Diſperſion*. The latter were chiefly in *Ægypt*, at *Alexandria*, where he ſettled *Mark* the *Biſhop* over the *converted Jews*. From thence he went to *Antioch*; from thence to *Babylon*, where the Head of the *firſt Diſperſion* lived; *And in this City*, he ſaith, *he wrote his Epiſtle to thoſe diſperſed* Jews, *over whoſe Synagogues the Patriarch of* Babylon *had Juriſdiction. Clemens Romanus* takes no notice at all of St. *Peter*'s Preaching in the Weſtern parts, as he doth of St. *Paul*'s. But (*t*) *Euſebius*, from *Origen*, ſaith, *That St.* Peter *preached to the diſperſed* Jews *in* Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, *&c.* And (*u*) *Epiphanius*, even where he ſaith, *That St.* Peter *and St.* Paul *did both conſtitute Biſhops at* Rome *upon their going thence to preach the Goſpel in other places*; yet he adds, *That St.* Paul *went towards* Spain, *but St.* Peter *frequently viſited* Pontus *and* Bithynia, which was very agreeable to the deſign of his Commiſſion, there being ſo great a number of *Jews* in thoſe parts. And *Pontus* and *Bithynia* ſeem to have been reſerved as the peculiar *Province* of St. *Peter*; For when St. *Paul* attempted to go into *Bithynia*, (*w*) *he was forbidden by the Spirit*, which then commanded him to come into *Europe*. And ſo he made for *Macedonia*. (*x*) *Baronius* grants, *that St.* Peter *ſpent the greateſt*

(p) Gal. 2. 7.

(q) Baron. *A.D.* 51. § 16, 26, 28, 29.

(r) Hieron. *in Ep. ad* Gal. *c.* 2.

(s) Pet. de Marc. *de Concord. l.* 6. *c.* 1. *n.* 4.

(t) Euſeb. *Hiſt. l.* 3. *c.* 1.

(u) Epiphan. *Hær.* 27. *n.* 6.

(w) Act. 16. 7.

(x) Baron. *A. D.* 58. *n.* 51.

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part of his time in the Eaſtern parts, but about Anno Dom. *LVIII. he finds him employed in the Weſt, and particularly among the* Britains. But what *ancient authority*, according to his own Rule, doth he produce for it? He names none but *Metaphraſtes*, and yet, as it falls out unluckily, when the ſame *Metaphraſtes* his authority is produced, *for St.* Paul's *preaching in the Weſtern parts*, he is apparently ſlighted by him (*y*) and for the very ſame Reaſon, which holds againſt the former Teſtimony, viz. *for quoting things out of* Euſebius, *which are not to be found in him.* And elſewhere he ſaith, (*z*) *he is of no authority in theſe matters.* But *Metaphraſtes* his Teſtimony ſerves to a good purpoſe in St. *Peter*'s Caſe, *viz.* to clear a conſiderable difficulty, how St. *Peter*, if then Biſhop of *Rome*, ſhould not be taken notice of by St. *Paul*, when he wrote his *Epiſtle* to the *Romans.* To which he anſwers, *That Saint* Peter *came to* Rome *the ſecond of* Claudius, *but being baniſhed thence with other* Jews *the ninth of* Claudius, *he ſpent the time then in preaching the Goſpel in other places, and ſo* very conveniently *finds him in* Britain, *when St.* Paul *wrote his Epiſtle to the* Romans, which he placeth in the ſecond of *Nero.* But it is by no means probable, ſaith (*a*) *Valeſius*, *That St.* Peter *ſhould come to* Rome *before the death of* Herod Agrippa. And (*b*) *Baronius* ſaith, *That after his being delivered out of priſon, he went to* Cæſarea, Laodicea *and* Antioch (according to his own Authour *Metaphraſtes*) and then into *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Galatia* and *Bithynia*, and ſo returned by *Antioch* to *Jeruſalem.* So that if *Metaphraſtes* his authority be good for any thing, St. *Peter* could hardly come to *Rome* the ſecond of *Claudius*: And if the death of *Agrippa* followed ſoon after the delivery of St. *Peter*, as *Valeſius* thinks, and St. *Luke* ſeems to intimate; then he could not be at *Rome* till the fourth of *Claudius*, for all agree that *Agrippa* died that year. So that there is no certainty of St. *Peter*'s coming to *Rome* the ſecond of *Claudius.* Yet let that be ſuppoſed, *And that St.* Peter *went from* Rome *on the Edict of* Claudius. What makes him ſo long abſent from thence as to the ſecond of *Nero*, when (*c*) St. *Paul* in his *Epiſtle* to the *Romans* ſalutes *Aquila* and *Priſcilla* as then pre-

(y) *A.D.* 61. *n.* 4.

(z) *A.D.* 44. *n.* 38.

(a) Valeſ. *in* Euſeb. *l.* 2. *c.* 15.

(b) Baron. *A.D.* 44. § 10.

(c) Rom. 16. 3.

(d) Act. 18. 2. ſent at *Rome*, who certainly left it before on the (*d*) Account of that *Edict*. So that this *Edict* could be no reaſon of his being abſent from *Rome* at the time of this *Epiſtle*. But it falls out unhappily, That though St. *Peter* be made by *Baronius* and others *Biſhop of* Rome *for twenty five years*, yet he can never be found in his own *Dioceſe* in all that time before his *Martyrdom*; But one excuſe or other is ſtill found for his abſence, when there were ſeveral remarkable Tranſactions which muſt have diſcovered him if he had been at *Rome*; As not onely upon St. *Paul*'s writing this *Epiſtle* to the *Romans*, but upon St. *Paul*'s coming to *Rome*, upon his writing ſo many *Epiſtles* from thence, upon the *defence* he made for himſelf, when he ſaith,

(e) 2 Tim. 4. 16. (*e*) *that all forſook him.* What St. *Peter* too? So that

(f) Lactant. *de Mort. Perſec. c. 2.* upon the whole matter, the Opinion of (*f*) *Lactantius* in his late publiſhed Book, ſeems moſt agreeable to truth, *That St.* Peter *came not to* Rome *till the Reign of* Nero, *and not long before his Martyrdom*; And this *Baluzius* confeſſes to have been *the moſt ancient and received Opinion in the Church*, ſince *Lactantius* never diſputes it: And what he ſaith of *the twenty five years wherein the Apoſtles planted Churches*, was in likelihood the *Occaſion* of that miſtaken *Tradition* concerning *Saint* Peter's *being twenty five years Biſhop of* Rome. So much may ſuffice to ſhew the greater probability, That the Chriſtian Church in *Britain* was rather founded by St. *Paul* than by St. *Peter* or any other *Apoſtle*.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Succeſſion of the *Britiſh* Churches to the firſt Council of *Nice.*

THE Teſtimony of Tertullian *concerning them cleared.*

It extends onely to Britains.

The National Converſion of the Scots *under King* Donald *fabulous.*

Of Dempſter's *old Annals.*

Proſper *ſpeaks not of the* Scots *in* Britain.

Tertullian *to be underſtood of the Provincial* Britains *as well as others.*

The Teſtimony of Sulpitius Severus *examin'd.*

Several Teſtimonies of Origen *concerning the* Britiſh *Churches in his time.*

The different Traditions about King Lucius.

The State of the Roman *Province here, overthrows his being King over all* Britain.

Great probability there was ſuch a King in ſome part of it, and then converted to Chriſtianity.

A Conjecture propoſed in what part of Britain *he reigned.*

The moſt probable means of his Converſion, and the Story cleared from Monkiſh Fables.

Of Diocleſian's *Perſecution in* Britain, *and the ſtopping of it by the means of* Conſtantius.

The flouriſhing of the Britiſh *Churches under* Conſtantine.

The reaſon onely of three Britiſh *Biſhops preſent at the Council of* Arles.

The great Antiquity of Epiſcopal Government here.

Of the Flamines *and* Archiflamines *of* Geffrey *of* Monmouth; *how far agreeable to the* Roman *Conſtitution.*

Maximi-

Maximinus *ſet up a Pagan Hierarchy in imitation of the Chriſtian.*

The Canons of the Council of Arles *not ſent to the Pope to confirm, but to publiſh them.*

HAving ſhew'd the great probability of the planting a Chriſtian Church here in the Apoſtles time, and that by St. *Paul*; I am now to conſider, the *Succeſſion* of this Church; of which we have undoubted Evidence from the unqueſtionable Teſtimonies of *Tertullian* and *Origen*, who mention it as a thing ſo very well known, That they uſe it as an Argument againſt the *Jews*, to prove *Chriſt* to have been the promiſed *Meſſias*, *becauſe the uttermoſt parts of the Earth were given for his Poſſeſſion.* *Tertullian* flouriſhed, as St. *Jerome* ſaith, under *Severus and his Son*; And in the time of *Severus* he wrote againſt the *Jews*, as (*a*) *Baronius* proves from ſeveral Paſſages in that Book. In his time the Affairs of *Britain* were very well underſtood in other parts of the *Roman* Empire, eſpecially by Men ſo learned and inquiſitive as *Tertullian.* For *Clodius Albinus* having ſet up for the Empire in *Britain*, and being beaten by *Severus*, near *Lyons*, he took care to ſecure this Province by ſending *Virius Lupus*, his Lieutenant, hither. But things growing troubleſome here, *Severus* himſelf undertook an Expedition hither, and brought the *Britains* to ſuch Terms, That they were contented to live beyond the Wall which *Severus* built; where *Hadrian's* Wall had been before. The part of *Britain* beyond the Wall was called *Caledonia*, as (*b*) *Dio* ſaith. And it is apparent, that the *Romans* were at that time fully acquainted with the Condition of the *Britains*, both within the Province, and without; And therefore *Tertullian* cannot be ſuppoſed to ſpeak at random about this matter; when (*c*) he mentions *the Nations of* Gaul *and the* Britains, with as much aſſurance as he doth his Countreymen, *the* Moors, *for receiving Chriſtianity*; And ſaith, *The Kingdom of* Chriſt *was advanced among them, and that* Chriſt *was ſolemnly worſhipped by them.* *Tertullian* was a man of too much underſtanding to expoſe himſelf to the contempt of the *Jews*,

(a) Baron. *A.D.* 210. *n.* 4.

(b) Dio *in* Sever.

(c) Tertull. con. Judæos, *c.* 7.

Jews, by mentioning this as a thing ſo well known at that time, if the *Britains* were then known to be no Chriſtians; Or, if they had been ſuch, and were returned to Barbariſm, the Argument would have been ſtronger againſt him. When therefore ſuch a Paſſage doth not fall by chance from ſuch a Writer, but the force of an Argument depends upon it, it is of ſo much greater weight. How ridiculous would it appear for a man to prove that Popery is the Catholick Religion, by inſtancing not onely in *Italy* and *Spain*, as the Nations where it is univerſally received; but in *Great Britain*, and *Denmark*, and *Sweden?* No leſs was the abſurdity then to prove *Chriſt's univerſal Kingdom* by enumerating *Gaul* and *Britain* with other Nations where *Chriſt* was worſhipped, if there were no Chriſtian Churches at that time in being among them.

But there are two Objections againſt this Paſſage of *Tertullian*, which muſt be removed. (1.) That he ſpeaks of that part of *Britain* which was not under the *Roman* Power; and the Converſion of it is ſaid to be later than to be here mention'd by *Tertullian:* For (*d*) *Joh. Fordon* and (*e*) *Joh. Maior*, from an ancient *Diſtick* in both of them

(d) Fordon. *l.* 3. *c.* 35.
(e) Maior *de Geſt. Scot. l.* 1. *c.* 14.

(Chriſti *tranſactis tribus annis atque ducentis*
Scotia *Catholicam cœpit inire Fidem.*)

ſay, That the Chriſtian Religion was received in *Scotland* in *A. D.* 203. about the ſeventh of *Severus*. But this was ſo little a time before *Tertullian's* Writing, that it could hardly be ſo well known in *Africa*, as to afford ſtrength to an Argument againſt the *Jews*.

To which I anſwer, That it is true, *Tertullian* doth add the greater *Emphaſis* to his Argument by ſaying, *Et* Britannorum *inacceſſa* Romanis *loca*, Chriſto *vero ſubdita*, The Goſpel had acceſs to thoſe parts of *Britain* whither the *Romans* had none. Which doth prove, that Chriſtianity was then received beyond the Wall, but not by the *Scots*, who were not yet ſettled in thoſe parts; But by the *old Britains*, who were driven thither, as appears by the Account given by (*f*) *Xiphilin*

(f) Xiphil. *in* Severo.

lin out of *Dio*, who ſaith, *that the* Britains *were divided into two ſorts, the* Mæatæ *and the* Caledonii; *The former dwelt by the Wall, and the latter beyond them.* Theſe were the *Extraprovincial Britains*, and were diſtinct both from the *Picts* and the *Scots*, ſaith (*g*) *Joh. Fordon*, who carefully diſtinguiſheth theſe *three Nations* when he ſpeaks of their Wars with the *Romans*; And he makes *Fulgentius* the Head of the *Britains* of *Albany* in the time of *Severus*; But he ſuppoſes both the *Scots* and *Picts* to have been in the Northern parts long before, and that the *Scots* received the Chriſtian Faith in the time of *Severus*, *Victor* being then Biſhop of *Rome*, who ſucceeded *Eleutherius*; *To whom*, ſaith (*h*) *Hector Boethius*, *King* Donald *ſent Embaſſadours, to deſire him to ſend Perſons fit to inſtruct them in the Chriſtian Faith. And upon this*, ſaith he, *it was generally received in* Scotland. * *Dempſter*, according to his cuſtome, is very warm in this matter, and ſaith, *all their Annals and Hiſtories agree, that King* Donald *and the whole Kingdom of* Scotland *did then embrace Chriſtianity*; And is angry with *Baronius* for putting off their Converſion to the time of *Palladius*. But notwithſtanding all his boaſting of *the conſent of Annals and Hiſtories*, the *Scotichronicon* is the onely Authority he hath to produce: And in his *Preface* he ſaith, *That King* Edward *I. deſtroy'd all the Monuments of the Kingdom*; and it is ſomewhat unreaſonable to complain of *the want*, and to alledge *the conſent* of them at the ſame time. And beſides, he produceth ſomething out of *Fordon* concerning *Paſchaſius* of *Sicily*, being ſent by *Victor* into *Scotland*, and returning with a Meſſage from King *Donald*, which is not to be found in *Fordon*. But, as (*i*) *Baronius* obſerves, *It is ſtrange, that ſo remarkable a Converſion ſhould be omitted not onely by* Bede, *but by* Marianus Scotus, *who mentions the Miſſion of* Palladius. And (*k*) *Proſper* ſaith, *Upon the Miſſion of* Palladius, *who was made the firſt Biſhop over the* Scotiſh *Chriſtians, the People, who were barbarous before, were made Chriſtians.*

(g) Fordon. *Scotichron. l. 3. c. 36.*

(h) Hector. Boeth. *l. 5. p. 89.*

* Dempſter. *Apparat. ad Hiſt. Scot. l. 1. c. 6. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 15. in* Palladio.

(i) Baron. *A. D. 429. n. 2.*

(k) Proſper. *cont. Collator. in fine.*

But it is urged by *Dempſter*, not without ſhew of *Authority*, that *Palladius* was ſent to thoſe *which were already Chriſtians*, and therefore Chriſtianity muſt be planted

planted among the *Scots* before the *Miſſion* of *Palladius*; and for this he quotes *Beda*, *Ado Viennenſis*, *Hermannus Contractus*, *Marianus Scotus*, and others; and he blames *Platina* and *Ciacconius* who make him *the Inſtrument of their Converſion*, wherein he confeſſeth they follow *Fabius Ethelwerd* and *Ingulphus*; but he takes no notice, that *Proſper* himſelf, in his *Chronicon*, affirms the ſame thing, and the others have it from him. So that *Proſper* makes the *Scots* to be converted by *Palladius*, and to have been *Chriſtians* before his time; which are inconſiſtent: But (*l*) *Nennius* ſeems to have hit upon the true account of this matter, *viz.* *That* Palladius *was ſent by* Celeſtine *to convert the* Scots, *but, finding no great ſucceſs therein, he was driven on the Coaſts of* Britain, *and there died: And after his death,* St. Patrick *was ſent on the ſame Errand.* And, if the Writers of his Life may be believed, *Palladius* did very little towards the Converſion of the *Scots*; And therefore what *Proſper* ſaith of *Celeſtine's making a barbarous Nation Chriſtian*, muſt be underſtood of his *Deſign* and good Intention, and not of the *Event*, which came not to paſs till ſome time after; and chiefly, by the means of St. *Patrick*, who went after the death of *Palladius*: Unleſs we underſtand the Words of *Proſper*, of thoſe who were made Chriſtians *at the time of his Writing*; the Deſign whereof being laid by *Palladius* is therefore attributed to him, when he wrote againſt *Caſſian*, ſometime after the death of *Celeſtine*: But when he wrote his *Chronicon*, in the time of *Leo*, *The* Scots *being then converted*; he ſaith, *That* Palladius *was appointed to be Biſhop over the believing* Scots. Not that they did then believe before *Palladius* his coming, but *that they did now believe when he wrote his* Chronicon. For all the Teſtimonies of ſuch as Preached there before *Palladius* are of very little Credit. But nothing of all this relates to the *Scots* in *Britain*; but to the original *Scots* in *Ireland*, who were uncapable of a National Converſion in *Britain*, ſo long before they came to ſettle in it, as will appear afterwards: So that if there were any Converſion of *Scots* before the *Miſſion* of *Palladius*, it cannot at all reſpect this Place of *Tertullian*, who ſpeaks onely of the *Britains*, and not of the *Scots*.

(l) Nenn. c. 55, 56.

And *Dio* knew of none but *Britains* that lived Northward in that Expedition of *Severus*, although, he ſaith, *he went to the utmoſt extent of the Iſland, and at laſt concluded a Peace with the* Britains *upon their quitting no ſmall part of their Countrey*, although they ſoon revolted; So that here was a great number of *Britains* to be converted in thoſe Places where the *Romans* never had been before *Severus* his laſt Expedition: Which the *Scotiſh Hiſtorians* apply to the Converſion of their *Nation*, who were not yet come into *Britain*. But allowing that there were *Churches* planted among the Northern *Britains*, this doth not overthrow the continuance and propagation of the Chriſtian Church among the Provincial *Britains*; For now, for a long time, the Chriſtian Religion had a great Liberty of propagating it ſelf; For, from the time of *Hadrian* to *Severus*, the Chriſtians were generally free from Perſecution, excepting what the Rage of the People brought upon them in ſome Places, without any *Edict* of the *Emperours*, as in the time of the *Antonini* both at *Rome*, in *Gaul*, and ſome parts of the Eaſt: But theſe Perſecutions were neither general, nor continued ſo long as when the Emperours publiſhed Edicts on purpoſe; and therefore, the Perſecutions under *Trajan* and the *Antonini*, ought in reaſon to be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe under *Nero* and *Domitian*, *Decius* and *Dioclefian*, when the Emperours made it their buſineſs to root out Chriſtianity. But in the former Caſe, the Emperours reſtrain'd the People by their *Edicts*, but the People in ſome Places by falſe Suggeſtions fruſtrated the deſign of thoſe *Edicts*, which Places excepted, the Chriſtians enjoy'd a long time of Liberty; In which they neglected no opportunities to promote their Religion. And within this time the Chriſtian Writers ſay, *There was no Nation almoſt then known, where Chriſtianity was not planted.* So (*m*) *Juſtin Martyr* tells *Trypho*; ſo (*n*) *Euſebius* and *Ruffinus* ſpeak; and (*p*) *Lactantius* ſaith, *That Chriſtianity ſpread it ſelf into the Eaſt and Weſt, ſo that there was ſcarce any Corner of the Earth ſo remote whither it had not pierced, no Nation ſo barbarous that was not reduced by it.* As to *Britain*, *Gildas* affirms the *continuance of a Church here*, from the firſt Plantation of the Goſpel,

(m) Juſtin. *Dial. cum* Tryph. *p.* 345.
(n) Euſeb. *l.* 4. *c.* 67. *l.* 5. *c.* 21.
(o) Ruffin. *l.* 4. *c.* 8.
(p) Lactant. *de Mort. Perſec. c.* 3.

Goſpel, *though not maintain'd with equal Zeal to the Perſecution of* Diocleſian; and even that was ſo far from deſtroying it, that it gained ſtrength and reputation by the *Courage of Confeſſours and Martyrs*; and the heat of it was no ſooner over, but, as (*q*) *Bede* and (*r*) *Gildas* both ſay, *the Chriſtian Church flouriſhed again in great Peace and Unity till the* Arian Hereſie *gave it diſturbance.*

(q) Bed. *l.* 1. *c.* 8.
(r) Gild. § 8.

(2.) It is objected, That (*s*) *Sulpicius Severus*, ſpeaking of the Perſecution of *Chriſtians* in *Gaul* in the time of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, ſaith, *That Martyrdoms were then firſt ſeen in* Gaul, *the Chriſtian Religion being more lately received beyond the Alpes.* Which ſeems to overthrow the *Antiquity* of the *Britannick* as well as the *Gallick Churches.* But in my opinion (after ſo many Diſcourſes written in a neighbour Nation about this Paſſage) we are to diſtinguiſh that which *Sulpicius Severus* abſolutely affirms, viz. *That there were no Martyrdoms in* Gaul *before that time*; From that which he ſuppoſes to have been the *reaſon* of it, viz. *That the Chriſtian Religion was more lately received on this ſide the Alpes.* The other he was certain of, there being no authentick Relation of any *Martyrdoms* there before; but that which he aſſigns as the *reaſon* of it, hath no ſuch certainty in it; For the Chriſtian Churches might have been planted there before, and have eſcaped that Perſecution which befell the Churches of *Lyons* and *Vienna* in the time of *M. Aurelius:* He might as well have argued, that Chriſtianity was not here received till a little before the Perſecution of *Diocleſian*, becauſe we reade of *no Martyrdoms* before thoſe of St. *Alban*, *Julius* and *Aaron*, at that time. But if there were no *Edict* for Perſecution of Chriſtians for above an hundred years together, *viz.* from the Perſecution of *Domitian*, *Anno Dom.* 92. to the *Edict* of *Severus*, *Anno Dom.* 204. then it was very poſſible that there might be Chriſtian Churches in *Gaul*, and yet no *Martyrdoms* till the Perſecution under *M. Aurelius* by a popular Tumult, which, as (*t*) *Euſebius* tells us, was the ſeventeenth year of his Reign. (*u*) *Baronius* thinks that M. Aurelius *ſent private Edicts againſt the Chriſtians.* But (*w*) *Tertullian* ſaith, *none of their good Emperours ever perſecuted the Chriſtians,*

(s) Sulpic. Sev. *l.* 2. *p.* 381.
(t) Euſeb. *l.* 5. *c.* 1.
(u) Baron. *A.D.* 164. *n.* 6.
(w) Tertull. *Apol. c.* 5.

and inſtanceth in *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, *Pius*, *Verus* and *M. Aurelius*. (x) *Euſebius* ſaith, *That* Trajan *abated the fierceneſs of the Perſecution, but left the Laws in force upon information*; *That* Hadrian, *in his Reſcript to* Minutius Fundanus, *Proconſul of* Aſia, *forbad a general Perſecution of any as Chriſtians*; *That*, Antoninus Pius, *not onely purſued the ſame method, but threatned ſevere puniſhment to all Informers*: the ſame he ſaith of *M. Aurelius*. In *Commodus* his time, he ſaith, *the Chriſtian Churches flouriſhed very much in all parts*; So that till *Severus* his *Edict* there was no Perſecution, by virtue of any *Edict* of the Emperours; by the account which *Euſebius* gives. And (y) *Lactantius* hardly allows *any Perſecution at all from* Domitian *to* Decius. Not but that the Chriſtians ſuffered very much in ſome Places, through the Rage of the People, and the Violence of ſome Govetnours of Provinces; But there was no general Perſecution countenanced by the Emperours *Edicts*, and therefore, where the People were quiet or intent upon other things, there might be *Chriſtian Churches* where there were no ſuch *Martyrdoms* as thoſe of *Lyons* and *Vienna*.

(x) Euſeb. *l.* 3. *c.* 33.
l. 4. *c.* 9.
c. 13.
l. 5. *c.* 5.
c. 21.
(y) Lactant. *de Mort. Perſec. c.* 3.

It is certain that (z) *Irenæus* mentions *the conſent of the* Celtick *Churches*, and thoſe *of* Germany *and the* Iberi, *with the Eaſtern and* Libyan *Churches*. All the Queſtion is, Whether this ought to be reſtrained to the Churches planted among the *Celtæ*, as they were *one Diviſion* of the *Gauls* in *Cæſar's* time, or whether he took the Word in the larger ſenſe, as comprehending *all the Gauls*. This latter ſeems much more probable, becauſe *Irenæus*, in none of the others mention'd by him, takes any particular Diviſion of the People, but the general Name, as of the *Germans* and *Iberi*, and why not then the *Celtæ* in as large a ſenſe? Since (a) *Strabo*, (b) *Plutarch*, (c) *Appian*, and others, call the *Gauls* in general by the name of *Celtæ*; and *Tertullian* manifeſtly rejects that ſenſe of *Celtæ* for one Diviſion of the *Gauls*, when he mentions *the ſeveral Nations of the* Gauls which had embraced Chriſtianity. But I will not inſiſt, as (d) *Petrus de Marca* doth, *That* Tertullian *by the* Galliarum diverſæ Nationes *means the four Provinces of* Gaul *into which* Auguſtus

(z) Iren. *l.* 1. *c.* 3.
(a) Strab. *l.* 1, 4, 7.
(b) Plutarch. *in* Cæſare, *in* Craſſo.
(c) Appian. 2. *Civil. Bell.*
(d) Pet. de Marc. *Epiſt. ad* H. Valeſ.

ſtus *did diſtribute it*: But I ſay, that there is no reaſon to limit the ſenſe of *Tertullian* to *one Diviſion* of the *Gauls*, ſuppoſing the *different Nations* do comprehend thoſe of *Gallia Ciſalpina* and *Tranſalpina*; although I ſee no ground to underſtand *Tertullian* ſo, (*e*) ſince the name of *Gallia Ciſalpina* was much diſuſed; eſpecially after the new diſtribution of the Empire by *Hadrian*. So that from the Teſtimonies of *Irenæus* and *Tertullian*, we ſee no reaſon to queſtion the greater *Antiquity* of the *Celtick Churches* than *Sulpicius Severus* intimates, much leſs to overthrow the *Antiquity* of the *Britannick Churches*. For, beſides this Teſtimony of *Tertullian* concerning the *Britiſh Churches*; We have another of (*f*) *Origen*, not long after, who ſaith, *When did* Britain *before the coming of* Chriſt *conſent in the Worſhip of one God?* Which implies, that the *Britains* were then known to be *Chriſtians*; and, by being ſo, were brought off from the former Idolatry. And unleſs ſo learned a Man as *Origen* had been fully ſatisfied of the truth of this, having choice enough of other Inſtances, he would not have run as far as *Britain* to bring an Argument to prove, *that all the Earth doth praiſe the Lord*; *Which*, he ſaith, *is fulfilled in the Chriſtian Churches diſperſed over the World*. But I wonder what ſhould make two ſuch learned Antiquaries as (*g*) Mr. *Camden* and (*h*) Biſhop *Godwin*, ſo far to miſtake the ſenſe of *Origen*, to underſtand him as if he had ſaid, *That* Britain, *by the help of the* Druids, *always conſented in the belief of one God*, whereas it is very plain, That *Origen* ſpeaks of it as a great alteration that was made in the Religion of the *Britains* after the coming of *Chriſt*. And *Origen* doth not onely ſpeak of the *belief*, but of *the Worſhip of one God*, which it is certain from *Cæſar*, That the *Druids* did never inſtruct the People in. But the Chriſtian Religion alter'd the whole Scheme of the *Druids* Worſhip, and inſtead of their *Taranis* and *Heſus*, and *Teutates*, and *Belenus*, and *Andate*, it taught them to believe and worſhip one true God, and *Jeſus Chriſt*, whom he hath ſent to be the Saviour of the World; *Whoſe Power*, (*i*) *Origen* ſaith elſewhere, *was ſeen in* Britain *as well as* Mauritania.

(*e*) Launoy *Ep.* c. 7.

(*f*) Origen. *in* Ezek. *hom.* 4.

(*g*) Camd. *Brit.* p. 47.

(*h*) Godwin. *de Præſul.* p. 23.

(*i*) Orig. *in* Luc. c. 1. *hom.* 6.

Thus

Thus far I have endeavoured to clear the *Apoſtolical Succeſſion* of the *Britiſh Churches*, which thoſe have rendred more doubtfull, who have derived our Chriſtianity from King *Lucius* his Meſſage to Pope *Eleutherius*, and the Perſons he ſent over to convert him and the whole Nation, as the Tradition goes, to the Chriſtian Faith. But there is a conſiderable difference to be obſerved about this *Tradition*, not merely about *the time* of the Converſion of this King *Lucius* (of which (*k*) Archbiſhop *Uſher* hath given ſo full an account, that to his diligence therein, nothing material can be added) but concerning *the means* and *manner* of his *Converſion*, and the *Perſons* employ'd in it. For (*l*) *Petrus Equilinus* ſaith, *That he was baptized by* Timothy, *a Diſciple of St.* Paul; and he had it from a much better Authour, for (*m*) *Notkerus Balbulus* ſaith, *That King* Lucius *was baptized by* Timothy; not the *Timothy* to whom Saint *Paul* wrote his *Epiſtles*; But the Brother of *Novatus*, whoſe Names are extant in the *old Martyrology* publiſhed by *Roſweyd*, 12 Cal. *Julii*; who were both, ſaith (*n*) Baronius, *Sons to* Pudens *a* Roman *Senatour*; the ſame who is ſuppoſed to have been marryed to *Claudia Rufina* the *Britain*; and therefore his Son might not improbably be employ'd in this work of converting a *Britiſh* King. (*o*) *Nauclerus* takes notice, *That this Relation agrees beſt with the Tradition of the Church of* Curia, a noted City of *Rhætia*. And (*p*) *Pantaleon* calls Lucius *the Diſciple of* Timothy; out of the *Annals* of that *Church*. From whence (*q*) *Marcus Velſerus* ſhews, *that he did not die here in* Britain, *but went over into thoſe parts of* Rhætia *to preach the Goſpel, and there ſuffer'd Martyrdom:* or, at leaſt, *ended his days*; For they are not agreed about the manner of his death. (*r*) *Ægidius Tſchudus* ſaith the former, who adds, that there is a place near *Curia* called *Clivus S. Lucii* ſtill; and (*s*) *Munſter* ſaith, *near the Epiſcopal Palace, there is* Monaſterium Sancti *Lucii*. And (*t*) *Ferrarius* in his new *Topography* to the *Martyrologium Romanum*, reckons King *Lucius* of *Britain* one of the *Martyrs* of *Curia*, which the *Germans* call *Chur*, and the *Italians* Choira. And the (*u*) *Roman Martyrology* ſaith, *That there his memory is ſtill obſerved.* (*w*) *Notkerus Balbulus* ſaith, *That he*

(k) Uſſer. *de Primord. c.* 3.

(l) Pet. *de Natal. l.* 1. *c.* 24.

(m) Notker. *Martyrol.* 8 *Calend.* Junii.

(n) Baron. *A.D.* 166. *n.* 2.

(o) Naucler. *Chron. Vol.* 2. *Gen.* 6.

(p) Pantal. *de Viris illuſtrib. Germ. p.* 1.

(q) M. Velſer. *Rer. Vindel. l.* 6.

(r) Tſchud. *Deſcript. Rhæt. c.* 18.

(s) Munſter. *Coſmograph. l.* 3. *p.* 518.

(t) Ferrar. *Nova Topograph. p.* 44.

(u) *Rom. Martyr.* 3 *Non. Dec.*

(w) Notker. Balbul. 8 *Calend. Junii.*

he

he converted all Rhætia, *and part of* Bavaria. If ſo, they had great reaſon to preſerve his Memory, and the *Britiſh Church*, on the account of King *Lucius* his converting their *Country*, hath as much right to challenge Superiority over *Bavaria* and *Rhætia*, as the Church of *Rome* hath over the *Britiſh Church* on the account of the Converſion of *Lucius* by *Eleutherius*. If this Tradition hold good, the other cannot; which differs as to time, Perſons, and the remainder of his Life, which our Writers ſay, was ſpent here; And (x) *Geffrey*, from the *Britiſh Hiſtory* ſaith, *That he died at* Glouceſter, *and left no Heir to ſucceed him.* Wherein he is follow'd by (y) *John Fordon*, who ſaith, *That after the death or diſappearance of King* Lucius *the Royal Stock failed, and then the* Romans *appointed Governours inſtead of Kings.* But, by that Expreſſion, *Vel non comparente*, *Fordon* ſeems to doubt, whether he did not withdraw in his old Age, according to the *German Tradition.*

(x) Galfr. Monu. l. 2. c. 2.

(y) Fordon. Scotichron. l. 3. c. 36.

(z) *Nennius* ſaith, That *Anno Domini* 164. Lucius, *King of* Britain, *with all the inferiour Kings of* Britain, *were baptized upon an Embaſſy ſent by the* Roman *Emperours and Pope* Evariſtus. But the old *MS.* in the *Cotton Library* hath it, *Poſt* 167 *annos poſt adventum* Chriſti. One of the *Cambridge MSS. poſt* 164 *annos.* In the margin whereof it is ſaid, *That* Nennius *is grievouſly miſtaken, becauſe* Evariſtus *his time cannot agree to either of the Computations, Evariſtus* dying, according to the old Catalogue of the Biſhops of *Rome* made about *An. D.* 354. when *Trebonius Gallus* and *Metilius Bradua* were Conſuls, which, according to the *Faſti* both of *Onuphrius Panvinius* and Sir *H. Savil*, was *Anno Dom.* 109. But Archbiſhop *Uſher* obſerves, *that in one Copy of* Nennius *he found the name of* Eleutherius, therefore I paſs it over: And yet the time of *Eleutherius* will not agree with either of theſe *Computations:* For he was made Biſhop of *Rome*, according to the ſame Catalogue in the Conſulſhip of *Severus* and *Herennianus*, which, according to thoſe *Faſti*, is *Anno Dom.* 172. But it will be too hard to preſs the point of Chronology too far, when (a) *Bede*, according to different Computations, ſometimes puts *Anno Dom.* 156. and at another time *Anno Dom.* 167.

(z) Nenn. c. 18.

(a) Bed. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 4. Epit. Hiſtor.

But

But as long as it is generally agreed to have been in the time of *M. Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus*, and the beginning of *Eleutherius* his Popedom, I ſhall urge this matter no farther; ſince it muſt come within a very little compaſs, if the *Characters* of time muſt ſuit with it, which, *Marianus Scotus* ſaith, was when *Pollio* and *Aper* were Conſuls, the ſixteenth of *M. Aurelius*, and *Anno Dom.* 176. according to the *Dionyſian* account, although *Marianus* follow another himſelf. Which falls out to be the year before the Perſecution of the Churches of *Lyons* and *Vienna*, which, as (*b*) *Euſebius* ſaith, was the ſeventeenth of *M. Aurelius*, when *Irenæus* was ſent by them on a Meſſage to *Eleutherius*. (*c*) *Baronius* places the Converſion of *Lucius* ſomewhat later, in the beginning of *Commodus*, *Anno Dom.* 183. But therein, as Archbiſhop *Uſher* obſerves, he hath all the more ancient Hiſtorians againſt him; and it is onely his own miſtake in the *Chronology* of the firſt Biſhops of *Rome*, which makes him ſay, the time of *Eleutherius*, will not agree to *M. Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus*, wherein he is too much followed by our (*d*) learned Antiquary.

(b) Euſeb. *l.* 5. *c.* 1.

(c) Baron. *A.D.* 183. *n.* 3.

(d) Camd. *Brit.* *p.* 47.

Having then found no ſuch inconſiſtency in the point of *time*, but that if there were ſuch a King as *Lucius* in *Britain* then, he might well ſend to *Eleutherius* ſuch a Meſſage; I now proceed to conſider, how far this Tradition of King *Lucius* can agree with the *State* of the *Britiſh Affairs* at that time. The *Britains* being impatient of the *Roman* Yoke in *Hadrian*'s time, he comes over and brings new Legions with him; And ſettles the whole *Province* in quietneſs, and built his Wall, to keep the other *Britains* in order. Notwithſtanding this, in *Antoninus* his time, the War broke out more fiercely; and not onely the (*e*) other *Britains* forced their Paſſage into the *Roman Province*, but, as (*f*) *Pauſanias* ſaith, *The* Brigantes *rebelled, who, for that cauſe, had part of their Countrey taken from them.* But *Lollius Urbicus* being ſent hither, he drove the *Britains* back, built another Wall farther Northwards, where *Agricola* formerly had placed his Garriſons, as appears by the (*g*) Inſcriptions there taken up: So that *Lollius Urbicus* drove the *Britains* 100 miles Northward; For ſo much is the diſtance between the Walls of *Hadrian*

(c) Capitol. *in* Antonin.

(f) Pauſan. *in Arcad.*

(g) Camd. *Brit.* *p.* 650, 699.

drian and *Antoninus*. For all this, the *Britains* brake out again with ſo much violence in the beginning of (*h*) *M. Aurelius Antoninus* his Reign, that *Calphurnius Agricola* was ſent againſt them, and from that time we reade of no diſturbance here till the time of *Commodus*, when (*i*) *Ulpius Marcellus* was *Roman* Lieutenant. This being the true *State* of *Britain* at that time, what place is here left for ſuch a King over *Britain* as *Lucius* is repreſented? He muſt either be over *the* Britains *beyond the Wall*, which overthrows one main part of the Tradition *as to his ſettling the Churches here after his Converſion*; or, he muſt be the Head of the *Revolting Britains* who were repreſſed by *Calphurnius Agricola*; or, he muſt be *a ſubordinate King* to the *Romans*, ſuch as *Cogidunus* and *Praſutagus* had been. But then, how comes he to command all *Britain?* To have ſeveral Kings under him? To change the Affairs of Religion as he thought fit? Were theſe Privileges ever allowed to ſuch Titulary Princes? It is very true, *That the* Romans *did often ſuffer Kings to govern Provinces under them*; But then they were Provinces wholly ſubdued and compaſſed about with the *Roman* Forces on all ſides: But no Inſtance can be given where they ſuffer'd an Hereditary King of the ſame Countrey to enjoy full power over his Subjects, whileſt a great part of the Countrey was in Arms againſt them, and ready to break out into a War, wherein the *Romans* were in continual fear, that the Natives within the Province ſhould join with thoſe without for their deſtruction. For them, in ſuch a caſe as this, to truſt ſuch a King as *Lucius* with the Government of the Province, is to ſuppoſe them, to have utterly loſt thoſe *Arts* whereby they attained ſo vaſt an Empire. The Caſe of *Antiochus* in *Aſia*, *Herod* and his Children in *Judæa*, *Dejotarus* in *Galatia*, *Ariobarzanes* in *Cappadocia*, and of many others that might be named, will not at all make it probable, where the Circumſtances were ſo different, and eſpecially in ſuch an Iſland as *Britain* was then accounted, being incompaſſed with a Sea, which the *Romans* thought dreadfull and almoſt unpaſſable,

(h) Jul. Capitol. *in* M. Aurel.

(i) Dio *in* Commodo.

(k) *Catalect. à Joſ. Scalig. ed.*

(k) *Semota & vaſto disjuncta* Britannia *Ponto*
Cinctáque inacceſſis horrida Littoribus,

whither Supplies could not come without difficulty; and where the Inhabitants deſpiſed Death and Danger, as they found by ſo tedious a War, which was kept up ſo long here: And, after all, they were forced to keep out their Enemies by *Walls* from *Sea to Sea*, in ſeveral places: So that the *Romans* never had the whole Iſland in ſubjection. And therefore it is very improbable, that they ſhould truſt the Power over it in the hands of a Native of the ſame Countrey; Which Conſideration makes me very hard to believe the Monkiſh Traditions concerning King *Lucius*.

But I do not deny, that there was ſuch a Perſon in this Iſland, or that he had Royal Authority in ſome part of it, or that he was converted to Chriſtianity at that time, or that the Chriſtian Church here flouriſhed by his means. That there was ſuch a Perſon, who was a *King* and a *Chriſtian*, is proved, beſides the concurrence of ſo many Authours from *Bede*'s time, from the two Coins mention'd by (*l*) Archbiſhop *Uſher*, one Silver, and the other Gold, having an Image of a King on them, with a Croſs, and the Letters of *L V C*, as far as they could be diſcerned. But if it be farther asked in what part of *Britain* this King *Lucius* lived, I ſhall onely propoſe my Conjecture, and leave it to the Judgment of others. It is well known that the *Romans* were ſo well ſatisfied with the fidelity of *Cogidunus*, that they beſtow'd *ſome Cities upon him*. And *Tacitus* ſaith, *he continued firm to the* Roman *Intereſt to his time*. And where Kings were faithfull to them, the *Romans* were kind to their Poſterity, and kept them up in the ſame dignity as long as they behaved themſelves as they expected from them. Of this we have a clear inſtance in *Herod*'s Poſterity; For *Archelaus*, *Herodes Antipas* and *Philip*, his Sons, ſucceeded into their ſhares of his Kingdom. Then *Herod Agrippa*, his Grandchild by *Ariſtobulus*, was made King by *Caius Caligula*, whoſe Government was inlarged by *Claudius*, and his Brother *Herod* had the Kingdom of *Chalcis* given him:

(1) Uſſer. *de Prim. p.* 39, 40.

Some-

Sometime after his Father's death, *Claudius* beſtow'd firſt the Kingdom of *Chalcis* upon his Son *Agrippa*, then the *Tetrarchy* of *Philip*, which was inlarged afterwards by *Nero*, and he continued till the War, and was the laſt King over the *Jews*. Now from hence we obſerve, That the *Romans* thought it no ill policy in ſome Caſes to continue the ſame Royal dignity to the Children of thoſe who deſerved ſo well of them as *Cogidunus* had done. And it ſeems moſt probable to me, that where *Ptolemy* places the *Regni*, were the *Cities* which *Cogidunus* had the rule over; not from the Name, but from the Circumſtances of thoſe places, which have fewer *Roman Monuments* or *Towns* than any other in *Britain*, and therefore were moſt likely ſtill under their own Prince, who kept up the *Britiſh cuſtoms*. Whereever the *Romans* inhabited, they may be traced by their Ways, by their Buildings, by their Coins, by their Urns, by their Inſcriptions: But ſcarce any thing of this nature could be found in *Surry* or *Suſſex* by the moſt diligent Enquirers. (*m*) *Leland* indeed diſcover'd *ſome Roman Coins near* Kingſton *upon* Thames, where others have been taken up ſince: (but *Camden* could hear of no *Roman* Antiquities thereabouts.) And (*n*) ſome ſuppoſe the place where thoſe Coins were taken up, to have been a *Station* of the *Roman* Souldiers under *Aſclepiodotus*, when he marched that way from *Portſmouth* to *London*, in the Expedition againſt *Allectus*. If ſo, it was too late for the days of King *Lucius*. All that (*o*) *Camden* pretends to, is onely *a Military way near* Ockley, which was neceſſary for the conveniency of the *Roman* Souldiers paſſing to the remoter parts of the Province, *and ſome Coins about Gatton*; but as to his *Noviomagus* which he will have to be *Woodcote* in *Surrey*, (*p*) Mr. *Somner* hath well proved from the courſe of the *Roman Itinerary*, that it muſt lie in *Kent*, in the Road to *Portus Rutupis*: and *Woodcote* is as far from it as *London*. In all *Suſſex* there is no remainder of any *Roman* Building, or Way, or Colony, or Coins yet diſcovered to the World, except towards the *Sea ſide*, which the *Romans* kept to themſelves. In *Antoninus Pius* his time (*q*) *Seius Saturnius* was *Archigubernus in Claſſe* Britannica; Which ſhews,

(m) Leland. *Itiner. p.* 398.

(n) Burton. *in* Antonin. *Itiner. p.* 77.

(o) Camd. *Brit. p.* 213.

p. 216.

(p) Somner. *Antiq.* Canterb. *p.* 24.

(q) *Dsit. ad S.C.* Trebell. *l.* 46.

that the *Romans* had then a Fleet here, and that he was *Admiral* of it. And in after-times, the *Comes litoris* Saxonici *per* Britanniam, had ſeveral *Garriſons* on the Sea ſide for Security of the Coaſts, as appears by the (r) *Notitia Imperii* where the Places are ſet down, among which two were on the coaſts of *Suſſex Anderida* and *Portus Adurni*; By the former our learned Antiquaries (s) *Camden* and (t) *Selden* underſtand *Newenden* in *Kent*, but that ſtands too much within Land. Mr. *Somner* in a *MS. diſcourſe of the* Roman *Ports and Forts in* Kent, rather thinks it to be *Pemſey* in *Suſſex*, or *Haſtings*, as more agreeing with (u) *Gildas*, who ſaith, *that the* Romans *placed their Forts for Security of the Coaſts* in litore Oceani ad Meridionalem Plagam, *upon the very Coaſts*; And ſo the reſt of them ſtood, as *Reculver*, *Richborough*, *Dover*, *Lim*, which were all in *Kent*; and the *Portus Adurni* was *Aldrington* near *Shoreham* in *Suſſex*. From hence it appears, that the *Romans*, being ſecure of the Coaſts, and having their Souldiers diſperſed in the Colonies about, and being ſo near the *Metropolis* at *London*, where the chief Governours of this part of *Britain* reſided; They might better permit a *Britiſh* King to govern theſe parts of the Countrey. And this is the moſt probable account I can think of, as to this King *Lucius* within the *Roman* Province.

(r) *Notit. Imper. Occid. c.* 72.

(s) Camd. *Brit. p.* 247.

(t) Selden. *Mare clauſ. l.* 2. *c.* 6.

(u) Gild. *Epiſt.* § 14.

(w) Spelman. *Concil. To.* 1. *p.* 36.

(w) Sir *H. Spelman* would bring him to his *Iceni*, but without any colour of Probability; *Lucius*, ſaith he, *was the ſon of* Coilus, Coilus *of* Marius, Marius *of* Arviragus. And what then? *Some*, he ſaith, *would have him to be* Praſutagus, *who was King over the* Iceni. But doth not (x) *Tacitus* ſay, *that* Praſutagus *died before the Revolt of the* Britains *under* Boadicea? *And that he left* Nero *his heir*, *and his two Daughters*, *hoping thereby to ſecure his Kingdom?* If he were *Arviragus*, he was dead before the Revolt of the *Iceni*. And if *Marius* were his Son, how comes he never to be mention'd in the Story afterwards; no, not in that moſt remarkable Battel between his Mother and *Suetonius Paulinus*? *But* Hector Boethius *calls* Arviragus *one of the* Iceni, as though his authority were to be mention'd againſt *Tacitus*, who was the *Geffrey* of *Scotland*, ſo many and ſo improbable are his Fictions. (y) *Baronius*, after

(x) Tacit. *Annal.* 14. *c.* 31.

(y) Baron. *A. D.* 183. *n.* 6.

ter trying ſeveral ways to reconcile the Tradition of King *Lucius* with the *Roman* Story, concludes with that as the moſt probable, (z) *That he was a King under the* Roman *Power in* Britain, *ſuch as* Praſutagus *was.* But he was onely King over the *Iceni*, and not over *all Britain*, and although among the *Britains* there were many Kings over particular *Cities* (as they then called the People under one Government) yet there was no one King over the whole Iſland. But in Caſes of great difficulty they pitched upon one as Supreme, as on *Caſſibelan*, upon the Invaſion of *Cæſar:* So that the old *Britiſh* Government was neither *Popular* as ſome pretend, nor under *one Monarchy*; but the People were govern'd by ſeveral petty *Monarchs*, as appears by the unqueſtionable Teſtimonies of (a) *Diodorus Siculus*, (b) *Strabo*, and (c) *Pomponius Mela*; *Fert populos & Reges populorum*, ſaith *Mela*; *Olim Regibus parebant*, ſaith (d) *Tacitus*; which prove both the *Antiquity* and *Number* of *Britiſh Monarchs.* And what (e) *Dio* ſaith of a *Democratical Government among the* Britains is onely ſpoken of the *Mæatæ* and *Caledonii*, in their great Confuſion, when all the Reins of Government were caſt off, and the People did what they liſt, as *Tacitus* deſcribes them in his time, ſaying, *That they were drawn off from their former obedience to their Kings, by the Heads of ſeveral Factions among them.* So that although in the moſt ancient times here was *Monarchical Government*, yet it was not extended over all *Britain*, as the Monkiſh Tradition pretends concerning King *Lucius*, and I know not how many Predeceſſours of his, even from the coming of *Brutus* to his days. But neither our Religion, nor our Government need ſuch Fictions to ſupport them.

(z) Baron. *in Martyr. Rom. Maii* 25.

(a) Diod. Sic. *l.* 4.
(b) Strabo, *l.* 4.
(c) Mela, *l.* 3. *c.* 6.
(d) Tacit. *vit. Agric.*
(e) Dio *in Severo.*

Suppoſing then that King *Lucius* ſucceeded *Cogidunus*, though not immediately, in the Government of that part of *Britain* committed to his care; I ſee no inconvenience in allowing, that King *Lucius* hearing of the Chriſtian Doctrine, either by the *old* Britiſh *Chriſtians*, ſuch as *Eluanus* and *Medwinus* are ſuppoſed to have been; or by ſome of *M. Aurelius* his Souldiers coming hither, after the great deliverance of the *Roman Army by the Prayers of the Chriſtians* (which had

them

then lately happen'd and occaſion'd great diſcourſe every where, *the Emperour himſelf*, as (*f*) *Tertullian* ſaith, *giving the account of it in his own Letters*) might upon this be very deſirous to inform himſelf throughly about this Religion, and there being then frequent Intercourſe between *Rome* and *Britain*, by reaſon of the *Colonies* that were ſettled, and the Governours and Souldiers paſſing to and fro, he might ſend *Eluanus* and *Medwinus* to *Eleutherius* to be fully inſtructed in this Religion; And either the ſame perſons alone, or two others with them (called *Faganus* and *Duvianus* commonly) coming into *Britain*, might have ſo great ſucceſs as to baptize King *Lucius*, and many others, and thereby inlarge the Chriſtian Church here.

(f) Tertul. *Apolog. c. 5.* Euſeb. *l. 5. c. 5.* Oroſ. *l. 7. c. 15.*

(g) *Monaſtic. Angl. vol. 3. p. 188.*

The (*g*) old Book of *Landaff* gives a much more modeſt account of this whole matter than either *Geffrey* of *Monmouth*, or any of his followers. "There we "find onely that King *Lucius* ſent *Eluanus* and *Medwi*- "*nus* to *Eleutherius* the twelfth Biſhop of *Rome*, to de- "ſire that he might be made a Chriſtian through his "Inſtruction; Upon which he gave God thanks, that "ſuch a Heathen Nation did ſo much deſire Chriſtia- "nity; And then, by the Advice of the *Presbyters* of "the City of *Rome*, they firſt baptized theſe *Embaſſa*- "*dours*; and, being well inſtructed, they ordained "them, making *Eluanus* a Biſhop and *Medwinus* a Tea- "cher; And ſo they returned to King *Lucius*, who "with the chief of the *Britains* were baptized; And "then, according to the Inſtructions of *Eleutherius*, "he ſettled the Eccleſiaſtical Order, cauſed Biſhops to "be ordained, and the Chriſtian Religion to be taught. There is nothing in all this account but what ſeems to have great probability in it. The ſame account is in *Capgrave*, out of *John* of *Tinmouth*, in the Life of *Dubricius*, and this ſeems to have been the *original Tradition* of the *Britiſh* Church: Which *Geffrey* of *Monmouth* hath corrupted with his *Flamins* and *Archiflamins*; and others afterwards made an *Epiſtle* for *Eleutherius* to King *Lucius*, but could not avoid ſuch Marks in the way of Writing as evidently diſcover the Impoſture; and when the Monks hands were once in, they knew not how to give over. For ſome of them carry *Faga-*

nus

nus and *Diruvianus* (as ſome call him) to *Glaſſenbury*; others make them Conſecrate the Church at *Wincheſter*, to which they ſay King *Lucius* had a particular kindneſs, and gave all the Lands and Privileges which the *Flamins* had, to the Biſhop and Monks. (A Gift that would never make them the richer or the ſafer.) Others make King *Lucius* to found St. *Peter's* Church at *Weſtmiſter*, the Church in *Dover* Caſtle, St. *Martin's* by *Canterbury*, St. *Peter's* in *Cornhill*, where the *Metropolitan Church*, they ſay, was placed by him, and *Theanus* made the firſt Biſhop, who was ſucceeded by *Eluanus*, who went on the Embaſſey to *Eleutherius*; and, beſides theſe, they make him to found and endow ſo many *Churches*, with ſuch unlikely Circumſtances, as hath made others queſtion, whether there was ever ſuch a Perſon in the World as King *Lucius:* That being the common effect of ſaying much more than is true, to make what is really true more doubtfull and ſuſpicious.

But there is one Difficulty yet to be cleared; For all this Story, in its beſt Circumſtances, ſeems to imply, that there was no Chriſtian Church here before. For, if there had been, what need he to have ſent as far as *Rome* to be inſtructed? unleſs the Biſhop of *Rome* were then known to be the *Head* of the *Church*, which were a ſufficient Reaſon for it. To this I anſwer, That if the Conteſt lay between theſe two things, Whether it be more credible, that Chriſtianity was planted here before King *Lucius*; Or, that King *Lucius* was baptized by order from *Eleutherius*; I ſhould very much prefer the former, becauſe the Authority of *Gildas*, as to the *Britiſh* Chriſtianity, is to be relyed on before the later Writers; and *Gildas* aſſerts the one; and although he had as much reaſon as *Bede*, or any after him; he never takes the leaſt notice of King *Lucius* and *Eleutherius*. And, if a Negative Argument will hold any where, it is where a perſon hath as much reaſon to know as any that follow him; and as great occaſion to diſcover what he knows; both which will hold in the caſe of *Gildas* compared with *Bede* or later Writers. It were worth while for us to know whence *Bede* had his firſt Information of this matter; for he pro-

profeſſes to follow other Writers about the *Britiſh Affairs*, and in many places he follows *Gildas* exactly, but in this he paſſes by what *Gildas* ſaith about the *Primitive Chriſtianity* of *Britain*, and in ſtead thereof puts in this Story of King *Lucius*. (*h*) *Bale* ſaith, that "*Eluanus* "*Avalonius* was a Diſciple to thoſe who were the Diſ- "ciples of the Apoſtles, and that he preached the Go- "ſpel in *Britain* with good Succeſs; But King *Lucius*, "being perſuaded by his *Druids*, would not come to "any reſolution; but to ſatisfie himſelf, leſt he ſhould "be deceived by his Countreymen, he ſent *Eluanus* "and *Medwinus* to *Eleutherius*. And *Eluanus* upon "his return wrote a Book *De Origine Eccleſiæ* Britan- "norum; *Of the firſt beginning of the* Britiſh *Church*. And *Pits* is ſure to follow him where he hath no reaſon: But *Leland* never mentions this Book, nor the *Writings* of *Medwinus Belgius*, and of King *Lucius* himſelf, all relating to this matter: But (*i*) *Leland* onely takes notice, "that *Eluanus* and *Medwinus* were em- "ploy'd upon an Embaſſey to *Eleutherius*, that by "his means he might become a Chriſtian, which, ſaith "he, is very unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, unleſs he were "firſt informed what Chriſtianity was, which he thinks "was preached to King *Lucius* by them, being two of "the old *Britiſh* Chriſtians. And there he relates "how "by chance he met with an old MS. of the *Britiſh* Af- "fairs joyn'd with *Geffrey* of *Monmouth*, wherein this "Story is told exactly as it is in the Book of *Landaff*: "and no mention is made of any other Perſons ſent "back but thoſe that went. And, as far as I can judge, *Bede* follow'd this old *Britiſh* Tradition, onely leaving out the Names of the Perſons ſent, and the Eſtabliſhment of the *Britiſh Churches* after the Baptiſm of King *Lucius*. For *Bede* ſaith as little as he well could that tended to the honour of the *Britiſh Churches*. So that according to this, which ſeems the trueſt account of this Embaſſey, *Eluanus* and *Edwinus* were *Britiſh Chriſtians* themſelves, and therefore ſent to *Eleutherius*, having been probably the Perſons employ'd to convince King *Lucius*; but he knowing the great Fame of *Rome*, and it being told him, not onely that there were Chriſtians there, but a Biſhop in that City, the twelfth from the

(h) Bal. *de Script. Cent.* 1. n. 27.

(i) Leland. *de Script. in* Eluano.

the *Apoſtles*, had a deſire to underſtand how far the *Britiſh Chriſtians* and thoſe of *Rome* agreed; and he might reaſonably then preſume, That the Chriſtian Doctrine was there truly taught, at ſo little diſtance from the *Apoſtles*, and in a Place whither, as (*k*) *Irenæus* argues in this caſe, *A reſort was made from all places, becauſe of its being the Imperial City.* Theſe were reaſonable Conſiderations, which might move King *Lucius* to ſend this Embaſſy to *Rome*, and not any opinion of St. *Peter*'s having appointed *the Head of the Church* there, of which there was no Imagination then, nor a long time after in the *Britiſh Churches*, as appears by the Conteſt of the *Britiſh* Biſhops with *Auguſtine* the Monk; of which in its due place.

(k) Iren. *l.* 3. *c.* 3.

If any credit were to be given to King (*l*) *Arthur*'s *Diploma* to the *Univerſity* of *Cambridge*, this matter would be fully clear'd; For there it is expreſly ſaid, "That King *Lucius* was converted by the preaching of "the Doctours of *Cambridge*, for which reaſon he gave "large Privileges to that Univerſity, which were con-"firmed by King *Arthur*. And in the *MS. Annals* of *Burton* it is ſaid, "That *Anno Domini* 141. *nine of the* "*Doctours and Scholars of* Cambridge *were baptized.* I am not ignorant what Objections have been made by learned Antiquaries againſt both theſe Paſſages, and how hard it is to reconcile them to the Language and Hiſtory of that time; Nor that this Paſſage in the *Annals* of *Burton* was put into the *MS. Copy by another hand*, as the learned (*m*) Primate obſerved, by comparing the Copy of them in the Library of *C. C. C.* But on the other ſide, it is juſtly pleaded, that in the Bull of *Honorius* I. bearing date *An. Dom.* 624. 20 *Febr.* there is mention made of the *Privileges granted to the Univerſity of* Cambridge *by Pope* Eleutherius; and that withall he takes notice of *Doctours and Scholars there.* And that this Bull of *Honorius* is allowed to be *authentick* in the *Bull* of *Eugenius* IV. upon the Controverſie about Juriſdiction between the *Biſhop* of *Ely* and the *Univerſity* of *Cambridge*, bearing date *An. D.* 1433. 14 Cal. *Oct.* Which is a ſufficient Proof to all that rely on the *Pope*'s *Authority*, that in the time of King *Lucius* and *Eleutherius* there might be a ſufficient number

(l) Caj. *de Antiq.* Cantabr. *Acad. l.* 1. *p.* 69.

(m) Uſſer. *de Prim. p.* 51.

of learned Men in *Cambridge* to have inſtructed King *Lucius* in the Chriſtian Faith; And that it is not improbable, that *Eluanus* and *Medwinus* might be of that number, eſpecially conſidering that *Camboritum*, or, as many Copies have it, *Camboricum*, was a *Roman Colony*, and mention'd in the beſt Copies among the 28 *Cities of* Britain, and the *Roman* Colonies had their *Schools* of *Learning*, wherein the ſeveral *Profeſſours* of *Arts* and *Sciences* did inſtruct both the *Roman* and *Britiſh Youth*. Of which I may have occaſion to diſcourſe afterwards.

After this time, we meet with little concerning the *Britiſh Churches*, till the Perſecution of *Diocleſian*, in which they had a conſiderable ſhare, for the time it laſted here: For although the Names of no more are preſerved than onely of St. *Alban*, *Aaron* and *Julius*; yet both (*n*) *Gildas* and (*o*) *Bede* ſay, That many more ſuffer'd Martyrdom then in *Britain*, as (*p*) *Baronius* acknowledgeth. And although *Diocleſian* being a Prince of infinite Ambition, as appear'd by his commanding himſelf to be worſhipped as God, and therefore had ſo great an Antipathy to Chriſtianity, that his whole Reign might be called, as (*q*) *M. Velſerus* ſaith, *One perpetual Perſecution*, yet he had ſo much Art, as to throw off the *odium* of it upon others; To which purpoſe he firſt made choice of *Maximianus*, a Brutiſh and Fierce Man, who ſtuck at nothing for the Shame or the Cruelty of it, as he is ſet forth by *Eutropius* and *Victor*; and therefore was a fit Inſtrument, as occaſion ſerved, to execute *Diocleſian's* Malice againſt the Chriſtians; which he did not fail to perform, as appear'd by the *Thebean Legion* which ſuffer'd in the firſt Expedition againſt the *Bagaudæ*, for refuſing to take an Oath, to extirpate the Chriſtians as well as the Rebels, as (*r*) *Sigonius* and (*s*) *Velſerus* relate the Story. But the great Perſecution under *Diocleſian*, of which *Gildas* and *Bede* ſpeak, did not certainly begin till *Anno Domini* 303. *Diocleſian* and *Maximianus* being one the eighth the other the ſeventh time Conſuls, as (*t*) *Lactantius* hath evidently made to appear: But in the next year, upon the Reſignation of theſe two, *Galerius Maximianus* and *Conſtantius Chlorus* were declared Emperours; and

(n) Gild. § 8.
(o) Bed. *l.* 1. *c.* 6, 7.
(p) Baron. *A.D.* 303. *n.* 144.
(q) Velſer. *Com. in S. Afram.*
(r) Sigon. *de Occid. Imper. l.* 1.
(s) Velſer. *Comment. in Converſ. Afræ.*
(t) Lactant. *de Morte Perſec. c.* 12.

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it is generally ſaid by the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, *that* Conſtantius *ſtopt the Perſecution in the Provinces under his Government.* So that either the Perſecution in *Britain* muſt be before the other, or it could continue but a little time. To ſolve this, (*u*) *Alford* ſaith, *there is no other way, but to make this Perſecution to have been in the third of* Diocleſian *and the firſt of* Maximianus. At which time, (*w*) *Baronius* ſaith, *a very ſharp Perſecution was begun againſt the Chriſtians at* Rome. Which was about the time when *Maximianus* began his Expedition into *Gaul* againſt the *Bagaudæ*, and in his Paſſage over the *Alpes*, the *Thebean Legion* ſuffer'd. The Circumſtances of which Story are ſo agreeable in all reſpects, that I ſee no reaſon to call in queſtion the truth of it, it being not onely preſerved by *Eucherius*, but by *Venantius Fortunatus*, *Helinandus*, *Beda*, *Uſuardus* and *Ado*. But *Maximianus* made then no long ſtay in *Gaul*, and for ſeveral years after, both *Diocleſian* and he were ſo taken up in Warlike Expeditions, that they had no leiſure for a ſharp and long Perſecution. And I can however ſee no ground for any Perſecution in *Britain* about that time by *Diocleſian* or *Maximian*. For when he came againſt the *Bagaudæ*, *Carauſius* was employ'd to ſecure the Seas againſt the *Franks* and the *Saxons*; But, underſtanding *Maximian*'s deſign to take him off, he watched his opportunity, and with a good Fleet and conſiderable Army comes for *Britain*, and takes poſſeſſion of the Government here, and *Maximian* had no Fleet left to purſue him hither. This Revolt of *Carauſius* happen'd within few years after *Diocleſian* and *Maximian* were joint Emperours, *viz. An. Dom.* 286.

(u) Alford. *Annales Eccl. A.D.* 286. *n.* 5, *&c.*

(w) Baron. *A.D.* 286. *n.* 30, 31.

But *Alford* ſaith, *the old Writer of Saint* Alban's *Life pitches upon* Anno Dom. 286. *for this Perſecution. And a MS. Copy of* Beda *which he had met with agrees with that time.* But he urges farther, *that after the Rebellion of* Carauſius, *when* Conſtantius *was made* Cæſar, *the Provinces beyond the* Alpes *were committed to him, and that was* Anno Dom. 292. *And if there were no Perſecution under* Conſtantius, *this muſt be before he was* Cæſar. But, for any thing *Alford* ſaith, the Perſecution might have been under *Carauſius*, or *Allectus*, before *Conſtantius* came

to the Poſſeſſion of *Britain*. For *Carauſius*, as appears by (x) *Aur. Victor* and (y) *Eutropius*, was let alone with the Government of *Britain*; which, ſaith (z) *Oroſius*, he enjoy'd ſeven years, and after him *Allectus*, three years more; So that for ſeveral years after *Conſtantius* his being *Cæſar*, he had no influence on the Affairs of *Britain*: At the end of thoſe ten years, *Allectus* being killed, and his Army routed by *Aſclepiodatus*, *Conſtantius* came over, as appears by (a) *Eumenius*, in the very nick of time to preſerve *the City of London* from being pillaged by the *Franks*, and then he was received with wonderfull joy by the Inhabitants, being delivered from the Tyranny they underwent in the times of *Carauſius* and *Allectus*; And after his Death Medals were coin'd in *London* to teſtifie the City's gratitude to him; whereon was the Effigies of *Conſtantius* of one ſide, and on the other *a Temple between two Eagles*, with this Inſcription, *Memoria felix*; and under the Temple *P. L. N. Pecunia Londin. Notata*, as ſome explain it. For by the Eagles and Inſcription it appears that theſe Coins were intended for the *Apotheoſis* of *Conſtantius*; And ſo *Joſeph Scaliger* and *Camden* underſtand them. (b) *Zoſimus* ſaith, *That* Conſtantius, *while he lived, had his chief reſidence in* Britain; And if a Perſecution happen'd here, he muſt be Acceſſory to it, which is contrary to what is conſtantly affirmed of *Conſtantius*. For (c) *Euſebius* ſaith, *he never join'd with the other Emperours in deſtroying Churches.* (d) *Sozomen* and (e) *Caſſiodore* ſay, *That he gave full liberty to the Chriſtians, and that their Churches flouriſhed under him*; And (f) *Optatus* ſaith, *That the* Donatiſts *made their Application to* Conſtantine, *to appoint Judges out of* Gaul, *and give this Reaſon, Becauſe there was no Perſecution under his Father's Government.* And accordingly the Council of *Arles* conſiſted of Biſhops chiefly out of *Gaul* and *Britain.*

(x) Aur. Victor. *in* Dioclefian.
(y) Eutrop. *l.* 9.
(z) Oroſ. *l.* 7. *c.* 25.
(a) Eumen. *Paneg. n.* 17, 19.
(b) Zoſim. *l.* 2.
(c) Euſeb. *l.* 8. *c.* 13. *Vit. Conſtant. l.* 1. *c.* 13.
(d) Sozom. *l.* 1. *c.* 6.
(e) *Hiſt. Tripart. l.* 1. *c.* 7.
(f) Optat. *l.* 1.

That which upon the whole matter appears moſt probable to me, is, That the Perſecution was begun while *Dioclefian* and *Maximianus* had the Empire in their hands; and although *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* had the Titles of *Cæſars*; yet the ſupreme Government was in the others hands, as appears by what *Oroſius* ſaith

ſaith of *Dioclesian*'s uſage of *Galerius*, upon his return from the *Perſian* War; And by the Inſcriptions in *Spain* (if they be authentick) produced by (*g*) *Baronius*, (*h*) *Velſerus* and (*i*) *Gruterus*. In one of which *Dioclesianus* and *Maximianus* are onely mention'd; And this muſt be after the Perſecution, for there it is ſaid, *Nomine CHRISTIANORVM DELETO.* And in the other *SVPERSTITIONE CHRISTI VBIQ; DELETA.* And there *Dioclesian* is onely named *Auguſtus*, and *Galerius* as adopted by him. *Baronius* thinks *ſuch Inſcriptions were ſet up every where, but time hath onely preſerved thoſe in* Spain. But if they were ſet up in *Spain*, under the Government of *Conſtantius*, it is an Argument, that while *Dioclesian* and *Maximianus* held the Empire, they did what they pleaſed in theſe matters: For although the name of *Cæſar* carried in it ſomething of ſupreme Authority, yet (*k*) *Aurelius Victor*, when he takes notice of the firſt beginning of the difference of the Titles of *Auguſtus* and *Cæſar*, He ſaith, *Though they were both Titles of Sovereignty, yet they who enjoy'd them did not differ leſs in their Power than they did in their Titles.* And therefore (*l*) *Lactantius* ſaith, *when* Dioclesian *called* Galerius *by the name of* Cæſar *after his* Perſian *Victory, he cryed out*, Quouſque *Cæſar? How long ſhould he continue* Cæſar? And the Impatience of this made him force *Dioclesian* to reſign the Empire, as *Lactantius*, who was upon the Place, aſſures us; Nay, when *Dioclesian* offer'd him, *That all four ſhould be declared* Auguſti, he refuſed for this reaſon, Becauſe he knew, while *Dioclesian* continued in Power, he ſhould have onely the Name. And *Lactantius* farther ſaith, *That the Edict againſt the Chriſtians was ſent to* Conſtantius *without asking his conſent*; and he confeſſes, Conſtantius *complied ſo far as to pull down their Churches.* But his kindneſs, when declared *Auguſtus*, made them willing to forget the reſt. So that the Perſecution was general till their Reſignation; But upon *Conſtantius* being declared *Auguſtus*, it ceaſed in all theſe parts; in which, (*m*) *Euſebius* affirms, *it did not laſt two years, although it continued ten years in the Eaſt.* And within that time the Perſecution took away St. *Alban*, *Aaron* and *Julius*, and other *Martyrs*

(g) Baron. *A.D.* 304. *n.* 8.
(h) Velſer. *Not. ad Converſion. Afr.*
(i) Gruter. *Inſcript. p.* 280. 4.
(k) Victor. *in Trajano.*
(l) Lactant. *de Mort. Perſec. c.* 9. *c.* 18. *c.* 15.
(m) Euſeb. *de Martyrd. Pal. c.* 13.

tyrs here, as *Gildas* and *Bede* relate, who give a more particular account of the Sufferings of the first, not without some mixture of Improbabilities or Interpolations; but, as to the rest, we have nothing but their Names preserved and the Places they belonged to. The first is said to have been a *Roman Officer* at the *Municipium* of *Verulam*, the first *British* Town which had *Roman* Privileges; and the other, Citizens of *Caerleon*, where there was a *Roman Colony*.

Constantius dying at *York*, his eldest Son, *Constantine*, was declared *Cæsar* by the Army in *Britain*. For although *Constantius* did what in him lay *to secure the Succession to him*, as (*n*) *Eusebius* saith, yet that did not signifie much without the Concurrence of the Legions. And (*o*) *Lactantius* saith, *That he commended him to the Souldiers, and so delivered the Empire to him.* This Consent of the Army is expres'd by (*p*) *Eumenius*, and by the Emperour (*q*) *Julian*; and *Aurelius Victor* saith, *All that were present promoted his being Emperour*; But he was not declared *Cæsar* by *Galerius Maximianus* till afterwards, as *Baluzius* hath clearly proved out of *Lactantius* and others, who, when he saw he could not help it, sent him the *Purple Robe*. Thus *Constantine*, being firmly settled in the Throne, took care in the first places of the Tranquillity of these parts, where he was proclaimed Emperour, and, as *Lactantius* saith, *The first thing he did was, to secure full Liberty to the Christians.* And now, we may well suppose, all that *Gildas* and *Bede* say, to have been accomplished, *viz. That the Christians rebuilt their Churches, destroy'd to the ground, and therein celebrated their Holy Sacraments, and kept solemn Festivals in memory of so great a Deliverance.* And from this time we may date the flourishing condition of this Church, which before must labour under great difficulties; the Governours of Provinces before *Constantius*, and the Generality of the People, being set against the Christians.

(n) Euseb. *Vit.* Constant. *l.* 1. *c.* 9, 21.

(o) Lactant. *de Morte Persec. c.* 24.

(p) Eumen. *Paneg.*

(q) Julian. *Orat.* 1. *ad* Constant.

But the first Evidence we meet with of the settled Condition of the *British Churches*, is, the number of Bishops which went from *Britain* to the Council at *Arles*, *Anno Domini* 314. where we find three Bishops subscribing to it, *Eborius*, Bishop of *York*; *Restitutus*, Bishop of

of *London*; and *Adelſius*, *de Civitate Colonia Londinenſium*: So it is in (r) *Sirmondus* his beſt Copy. And although (s) Mr. *Selden* ſeems to queſtion the *Antiquity* of it, yet the other vouches it to be very good and ancient. But what then is the *Civitas Colonia Londinenſium?* The Learned (t) Primate thinks it to be *Colcheſter*; that being called in *Antoninus Colonia*. (u) Mr. *Selden* takes it to be *Camalodunum*, and ſo written *Camalodon*, which the ignorant Scribes made *Col. Londinenſium*: (w) Sir *H. Spelman* likewiſe ſuppoſes it to be the *old Colony* of *Camalodunum*. But, I think, a far more probable ſenſe may be given of it, if we conſider the way of ſummoning Biſhops to *Councils* at that time: For it is unreaſonable to imagine that every *Roman Colony* or *City* ſent a *Biſhop*: For then every Council would have been as full as the *Arabick* Writers ſay the *Council* of *Nice* was (of which Mr. *Selden* hath diſcourſed at large) or at leaſt as (x) *Cummianus* and (y) *Ado* thought this *Council* of *Arles* was, which they made to conſiſt of 600 *Biſhops*: An unreaſonable number to be called together on ſuch an occaſion, as the giving way to the reſtleſs importunity of the *Donatiſts* to have their Cauſe heard over again. It is not to be preſumed that *Conſtantine* would ſummon ſo great a number to make up *a Court* (*Epiſcopale Judicium* St. *Auguſtine* often calls it) wherein the main thing to be done was, to hear the Parties and to give Judgment; And in the former Judgment but 19 *Biſhops* were ſummoned. It is ſaid, (z) *That St.* Auguſtine *makes the number of Biſhops at* Arles *to be* 200. But I ſee no ſufficient ground to underſtand thoſe words of this particular Council; but of *all the Biſhops which had condemned them in ſeveral Councils*, among whom he reckons the *Italian*, *Spaniſh* and *Gallick Biſhops*, who met at *Arles*. But when I compare the *Subſcriptions* to that Council publiſhed out of the moſt ancient *MS.* with a Paſſage in *Hilary*, I am apt to believe, that excepting thoſe that were very near about *Arles*, there were no more than a Biſhop out of a *Province* with one or two *Presbyters*. So it is expreſly in the (a) Summons to *Chreſtus* Biſhop of *Syracuſe* in *Sicily*, (the onely one remaining, and which (b) *Baronius* thinks was *the* ſame

(r) Sirmond. *Concil. Gallic. To.* 1. *p.* 9.
(s) Selden. *in Eutych. p.* 118.
(t) Uſſer. *de Prim. p.* 60, 195.
(u) Seld. *in Eutych. p.* 118, 119.
(w) Spelman. *Concil. To.* 1. *p.* 39.
(x) *Epiſt. Hibern.* 11.
(y) Ado *in Chro.*
(z) Auguſtin. *ad Ep. Parm. l.* 1. *c.* 5.
(a) Euſeb. *l.* 10. *c.* 5.
(b) Baron. *A. D.* 314. *n.* 43.

ſame that was to the reſt) wherein *he is required to come out of that Province, and to bring two Presbyters with him*, as *Valeſius* ſhews againſt *Baronius* and *Sirmondus* the words are to be underſtood. And (*c*) *Hilary*, ſpeaking of the Councils of his time, ſaith, *That one or two Biſhops were ſent for out of a Province*, and he inſtanceth in the *Council* of *Ancyra*, and the great *Council* at *Ariminum:* So here we meet with *Chreſtus* out of the *Province* of *Sicily*, *Quintaſius* out of the *Province* of *Sardinia*, and ſo in moſt of the reſt, the diſtinct *Provinces* are ſet down out of which they came: And at that time there were 18 *Provinces* of *Gaul* and *Britain*, and ſo many Biſhops appeared at *Arles*, beſides *Marinus* the Biſhop of the Place. But to ſupply the defect of ſome other *Provinces* there were more out of that *Province* wherein *Arles* ſtood than out of any other. In *Britain* there were then *three Provinces* according to the *MS.* Copy of *Sextus Rufus* ſaith Mr. *Camden:* therefore in all probability, ſince the other two Biſhops were out of the other two Provinces, *Maxima Cæſarienſis* and *Britannia Prima*; The third Biſhop was out of the third Province of *Britannia Secunda*, wherein there were two noted *Colonies*, the one called *Colonia Divana* in the Coin of *Septimius Geta*, and *Civitas Legionum* in (*d*) *Beda*, now *Cheſter*; the other, *Civitas Legionis ad* Yſcam, where was a *Colony* of the 11. *Legion*, which Province is ſometimes called *Britannica Secunda*. And therefore this Biſhop *Adelphius* came *ex Civit. Col. Leg.* 11. which the ignorant Tranſcribers might eaſily turn to *ex Civit. Col. Londin.* The onely Objection is that which is ſuggeſted by the Learned (*e*) Primate of *Armagh*, viz. *That there were four Provinces of* Britain *at that time, and that* Flavia Cæſarienſis *was one of them*; *having its name from* Conſtantine, *who aſſumed the name of* Flavius; But *Goltzius* his Copy deſerves not to be ſo much preferr'd before (*f*) *Camden*'s; And the name of *Flavia Cæſarienſis* might either be taken from *Flavius Valentinianus*, as (*g*) *Berterius* thinks, or from *Fl. Theodoſius*, before whoſe time *Camden* ſaith we never met with *Britannia Flavia.*

(c) Hilar. *de Synod.*

(d) Bed. *l.* 2. *c.* 2.

(e) Uſſer. *de Prim. p.* 96.

(f) Camd. *Brit. p.* 111.

(g) Bert. *Pithar. Diatr.* 1. *c.* 5. *p.* 64.

There being then but *three Biſhops* preſent at the *Council* of *Arles*, is ſo far from being an Argument that there were no more in *Britain*, that it is rather an

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Argument to the contrary; ſince it was the Cuſtome to ſend but one or two out of a *Province* where they were moſt numerous. And I ſee no reaſon to queſtion a *Succeſſion* of *Biſhops* here from the firſt founding of a *Chriſtian Church*. To prove this, I ſhall not rely on the Teſtimony of the *Anonymous* (*h*) *Greek* Authour of the *Martyrdoms* of *Peter* and *Paul*, who ſaith, *Saint* Peter *here ordained Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons*; But upon the Reaſon of the thing, there being no other Church in the Chriſtian World which derived from the *Apoſtles*, which had not a Succeſſion of *Biſhops* from them too; And we cannot trace the Hiſtory of other Churches farther than we can do that of their Biſhops. As for inſtance. The firſt Converſion of the Churches of *Africa* is much in the dark, but as ſoon as we reade any thing conſiderable of them, we meet with a Council of Biſhops, *viz.* of (*i*) *Agrippinus* and his *Brethren*, out of the *Provinces* of *Africa*, *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, and he was not the immediate Predeceſſour of St. *Cyprian*, who ſuffer'd in the Perſecution of *Valerian*, *Anno Dom.* 258. And (*k*) *Tertullian* puts the proof of *Apoſtolical Churches* upon *the Succeſſion* of *Biſhops from the Apoſtles:* which were a ſenſleſs way of proceeding, unleſs it were taken for granted, that whereever the *Apoſtles* planted Churches, they appointed *Biſhops* to take care of them. Although therefore, by the loſs of *Records* of the *Britiſh Churches*, we cannot draw down the Succeſſion of Biſhops from the Apoſtles time (for that of the *Biſhops* of *London* by *Jocelin* of *Furnes* is not worth mentioning) yet we have great reaſon to preſume ſuch a Succeſſion; When upon the firſt ſummoning a Council by *Conſtantine* three *Britiſh Biſhops* appear'd; one out of every Province; as they did in other Parts.

(h) *Apud* Patric. Jun. *Not. ad Epiſt.* Clem.

(i) Cypr. *Ep.* 71.

(k) Tertull. *de Præſcr. hæret.* c. 32.

But ſome pretend to give a more punctual and exact account of the ſettling of our Church Government here, viz. *That there were twenty eight Cities among the old* Britains, *That in theſe there were twenty five Flamins and three Archiflamins, in whoſe places, upon the Converſion of the Nation by King* Lucius, *there was the like number of Biſhops and Archbiſhops here appointed*; And for this, beſides the Rabble of our Monkiſh Hi-

ſtorians, who ſwallow *Geffrey* of *Monmouth* whole without chewing; I find two of my Predeceſſours, men conſiderable in their times, produced to the ſame purpoſe, viz. (*l*) *Radulphus de Diceto*, and *Rad. Baldock*. Others ſay, (*m*) *That theſe twenty eight Cities were not all furniſhed with Biſhops in King* Lucius *his time, but that the honour of it belongs to him becauſe he began it:* But this is making a new Story, and in effect denying the truth of the old Tradition. However I deny not, but that it is as certain that *King* Lucius *ſettled Biſhops here*, as that he was converted by *Eluanus* and *Medwinus*; For the ſame Authours deliver both. But how far his Power extended, and conſequently how many *Cities* had Epiſcopal Government then ſettled in them, is now impoſſible to be known. As to the *twenty eight Cities among the* Britains, the Tradition doth not depend upon the Credit of *Geffrey* or *Nennius*; For *Bede* and before him *Gildas* ſay the ſame thing, viz. *That there were ſo many Cities among the* Britains, *while the* Romans *had Power here*, which I ſee no cauſe to doubt but they were *Cities* made by the *Romans*, or by the *Britains* in imitation of them, as I ſhall prove in another Diſcourſe. But that which follows from hence is, *viz.* That the Government here ſettled being in *Roman Cities*, the correſpondence muſt not be to the *Britiſh Druids*, but to the *Roman Colonies*. That there was ſome Subordination among the *Druids* is unqueſtionable. For *Cæſar* affirms, *That there was a Prince of the* Druids, and the laſt Age hath diſcovered a famous Urn of one *Chyndonax*, Chief of the *Druids*; concerning which whole (*n*) Books have been written, and ſeveral Diſcourſes publiſhed, without any great ſatisfaction to me; But it is not to any purpoſe to tell why, ſince I yield the thing it ſelf. And it is improbable there ſhould be a Prince of the *Druids*, without an intermediate Subordination, and the *Druids* being ſo far diſperſed, it was a reaſonable thing, That the *ſuperiour Druids* ſhould have their particular Limits aſſigned them, that they might the better underſtand and give account of thoſe under them, and not interfere or intrench one upon another. As far then as we ſuppoſe them to be reaſonable and prudent, theſe things may juſtly be ſuppoſed con-

(l) Maſon. *de Miniſter. Angl. l. 2. c. 3.*

(m) *Animadverſ. on Church Hiſt. of Brit. p.* 18.

(n) *Le Reveil de L'antique Tombs de* Chyndonax. *Licet. Reſp. ad Quæſt. per Epiſt. l. 1. ep.* 25.

concerning them, ſo that ſetting aſide the name of *Flamins* and *Archiflamins*, for which there is no foundation at all (as to either among the *Druids*, and not for the latter word among the *Romans*) yet the thing it ſelf hath no ſuch abſurdity or improbability in it. But the *Cities* here being *Roman*, as I ſuppoſe, the Government muſt be ſuitable to that of *Roman Colonies*, and they that know any thing of the nature and conſtitution of them, do know that they exactly follow'd the Pattern of the *City* of *Rome*, having a *Senate*, *Conſuls*, *Prætors*, *Cenſors*, *Ædiles*, *Quæſtors*, &c. And, beſides the reſt, they had their ſeveral *Flamins* and *Pontifices* too. But there were many of theſe *Flamins* in each *City* or *Colony*; thence (o) *Latinus Pacatus*, in his Panegyrick to *Theodoſius*, mentions, *Reverendos municipali purpurâ Flamines*, *inſignes apicibus Sacerdotes*, ſpeaking of a *Roman Colony*; But there can be no reſemblance between a multitude of *Flamins* in a City, and one *Biſhop* over a Dioceſe. The *Flamins* were the Prieſts of ſome peculiar Deity, from whom they took their denomination, as may be at large ſeen in *Gruter's* Book of *Roman Inſcriptions*. But among them there was a certain order of Place and Dignity; for we reade of a *Primus Flamen* in (p) *Gruter*. But (q) *Jac. Gutherius* hath an Obſervation which will tend to clear this matter. For among the *Roman Inſcriptions*, we meet with one extraordinary of this kind, viz. (r) *Flamini Divorum omnium*; Now ſaith he, *The name Flamen was common to all the Prieſts in the* Roman *Cities*; *But the* Flamen Divorum omnium *was the Chief Prieſt among them.* And ſo there is no ſuch mighty abſurdity as hath been imagined in ſuppoſing theſe *Flamins* to be put down, and the *Chriſtian Biſhops* to ſucceed in their Places; Eſpecially if we could have made out that there were *Flamines Provinciarum*, as at firſt appearance ſeem'd very probable in the *Roman Inſcriptions*. And (s) *Sertorius Urſatus* ſeems to make no doubt concerning it in this Inſcription,

(o) Pacat. *Pan.* § 37.

(p) *Inſcrip.* 29, 12.

(q) Jac. Guther. *de veteri Jure Pontificio*, *l.* 1. *c.* 6.

(r) *Inſcript.* p. 359. 3. 490. 2, & 31.

(s) Sertor. Urſat. *Mauus. Patav. l.* 1. § 6. p. 239.

DIVO AVGVSTO
ALBINVS. ALB. F. FLAMEN
DIVAE. AVG. PROVINCIAE
LVSITAN.

But it is an eaſie miſtake for a *Flamen D. Aug.* one of *Auguſtus* his *Flamins*, in that *Province*. Of which ſort there are many Examples. But there are other (*t*) *Inſcriptions* wherein we reade of

(t) Gruter. *Inſcript.* p. 373. 7, 8.

FLAMINICA PROVINCIAE LVSITANIAE

But all that *Sertorius Urſatus* infers from hence is, *That there were Temples dedicated to* Municipia *and to Provinces, and theſe Temples had their* Flamines *and* Flaminicæ. But this doth not prove, that the *Flamins* had any Juriſdiction over a Province; Which had been indeed to the purpoſe. Among the *Romans*, although there were none called *Archiflamines*, yet there were *Flamines majores & minores*, as appears by *Feſtus* and others. The leſſer are thought by ſome to be called *Veſtamines* in the *Inſcriptions* both of (*u*) *Gruter* and (*w*) *Reineſius*. *Feſtus* ſaith, the *Majores Flamines* were the *Patricians*; the *Minores*, the *Plebeians:* but the late Publiſher of *Feſtus* ſaith, That the *Majores Flamines* were the *Dialis*, *Martialis* and *Quirinalis*; the reſt of the fifteen who were added afterwards, were the *Minores*; The *Flamen Martialis* and *Quirinalis* were of the *College* of *Pontifices*, as appears by (*x*) *Cicero:* And the *Pontifices* themſelves were divided likewiſe into *Majores* and *Minores*, as appears both by *Feſtus* and the *Inſcriptions:* Theſe *leſſer* were at firſt *Aſſeſſours* in the *College* or *Court* of *Pontifices*; But afterwards became onely *Officers* to them; And among theſe there was a *Pontifex Maximus* too: But, as *Feſtus* ſaith, *he was onely the firſt in the College:* But all this relates onely to the *City*. That which comes nearer to our buſineſs is the Conſideration of the *Sacerdotes Provinciarum*, as they are called in the (*y*) *Theodoſian Code*. (*z*) *Jac. Gothofredus* ſaith, *The difference between the Flamins and theſe was*; That the *Flamins* belong'd to particular *Cities*; But theſe had *whole Provinces* under their Care; and ſo, in the Law, the *Honor Flaminii* was diſtinct from the *Honor Secerdotii*; this latter is called *Archieroſyne* in the ſame *Code*; And the Title and Office ſtill continued in the time of *Theodoſius M.* And it is there deſcribed

(u) Gruter. *Theſ.* p. 364. 1. 498. 8.
(w) Reineſ. *Inſcript.* p. 385.
(x) Cicero *de Aruſp. Reſp.*
(y) C. Theod. *Tit. de Dec. l.* 46, 75, *&c.*
(z) J. Gothofr. *ad* C. Theod. 12. *Tit.* 1. *de Dec. l.* 21, 112.

bed to be *a Care that Divine Offices were performed in their Temples*; and ſuch as theſe were (*a*) *Sopelianus* in *Aſia*, and (*b*) *Chryſantius* in *Lydia*, and (*c*) *Arſacius* in *Galatia*, to whom an Epiſtle of *Julian* is ſtill extant, giving him charge to look after his Office with great Care, and to warn and puniſh *the inferiour Prieſts* if they neglected their Duty. So that we have now found out what did bear a great correſpondence among the *Romans* to our *Biſhops* and *Archbiſhops*.

(a) Philoſtr. *vit. Sopel.* (b) Eunap. *in Chry.* (c) Julian. *Ep.* 49.

But it ſtill remains a Queſtion, Whether they did not rather borrow this from the *Chriſtians*, than the *Chriſtians* from them? For *Julian* in that *Epiſtle* makes it his buſineſs to perſuade *Arſacius* to *take all things commendable from the Chriſtians*; and no doubt this was thought ſo by his Predeceſſours, who firſt ſet up this *Sacerdotal Government of Provinces* among them. And, if I miſtake not, it began much later than the firſt Settlement of *Epiſcopacy* in the *Britiſh Churches*; For (*d*) *Euſebius* ſaith, That *Maximinus* appointed not onely Prieſts in the *Cities*, but Ἀρχιερεῖς, *Chief-prieſts in the Provinces*, where *Valeſius* miſtakes his meaning; for he thinks all the Innovation of *Maximinus* was the appointing them himſelf, whereas they were wont to be choſen by the *Decuriones* in the *Cities*: But he ſpeaks of it as *a new thing* of *Maximinus*, to appoint ſuch an *Order* and *Office* among the *Prieſts* which had not been known before: And that which puts this matter out of doubt is, That (*e*) *Lactantius*, in his excellent Piece lately publiſhed out of *MS.* by *Baluzius*, ſaith expreſly of *Maximinus*, *Novo more Sacerdotes maximos per ſingulas Civitates ſingulos ex primoribus fecit*, *i.e.* That by *a new Cuſtome* he appointed *Chief Prieſts* in the *ſeveral Cities*, of the greateſt Perſons in them, who were not onely to doe the *Office of Prieſts themſelves*; but to look after *the inferiour Prieſts*, and by their means to hinder the *Chriſtians* from their Worſhip, and to bring them to puniſhment: But, as though this were not enough, *He appointed other Prieſts over the Provinces, in a higher degree above the reſt.* Although then *Valeſius* aſſerted that ſuch were elder than *Maximinus*, yet *Lactantius*, whoſe authority is far greater, hath determined the contrary.

(d) Euſeb. *l.* 8. *c.* 14. *l.* 9. *c.* 4.

(e) Lactant. *de Mort. Perſec. c.* 36.

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I am not ignorant that, long before *Maximinus* his time, (*f*) *Tertullian* mentions the *Præſides Sacerdotales*, but thoſe do not relate to this matter, but to the *Spectacula*, as appears by the place. (*g*) Some inſiſt on the *Sacerdotes Provinciales* in (*h*) *Tertullian*; but *Rigaltius* ſhews there ought to be a *comma* between them, it being very unlikely the *Provincial Prieſts* ſhould have *Golden Crowns* when thoſe at *Rome* had not. And in a (*i*) *Canon* of the *African Code* we find the *Sacerdotes Provinciæ*, but that *Council* was long after, *Anno Dom.* 407. And theſe ſeem to be no other than *Advocates*, who were to appear for the Cauſes which concerned the *Temples* and *Sacrifices* throughout the *Province*. According to which method, the *African Biſhops* there deſire, *That the Churches might have Advocates too, with the ſame Privileges:* Which Requeſt was granted by (*k*) *Honorius*; and was the firſt Introduction of *Lawyers* into the *Service* of the *Church*, who were called *Defenſores Eccleſiarum*, and were afterwards *Judges* in *Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes*. But that which comes nearer to this matter is, the Authority of the *Aſiarchæ*, who in ſome *Coins*, mentioned by (*l*) *Spanhemius*, are ſaid to be *Prieſts over thirteen Cities*; And this in the Law is called (*m*) *Sacerdotium Aſiæ:* But theſe ſeem to have been no other than thoſe who took care of the *publick Solemnities* in the *common Aſſembly* in *Aſia*, when the People met out of theſe *Cities* to perform them either at *Epheſus* or *Smyrna*, or any other of the Cities within this *combination*, as is obſerved by many (*n*) Learned Men. And although there were but one *Chief* at a time, yet the Office ſeem'd to have paſſed by turns through the ſeveral Cities; And he in whoſe City the Solemnities were to be kept, was the *Preſident* for that time, and had the Title of *Aſiarcha*. But (*o*) *Alb. Rubenius* ſhews from *Ariſtides* and *Dio*, *That the* Aſiarchæ *had a Superintendency over the Temples and the Prieſts within the Community of the* Aſian *Cities*; But theſe were onely, he ſaith, *For the Temples erected to the* Cæſars *out of the common Stock*; The *Temple* of *Diana* at *Epheſus* belonging to the *Ionian Community*, and not to that of *Aſia*. *Herodes Atticus* is called in the Inſcription at (*p*) *Athens*, Ἀρχιερέως τῆς Σεβαστῆς, Cæſar's

(f) Tertull. *de Spectac. c.* 11.

(g) Alb. Piccoli *de antiquo Jure Siculæ Eccleſ. c.* 11.

(h) Tertull. *de Idololat. c.* 18.

(i) *Cod. Afric. c.* 97.

(k) C. Theod. 16. *Tit.* 2. *l.* 38.

(l) Spanhem. *de Numiſm. p.* 692.

(m) *L.* 19. *de Mun. & Honor.*

(n) Cujac. *Obſerv. l.* 2. *c.* 13. Pet. Fabr. *Sem. l.* 3. *c.* 1. Albaſp. *Obſ. l.* 1. *c.* 22. Seld. *ad Marm. Arund. p.* 164.

(o) Alb. Ruben. *de Urb.* Neocoris, *p.* 246.

(p) Spons *Voyage, Tom.* 3. *p.* 220.

Cæſar's *High-prieſt*. But that ſeems to be onely a *Title*, without Power. But it appears by the (q) *Inſcription* at *Thyatira*, That the *Aſiarcha* was called *the High-prieſt of* Aſia, and had Power *to place Prieſts in the Cities under his Care*. But ſtill this falls ſhort of ſuch *Chief-prieſts* in the *Provinces* as *Maximinus* appointed. (q) *Id. p.* 114.

And thus I have endeavour'd to clear the *Antiquity* and *Original Inſtitution* of *Epiſcopacy* here, by ſhewing that it was not taken up, according to the *Monkiſh Tradition*, from the Heathen *Flamins* and *Archiflamins*; But came down by *Succeſſion* from the firſt planting of *Apoſtolical Churches*. For although we cannot deduce a lineal *Succeſſion* of *Biſhops*, as they could in other Churches, where Writings were preſerved, yet aſſoon as through the Churches Peace they came to have intercourſe with foreign Churches (as in the Council of *Arles*) they appeared with a proportionable number of *Biſhops* with thoſe of other *Provinces*; And their *Succeſſion* was not in the leaſt diſputed among them, they ſubſcribing to the Sentence and *Canons* as others did. And what *Canons* did then paſs, did no doubt as much concern the *Britiſh Churches* to obſerve, as any other *Churches* whoſe Biſhops were there preſent. Which *Canons* were paſſed by their own Authority; For they never ſent to the *Biſhop* of *Rome* to *confirm*, but to *publiſh* them, as appears by the *Synodical* Epiſtle which they ſent to him; Their words are, *Quæ decrevimus Communi Concilio, Charitati tuæ ſignificamus, ut omnes ſciant quid in futurum obſervare debeant.* (r) *Baronius* had good luck to find out *the neceſſity of the Pope's confirmation* here; Whereas they plainly tell him, *they had already decreed them by common conſent, and ſent them to him to divulge them, i.e.* As (s) *Petrus de Marca* ſaith, *As the Emperours ſent their Edicts to their* Præfecti Prætorio. Was that to confirm them? It is true, they ſay, *the Pope had a larger Dioceſe*; But if theſe words had implied ſo much as a *Patriarchal Power over the Biſhops* there aſſembled, how could they aſſume to themſelves this *Power* to make *Canons*; And onely to ſignifie to him *what they had done*, and to deſire him to communicate theſe *Canons* to others? Would ſuch a Meſſage from a *Council* have been born, (r) Baron. *A. D.* 314. *n.* 68. (s) Pet. de Marca *de Concord. l.* 7. *c.* 14. *n.* 2.

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ſince the *Papal Supremacy* hath been owned? Nay, how fancily would it have looked in any *Council* within the *Patriarchats* of the Eaſt to have done ſo? But theſe *Biſhops* of *Arles* knew no other Style then, but *Charitati tuæ*; And they ſignifie to the Biſhop of *Rome what they had already decreed*, but not what they had prepared for him to *confirm*. And they are ſo far from owning his *Authority* in calling them together, That they tell him, They were aſſembled at the Emperour's Command, and were ſo far from expecting Directions *from him*, *that they tell him they had* a Divine Authority preſent with them, and a certain Tradition and Rule of Faith; *They wiſhed indeed*, he had been preſent with them, and to have judged together with them. *Was this to make him ſole Judge? or could they believe him at the ſame time to be their* Supreme Head? *They could have been* glad of the Company of their Brother of *Rome*, *as they familiarly call him*; But ſince his Occaſions would not permit his Abſence from home, they acquaint him what they had done, and ſo ſend him an *Abſtract* of their *Canons*, as may be ſeen at large both in *Sirmondus* and *Baronius*. By this we ſee what Opinion the *Britiſh Biſhops* and their *Brethren* had of the *Pope's Supremacy*.

Communi copulâ charitatis & unitate Matris Eccleſiæ Catholicæ vinculo inhærentes ad Arelatenſium *Civitatem piiſſimi Imperatoris voluntate adducti*----

Quos & Dei noſtri præſens Auctoritas & Traditio, ac Regula veritatis ita reſpuit--

Judice Deo, ac Matre Eccleſia quæ ſuos novit aut comprobat, aut damnati ſunt aut repulſi.

Et utinam, Frater dilectiſſime, ad hoc tantum ſpectaculum intereſſes---

Et te pariter nobiſcum judicante Cœtus noſter majori lætitia exultaſſet.

But now to their *Canons*; Thoſe may be reduced to three Heads; Either to the *Keeping of Eaſter*; Or to the *Diſcipline of the Clergy*; Or to *Lay Communion*.

(1.) As to *Eaſter*, That Council decreed, *Can.* 1. *That it ſhould be obſerved on the ſame day and time throughout the World. And that the Biſhop of* Rome *ſhould give notice of the day, according to cuſtome.* But this

this latter part was repealed, as *Binius* confeſſes, by the Council of *Nice*, which referr'd this matter to the Biſhop of *Alexandria.*

(2.) As to the *Clergy*, There were *Canons* which related to Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons. (1.) To *Biſhops*, and thoſe were four: (1.) *That no Biſhop ſhould trample upon another*, Can. 17. which *Albaſpineus* well interprets of invading another's *Dioceſe.* (2.) *As to travelling Biſhops, that they ſhould be allow'd to perform Divine Offices in the City they came unto*, Can. 19. (3.) *That no Biſhop ſhould conſecrate another alone, but he ought to take ſeven with him, or at leaſt three*, Can. 20. Which ſhews the number of Biſhops then in the Weſtern *Provinces* and ſo in *Britain* at that time. The *Nicene Canon*, C. 4. takes notice onely of *three Biſhops* as neceſſary to be preſent, becauſe many Eaſtern *Provinces* had not *ſeven*; as *Chriſtianus Lupus* obſerves on that *Canon.* In an *African* Council in *Creſconius* we find, *That becauſe two had preſumed to conſecrate a Biſhop, they deſire that twelve may be preſent*; But *Aurelius*, Biſhop of *Carthage*, refuſed it for this reaſon, *Becauſe in the Province of* Tripolis *there were but five Biſhops.* Therefore when the Council of *Arles* appoints *ſeven*, it doth ſuppoſe theſe *Provinces* to have a greater number of *Biſhops.* (4.) *That if any were proved to have been* Traditores *in the Time of Perſecution*, i. e. to have given up the Sacred Books or Veſſels, *or to have betrayed their Brethren, and this proved by Authentick Acts*; *Then they were to be depoſed.* However *their Ordinations are declared to be valid*, Can. 13.

(2.) As to inferiour Clergy; (1.) *Excommunication is denounced againſt thoſe that put out money to uſe*, Can. 12. (2.) *That they were not to forſake the Churches where they were ordained*, Can. 2. And Deprivation is threatned on that account, *Can.* 21. (3.) *The Deacons are forbidden to celebrate the Lord's Supper*, there called *Offering*, Can. 15.

(3.) As to *Lay Communion*: (1.) *Thoſe that refuſe to continue in their Employment as Soulders, now the Perſecution was over, were to be ſuſpended Communion*, Can. 3.

The words are, *de his qui Arma projiciunt in Pace.* Of which ſome do hardly make tolerable ſenſe. *Binius* ſaith it muſt be read *in Bello.* But nothing can be more contrary to *Peace* than *War*; How then ſhould ſuch a miſtake happen? *Albaſpineus* ſaith, *It is againſt thoſe who refuſe to be Souldiers in time of Peace: Baronius* ſaith, *It is againſt them that apoſtatize in time of Peace*; But if a Metaphorical Senſe will be allow'd, that which ſeems moſt probable is, That many Chriſtians, now the Perſecution was over, neglected that Care of themſelves, and that Strictneſs of Diſcipline which they uſed before; And therefore ſuch are here threatned, if not to be thrown out, yet to be debarr'd Communion till they had recover'd themſelves. And much to this purpoſe *Joſephus Ægyptius* and *Joh. Antiochenus* do underſtand the 12. *Can.* of the *Council* of *Nice.* But if a Metaphorical Senſe be thought too hard; Then, I ſuppoſe, the meaning is, againſt thoſe who renounced being Souldiers, as much now in time of the *Churches Peace*, as under *Perſecution*, when they could not be Souldiers without committing *Idolatry*, as appear'd in the Perſecution of *Licinius* and others. *Conſtantine*, as (t) *Euſebius* ſaith, *gave them all leave to forſake their Employment that would.* But the Council of *Arles* might well apprehend, That if all *Chriſtians* renounced being *Souldiers*, They muſt ſtill have an Army of Heathens, whatever the Emperours were; And therefore they had reaſon to make ſuch a *Canon* as this, ſince the *Chriſtians* ever thought it lawfull to ſerve in the *Wars*; Provided no *Idolatrous Acts* were impoſed, which was frequently done on purpoſe by the *Perſecutours*, as *Maximianus, Licinius, Julian*, &c. And this I think the true meaning of this difficult *Canon.* (2.) *For thoſe who drove the Chariots in Races, and acted on Theatres, as long as they continued ſo to doe*; There being ſo many Occaſions of Idolatry in both of them, *They were to be caſt out of Communion*, Can. 4, 5. (3.) *That thoſe who were Chriſtians and made Governours of remote places ſhould carry with them the communicatory Letters of their own Biſhop, and not be debarr'd Communion, unleſs they acted againſt the Diſcipline of the Church.* This I take to be the meaning of *Can.* 7. (4.) *That thoſe who*

(t) Euſeb. *de vit. Conſt. l.*2. *c.* 33.

who were received into the Church in their weakneſs ſhould have Impoſition of hands afterwards, Can. 6. (5.) *That thoſe who brought Teſtimonials from Confeſſours ſhould be bound to take communicatory Letters from their Biſhop*, Can. 9. (6.) *That thoſe who found their Wives in Adultery, ſhould be adviſed not to marry again while they did live*, Can. 10. (7.) *That thoſe young Women who did marry Infidels ſhould for a time be ſuſpended Communion*, Can. 11. (8.) *That thoſe who falſly accuſed their Brethren ſhould not be admitted to Communion as long as they lived*, Can. 14. (9.) *That none who were excommunicated in one place ſhould be abſolved in another*, Can. 16. (10.) *That no Apoſtate ſhould be admitted to Communion in Sickneſs; But they ought to wait till they recover'd and ſhew'd amendment*, Can. 22. (11.) *That thoſe who were baptized in the Faith of the Holy Trinity ſhould not be rebaptized*, Can. 8. And this was the *Canon* which Saint *Auguſtine* on all occaſions preſſed upon the *Donatiſts*, as *Sirmondus* and *Launoy* think; And therefore they ſuppoſe this Council to be called ſo often a *Plenary* and *Univerſal Council*, not from the *number* of *Biſhops* preſent, but from the *Provinces* out of which they came; And ſo it was the firſt *General Council* of the *Weſtern Church.*

CHAP. III.

Of the Succeſſion of the *Britiſh* Churches from the Council of *Nice* to the Council of *Ariminum*.

GReat Probabilities that the Britiſh *Biſhops were preſent in the Council of* Nice.

The Teſtimonies of Conſtantine's *being born in* Britain *clear'd.*

The particular Canons of the Council of Nice *relating to the Government of Churches explained.*

How far the right of Election was devolved to the Biſhops.

Of the Authority of Provincial Synods there ſettled.

Particular Exceptions as to the Biſhops of Alexandria, Rome *and* Antioch *from ancient Cuſtome.*

They had then a Patriarchal Power within certain bounds.

No Metropolitans under the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops of Rome *and* Alexandria.

The juſt Rights of the Britiſh *Churches clear'd.*

No evidence that they were under the Roman *Patriarchate.*

The Cyprian *Privilege vindicated from all late Exceptions.*

The Patriarchal Rights examin'd; And from them the Pope's Patriarchal Power over the Weſtern Churches at large diſputed and overthrown.

Pope Leo's *Arguments againſt the Patriarch of* Conſtantinople *held for the Weſtern Churches againſt him.*

The Britiſh *Biſhops preſent in the Council of* Sardica.

What Authority granted by them to the Biſhop of Rome, *and how far it extends.*

HAving deduced the *Succeſſion* of the *Britiſh* Churches down to the Appearance of the *Britiſh* Biſhops at the firſt Council of *Arles*, I now come to the famous Council of *Nice*; And although the Subſcriptions ſtill remaining which

which are very imperfect and confuſed in the beſt Copies, do not diſcover any of the *Britiſh* Biſhops to have been there preſent, yet there are many Probabilities to induce us to believe that they were. For (1.) *Conſtantine* declares, that his Deſign was, to have as full an Appearance of Biſhops there from all parts as he could well get together. To that end he ſent forth an univerſal Summons for the Biſhops to come *out of all Provinces*, ἀπολαχόθεν is the word uſed by (*a*) *Euſebius*. And preſently after he ſaith *Conſtantine's* Edict was divulged πανταχοῦ, *in all Provinces of the Empire*. How can this be, if there were no Summons in the *Provinces* of *Gaul* and *Britain*? And to prevent all Objections, as to difficulty and charges of Paſſage, *Euſebius* adds, *That he had given order to have the publick Carriages ready, and all Expences to be defrayed for them.* To this purpoſe *Tractoriæ* were to be given them by the Emperour's Order, which ſecured their Paſſage and Proviſion in all Places; The form of which is extant in (*b*) *Baronius*. And the *Claſſis Britannica* lying near to *Britain* to ſecure theſe Coaſts from the *Franks* and *Saxons*, who were then troubleſome, (and over which *Carauſius* ſo lately was appointed Admiral to clear theſe Seas) the Biſhops here could not want conveniency to tranſport them. (2.) *Conſtantine* expreſſed great ſatisfaction in the *Numbers* that did appear from all parts. So that there is no reaſon to queſtion, That they did anſwer his expectation. For in his *Epiſtle* to the Church of *Alexandria*, (*c*) he ſaith, *He had brought together a great number of Biſhops*; But more fully in his *Epiſtle* to the Churches; *That to the Settlement of the Chriſtian Faith it was then neceſſary, that all the Biſhops ſhould meet together, or at leaſt the greateſt part:* Therefore he had aſſembled as many as he could. But when it appears by the Council of *Arles*, what numbers of Biſhops there were in theſe Weſtern Provinces, how could *Conſtantine* uſe ſuch Expreſſions as theſe, if they were not ſummoned to appear? And (*d*) *Euſebius* ſaith, *Thoſe that were ſummon'd did come according to appointment with great readineſs, not onely for the ſake of the Council, but of the Emperour*; And he after ſaith, *That the moſt eminent Biſhops of all Churches,*

(a) Euſeb. *de vit. Conſt. l.* 3. *c.* 6.

(b) Baron. *A.D.* 314. *n.* 48.

(c) Socrat. *l.* 1. *c.* 9.

(d) Euſeb. *vit. Conſt. l.* 3. *c.* 6, 7.

as

as well thoſe of Europe *as* Aſia *and* Africa *did come to Nice.* Did not *Euſebius* know of the Churches of *Britain?* Yes, moſt certainly, For he mentions *their early converſion to Chriſtianity,* as I have already ſhew'd; And in that very Book of the *Life* of *Conſtantine,* he mentions *the Churches of Britain,* as well as thoſe of *Gaul* and *Spain:* And there *Conſtantine* inſiſts upon the conſent of the *Weſtern* and *Northern Churches about Eaſter,* as well as the *Southern* and ſome of the *Eaſtern.* Now if their Conſent were ſo conſiderable as to add weight in this matter, It is not to be ſuppoſed they ſhould be left out, when he deſigned an *Oecumenical Council,* as far as it was in his power to make it ſo, which certainly extended to all the Provinces within the *Empire.* (3.) It is not probable the Churches of *Britain* ſhould be left out, conſidering *Conſtantine's* relation to *Britain.* For he was not onely proclaimed Emperour here on the death of his Father; But, if the *Panegyriſt* who lived in that time may be believed, *He was born here.* For, comparing (e) *Conſtantius* and him together, he ſaith, *That his Father deliver'd* Britain *from Slavery, Tu etiam Nobiles illic oriendo feciſti:* The queſtion now is, Whether theſe words relate to his *Birth,* or to *his being proclaimed Cæſar* here? *Livineius* is for the latter, after (f) *Lipſius;* But I ſee no reaſon to decline the moſt natural and proper ſenſe, viz. *That he brought a great honour to* Britain *by being born in it.* (g) *Eumenius,* in another *Panegyrick,* applauds the happineſs of *Britain, That had the firſt ſight of* Conſtantine Cæſar. This is likewiſe capable of both ſenſes; But he immediately falls into a high commendation of *Britain,* for its *Temper, Fertility, Riches* and *Length of days.* If this were *Conſtantine's own Countrey,* this was done like an *Oratour;* If not, to what purpoſe is all this? And then he parallels *Britain* with *Egypt, where* Mercury *was born;* Which ſhews that he ſpake of the Place of *Nativity.* Beſides, the former *Panegyriſt* made his *Oration* to *Maximianus* and *Conſtantine* together, upon his Marriage of *Theodora* his Daughter; But it is not ſo probable that he would to him ſo much own *Conſtantine's* being made *Cæſar* in *Britain;* For that was not according to the *Rules* of *Government,* in the Court

Euſeb. *vit.* Conſt. *l.*3. *c.*19.

(e) *Panegyr. Max. & Conſtant.*

(f) Lipſius *de Mag. Rom. l.*4. *c.*11. *in Notis.*

(g) Eumen. *Panegyr.* Conſtant. §9.

Court of *Maximianus* and *Diocleſian*; for as *Galerius* told *Diocleſian* when he would have had four *Auguſti*; *No*, ſaith he, *That is againſt your own Maxim, which is to have onely two* Auguſti, *and for them to name two* Cæſars. Therefore it is not likely, That the Oratour ſhould, to *Maximianus* his face, own him to be made *Cæſar*, without the conſent of thoſe who were then *Auguſti*: But if he ſpeaks of his being made *Cæſar* by *Galerius*, it is very doubtfull whether he were then in *Britain*. For (*h*) *Lactantius* ſaith, *he took time to conſider about it, and was very hardly brought to it*: But (*i*) *Nazarius*, and (*k*) *Praxagoras*, both ſay, *That* Conſtantine *went into* Gaul *ſoon after his Father's death*; And therefore *Gaul* firſt ſaw him *Cæſar*, according to the conſtitution of the *Empire* at that time. So that this one Teſtimony of the *Panegyriſt* weighs more with me than ten *Cedrenus's* or *Nicephorus's* who ſay *he was born in the Eaſt*. But I produce this onely as an argument of the improbability, That the *Britiſh* Churches ſhould be omitted by *Conſtantine* in the Summons to his *Oecumenical Council*; or, That they being ſummon'd ſhould neglect to go. (4.) They were certainly ſummon'd, and did go to the *Councils* of *Sardica* and *Ariminum* after, and to that of *Arles* before, and why ſhould we believe them left out in that of *Nice*? This argument alone prevailed with Mr. (*l*) *Selden* to believe them preſent at the *Council* of *Nice*. And we are now forced to make uſe of the beſt Probabilities, ſince *Athanaſius* his (*m*) *Synodicon* hath been ſo long loſt, wherein all their Names were ſet down who were then preſent; And that *Catalogue* of them, if it were diſtinct, which (*n*) *Epiphanius* had ſeen.

(h) Lactant. *de Mort. Perſec. c.* 25.
(i) Nazar. *Paneg.* n. 16.
(k) Phot. *Cod.* 62.
(l) Selden. *in* Eutych. *p.* 117, 123.
(m) Socr. *l.* 1. *c.* 9.
(n) Epiph. *hær.* 69.

There being then ſo much reaſon to believe the *Britiſh* Biſhops preſent in the Council of *Nice*, we have the more cauſe to look into the *Conſtitution* of the Eccleſiaſtical Government there ſettled, that ſo we may better underſtand the juſt *Rights* and *Privileges* of the *Britiſh Churches*. After the Points of Faith and the Time of *Eaſter* were determined; The Biſhops there aſſembled made *twenty Canons* for the *Government* and *Diſcipline* of the *Church*, in which they partly re-inforced the *Canons* of the Council of *Arles*, and partly added

ded new. Thoſe that were re-inforced were, (1.) *Againſt Clergy-mens taking the cuſtomary Uſury then allow'd*, Can. 17. (2.) *Againſt their removing from their own Dioceſe*, Can. 15. which is here extended to *Biſhops*; and ſuch removal is declared null. (3.) *Againſt Deacons giving the Euchariſt to Presbyters, and in the preſence of Biſhops*, Can. 18. (2.) As to *Lay Communion*; The *Canon* againſt *re-baptizing is re-inforced by* Can. 19. wherein thoſe onely who renounced the Trinity are required to be *re-baptized*, and the *Canon* againſt being *excommunicated in one Church, and received into Communion in another*, Can. 5. whether they be of the Laity or Clergy.

For the *New Canons* about *Lay Communion*, they chiefly concerned the *Lapſed* in times of *Perſecution*. As (1.) *If they were onely Catechumens, that for three years they ſhould remain in the loweſt Form, not being admitted to join in any Prayers of the Church, but onely to hear the Leſſons read, and the Inſtructions that were there given*, Can. 14. (2.) *For thoſe that were baptized, and fell voluntarily* in the late Perſecution of *Licinius, They were for three years to remain among thoſe who were admitted onely to hear, for ſeven years to continue in the ſtate of Penitents, and for two years to join onely with the People in Prayers, without being admitted to the Euchariſt*, Can. 11. (3.) *For thoſe Souldiers who* (in that Perſecution when *Licinius* made it neceſſary for them to ſacrifice to Heathen Gods if they would continue in their Places) *firſt renounced their Employments, and after by Bribery or other means got into them again, for three years they were to be without joining in the Prayers of the Church, and for ten years to remain in the ſtate of Penitents; But ſo as to leave it to the Biſhop's Diſcretion to judge of the ſincerity of their Repentance, and accordingly to remit ſome part of the Diſcipline*, Can. 12. (4.) *If perſons happen'd to be in danger of Death before they had paſſed through all the methods of the Churches Diſcipline, they were not to be denyed the Euchariſt; But if they recover, they were to be reduced to the ſtate of Penitents*, Can. 13. But there was one *Canon* added of another nature, which concerned *Uniformity*, and that is the laſt of the *Genuine Canons*. It had been an ancient

cient Cuſtome in the Chriſtian Church to forbear *kneeling* in the *publick Devotion* on the *Lord's days*, and between *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*, but there were ſome who refuſed to obſerve it; And therefore this *Canon* was made to bring all to an *Uniformity in that Practice*, Can. 20.

But there are other *Canons* which relate more eſpecially to *Eccleſiaſtical Perſons*, and thoſe either concern the *Diſcipline* of the *Clergy*, or the *Government* of the *Church*.

(1.) For the *Diſcipline* of the *Clergy*, they are theſe.

(1.) *None who had voluntarily caſtrated themſelves were to be admitted into Orders*, Can. 1. For it ſeems *Origen's* Fact, however condemned by ſome, was as much admired by others, and (*o*) *Chriſtianus Lupus* thinks the Sect of the *Valeſii*, who *caſtrated all*, came from him; But I do not find that *Origen* did propagate any Sect of this kind; And *Epiphanius* makes one *Valens* the Authour of it; However this great Council thought fit to exclude all ſuch from any Capacity of Church Employments; But it is generally ſuppoſed, and not without reaſon, that the Fact of *Leontius*, a *Presbyter* of *Antioch*, (*p*) caſtrating himſelf becauſe of his ſuſpicious Converſation with *Euſtolia*, gave the particular Occaſion to the making this Canon. (2.) *None who were lately Catechumens, were to be conſecrated Biſhops or ordained Presbyters*, Can. 2. For however it had happen'd well in ſome extraordinary Caſes, as of St. *Cyprian* before, and others after this Council, as St. *Ambroſe*, *Nectarius*, &c. yet there was great reaſon to make a ſtanding Rule againſt it. (3.) *None of the Clergy were to have any Women to live in the Houſe with them, except very near Relations, as Mother, or Siſter*, &c. *Can.* 3. For ſome, pretending *greater Sanctity*, and therefore *declining Marriage*, yet affected the *familiar Converſation of Women*, who made the ſame pretence. For (*q*) *Budæus* hath well obſerved that Συνεισακτὸς is *a Companion of Celibacy*; So that when two Perſons were reſolved to continue unmarried and agreed to live together, one of theſe was Συνεισακτὸς to the other. And (*r*) *Tertullian*, writing againſt ſecond Marriages, ſeems to adviſe this Practice, *Habe aliquam*

(o) Chriſtian. Lup. *Not. in Concil. Nican. Can.*

(p) Baron. *A.D.* 325. n. 146. *Vide* Athan. *ad ſolit. vit. agent.* p. 812, 829, 837.

(q) Bud. *Com. L. Gr.* p. 148.

(r) Tertull. *de Monog.* c. 16. *De Exhort. Caſtit.* c. 12.

Uxorem ſpiritualem; adſume de Viduis Eccleſiæ, &c. And it ſoon grew into a Cuſtome in *Africa*, as appears by (s) St. *Cyprian* who writes vehemently againſt it, and ſhews the Danger and Scandal of it. And that this *Converſation* was under a Pretence of *Sanctity* appears by (t) St. *Jerom's* words, ſpeaking of ſuch perſons, *Sub nominibus pietatis quærentium ſuſpecta conſortia*; and again, *Sub nomine Religionis & umbra Continentiæ.* But elſewhere he calls it *Peſtis Agapetarum*, for it ſpread like the Plague, and was reſtrained with great Difficulty; And at laſt *Laws* were added to *Canons*, theſe being found ineffectual. (4.) *If any perſons were admitted looſely and without due Examination into Orders, or upon Confeſſion of lawfull Impediments had Hands notwithſtanding laid upon them, ſuch Ordinations were not to be allowed as Canonical*, Can. 9. which is more fully expreſſed in the next *Canon* as to one Caſe, viz. *That if any lapſed perſons were ordained, whether the Ordainers did it ignorantly or knowingly they were to be deprived*, Can. 10. (5.) *If any among the* Novatians *returned to the Church, and ſubſcribed their Conſent to the Doctrine and Practice of it, their Ordination ſeems to be allowed. Juſtellus*, and ſome others, think *a new Impoſition of hands* was required by this *Canon*; If any of the *Novatian Clergy* were admitted into the Church. And ſo *Dionyſius Exiguus* and the old Latin Interpreter do render it. But *Balſamon*, *Zonaras* and others underſtand it ſo, as that the former Impoſition of hands, whereby they were admitted into the Clergy were hereby allow'd. If the words of the *Canon* ſeem to be ambiguous, and their Senſe to be taken from the Practice of the *Nicene Fathers* in a parallel Caſe, then they are rather to be underſtood of a *new Impoſition of hands.* For in the Caſe of the *Meletians* who were ordained in *Schiſm* too, they determined in their Synodical Epiſtle that they ſhould be received μυστικωτέρᾳ χειροτονίᾳ, *with a more ſacred Impoſition of hands*; But it is not agreed whether this implies a *Reordination* or not. (u) *Valeſius* thinks it doth, but others take it onely for a *ſimple Benediction*, or the *Laying on of hands upon Reconciliation to the Church.* And (w) *Godfrey Hermant* hath at large proved *Reordination* in this Caſe to have been againſt the ſenſe of

(s) Cypr. *Ep.* 4. *ed. Oxon.*

(t) Hieron. *ad* Ruſtic. *ad* Gaudent. *ad* Euſtoch.

(u) Valeſ. *Not. in* Socrat. *l.* 1. *c.* 9.

(w) Lavie *de S.* Athan. *l.* 2. *c.* 13. *in not.*

of the Church; wherein he hath the advantage of *Valeſius*: as is evident to any one that reflects on the *Occaſion* of the *Luciferian Schiſm*; which began upon the *Council* of *Alexandria*'s allowing the *Ordination* of the *Arian Biſhops*. And it would be very ſtrange if *Schiſm* were more deſtructive to Orders than plain *Hereſie*. But *the* Novatian *Biſhop was to have no Juriſdiction where there was one of the Catholick Church*; Can. 8.

Among the *Canons* which relate to the Settlement and Polity of the Church, theſe three are very material. (1.) About *Election* and *Conſecration* of *Biſhops*. (2.) About *Provincial Synods*. (3.) About the *Bounds of Juriſdiction*. For the ſeventh *Canon* is but a *Complement to the Biſhop of* Jeruſalem, *giving him the honour of a Metropolitane without the Juriſdiction*.

(1.) About *Election* and *Conſecration of Biſhops*. The *Canon* is, *That a Biſhop ought chiefly to be conſtituted by all the Biſhops in the Province; But if this be too difficult, either through urgent Occaſions, or the length of the way, yet three muſt be preſent for that purpoſe, and have the Conſent of the abſent under their Hands, and ſo to make the Conſecration. But the Confirmation of all things done in the Province muſt be reſerved to the Metropolitane*, Can. 4. By this *Canon* the *Government* of the Church came now to be ſettled under *Conſtantine*, and with his *Approbation*. And here we find, That every *Province* had a number of Biſhops within it ſelf, who were to take care of the *Eccleſiaſtical Government* of it, but ſo as the conſent of the *Metropolitane* were obtained: So that the *Rights* of *Metropolitans*, as to the chief *Eccleſiaſtical Government* of every *Province*, are hereby ſecured; For the laſt Clauſe doth not merely refer to the *Conſecration* of *Biſhops*; But takes in that, with other *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs* of the *Province*. The onely difficulty lies in the firſt Clauſe, What is meant by the Biſhops of the Province, *conſtituting a new Biſhop*; Whether the *right* of *Election* is hereby devolved to them, or whether it be onely the *right* of *Conſecration* upon the *Election* of the People? Which is therefore here fit to be enquired into, becauſe the ancient Practice of the *Britiſh* Churches may from hence be gathered; which we may juſtly preſume was agreeable to the *Nicene Canon*.

And becauſe the ſignification of the Greek word is ambiguous, we ſhall firſt ſee, what Senſe the Greek Writers do put upon it. *Balſamon* interprets κατασταθῆναι by ψηφίζεσθαι which is *chuſing by Suffrage*; And he in plain terms ſaith, by this Canon, *the right of Election was taken from the People, and given to the Biſhops of the Province.* And it is not *Balſamon* alone, as ſome imagine, that was of that Opinion, but *Zonaras, Ariſtenus, Matthæus Blaſtares*, as any one may find. But we are told, *If they are all of that mind, they are greatly miſtaken, becauſe this Council, in their Synodical Epiſtle to thoſe of* Alexandria *and* Egypt, *declare their Judgment*, (x) *That if any Biſhops deceaſe, others reconciled to the Church may be admitted in their room, if they be worthy, and the People do chuſe them,* καὶ ὁ λαὸς αἱρῆται. One would think by this, That the *Council* of *Nice* had put this matter wholly into the *Peoples hands*, but if we look into that *Synodical Epiſtle*, we ſhall find it much otherwiſe. For the caſe was this. The Council declares their tenderneſs towards thoſe that had been made Biſhops and Prieſts in the *Meletian Schiſm*, allowing their *Orders* upon due Submiſſion, but not to exerciſe any *Juriſdiction* to the prejudice of thoſe in Poſſeſſion; But if any Biſhops died, thoſe *Meletian Biſhops* might ſucceed, but with theſe three Proviſoes. (1.) *That they be judged worthy*; By whom? by the People? No certainly; For then there had been no need of the following Clauſe, but this Judgment belonged to the *Biſhops* of the *Province*, according to this *Canon.* (2.) *If the People chuſe them?* What People? The *Meletian party?* No; They are excluded, becauſe of their being in *Schiſm*, from having any thing to doe in the Choice, although they were admitted to *Communion.* For they are forbidden before περιχειρίζεσθαι ἢ καταβάλλειν ὀνόματα, *to put up the names of the Perſons to be choſen, or to hold up their hands*; And ſo all *right of Suffrage* was taken from them on the account of their *Schiſm*; So that what right of choice was in the People, it was onely in the ſound and untainted Party, and, after all, it was no more but a *Nomination* by the People; For the true *right* of *Election* was ſtill in the *Biſhops.* For (3.) all this ſignified nothing without the *conſent* of the *Biſhop of Alexandria*, which imme-

(x) Socrat. *l.* 1. *c.* 9.

immediately follows the other. And is it a fair thing to mention that *Clauſe onely* in the middle, and to leave out the two other, which reduce it to a bare *Nomination*, and the *Meletian party* excluded too? Would thoſe who contend among us for *popular Elections* like them upon theſe terms? It is one thing for the *People* to *propoſe* or *nominate* Perſons to be choſen; And another for them to have the *right* of *Election:* And it is one thing for a Perſon choſen to have the *conſent of the People*, and another for them to have *the Power to reject him*, becauſe he doth not pleaſe them: And again, it is one thing for the People to be allowed to enjoy *ſome Privileges* till the Inconveniences of them have made them be taken away by juſt Laws: And another for them to challenge ſuch *a right as inherent* in themſelves, and without which there lies no obligation on them to ſubmit. If theſe things were better underſtood, it would allay ſome mens heats about theſe matters; For granting that in the time of the Council of *Nice*, the People had the liberty of propoſing names, or objecting againſt the Perſons to be choſen; And although their conſent were generally deſired, yet all this doth not put the *right* of *Election* in them; For all that they could doe ſignified nothing without the Conſent of the Biſhops and *Metropolitane*; and none are properly ſaid *to chuſe* but thoſe upon whoſe Judgment the Determination depends, the reſt do but *propoſe* and *offer Perſons* to be choſen. So that the utmoſt the *People* could have by this *Canon* was a *right* of *Nomination*; Which upon Seditions and Tumults was juſtly alter'd: And there can be no Plea for reſuming it, unleſs it be proved to be a *divine* and *unalterable Right*, which can never be done, nor is it ſo much as pretended by thoſe who ſeem to court the Peoples favour, by pleading for *popular Elections* at this day from the *Precedents* of former times.

But I will not deny the People then had a farther *Right* of *Exception* againſt the *Perſons choſen*, but therein they were conſidered as *Witneſſes*, and not as *Judges:* If their *Exceptions* were juſt and well proved, the *Biſhops* as *Judges* were to proceed *canonically* againſt them, and then they went to a new *Nomination*, but ſtill the Judg-

Judgment reſted in the *provincial Synod.* So in the 16 *Canon* in the *Council* of *Antioch* it is provided, *That although all the People chuſe one actually a Biſhop, yet if he takes Poſſeſſion of his See without a perfect Provincial Synod, the Metropolitane being preſent, he is to be caſt out.* This *Canon* doth more fully explain the fourth *Canon* of the Council of *Nice*; for here the Caſe is put of the *Peoples choice*, which is there onely implied: And here it is put concerning *one actually a Biſhop*, and ſo needing no *new Conſecration*, but being out of employment in his own See, by ſome extraordinary accident, is choſen into another by *conſent of the People.* Now if the People had there the *Power* of *Election*, what hindred this *Biſhop*, from being fully poſſeſſed of his Biſhoprick? And yet this *Canon* determines, *that ſuch a one was to be caſt out, if he did not come in, by the full conſent of the Metropolitane and a Provincial Synod*; And to ſhew the force of this *Canon*, by virtue of it, *Baſſianus* was rejected from being Biſhop of *Epheſus*, by the general (*y*) *Council* of *Chalcedon*, where 630 Biſhops are ſaid to have been preſent. The Caſe was this, *Baſſianus* was conſecrated Biſhop of *Euaza*, by *Memnon* Biſhop of *Epheſus*, but it was againſt his Will, and he never went thither. *Baſilius*, who ſucceeded *Memnon*, ſends another Biſhop to that City in a Provincial Synod, but leaves *Baſſianus* the dignity of a Biſhop; *Baſilius* being dead, *Baſſianus* is choſen by the *People* of *Epheſus*, and enthronized by *Olympius* without *a Provincial Synod.* But after four years, *Stephanus* is put in his room, becauſe he came not in *canonically.* The Caſe was heard at large by the Council of *Chalcedon*, and this *Canon* of *Antioch* was alledged againſt him, and ſo he was thrown out by the Council. From whence I infer; (1.) That the choice of the People at that time was not allowed, but the main force of *Election* lay in the *Provincial Synod.* And ſo *Maximus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, *Julianus Coenſis*, *Diogenes Cyzicenſis* declared that it belonged to the Biſhops of the Province to appoint a new Biſhop, as being moſt competent Judges, and this was the way to prevent diſorder in the City. (2.) That the Biſhops *appointing* was not mere *ordaining* or *conſecrating*, as ſome ſay. For this

(y) *Concil. Chalced. Act.* 11.

Canon

Canon of *Antioch* ſpeaks of a Biſhop already conſecrated, and ſo likewiſe the 12 *Canon* of *Laodicea* is to be underſtood; The ſame caſe being ſuppoſed which is mention'd in the *Canon* of *Antioch.* And if he were unconſecrated before, the *Laodicean Canon* refers the whole matter, as far as I can diſcern, as to the Capacity and fitneſs of the Perſon, *to the Provincial Synod.* And if the following *Canon* 13. be underſtood of *Biſhops*, the Conſequence will be, that the People will be wholly excluded from their Election, till it can be made appear, that at that time the generality of the People were ſhut out, and the Election reſtrained to the *Common Council*; which is contrary to the *Examples* brought for *Popular Elections*, as appears by the inſtance of *Alexandria* in the choice of *Athanaſius*, where the *whole multitude* is mention'd, and the *Suffrages* of the *whole People*, and afterwards the *Plebis Vulgique Judicium* in St. *Jerom*, the *Vota Civium* in *Leo* is as much ſpoken of as the *Honoratorum Arbitrium*; and by the ſame reaſon, any of the People may be excluded, the reſt may; or at leaſt it ſhews, that the People have no inherent and unalterable Right, without which all other Pretences ſignifie nothing, where Law and Cuſtoms have determined the contrary. And that the Cuſtoms even then differ'd appears from St. *Jerom ad Ruſticum*, where he mentions either the People or the Biſhop chuſing.

(2.) Another *Canon* is, about *the frequency of Provincial Synods.* For in the fifth *Canon*, it is Provided, *That no perſon excommunicated by one Biſhop, ſhould be received into Communion by another*; according to the Council of *Arles*; but then no Proviſion was made for the Caſe of *Appeals*; If any Perſon complain'd, that he was unjuſtly excommunicated, which it is natural for men to doe. For this purpoſe, the *Nicene* Council decrees, *That Provincial Synods be held twice a year, in Lent and Autumn*, which was confirmed by many other (z) *Canons.* And at theſe all ſuch Cauſes were to be heard and determined, and Perſons excommunicated were to be held ſo by all, unleſs *the Provincial Synod* repealed the Sentence. And although the caſe of *Biſhops* be not here mention'd; Yet the *Afri-*

(z) *Concil. Antiochi. cap.* 20. *Chalced. c.* 19. *African. c.* 62. *Regienſ. c.* 7. *Arauſ. c.* 19. *Agath. c.* 71. *Emerit. c.* 7. Ferrand. *in.* 143. Mart. Bracar. *tit.* 28. Innocent. *ad* Vict. Leo *ad* Anaſtaſ. Hincmar. *cp.* 47. *a.* 20.

African Fathers with great reaſon ſaid, it ought to be underſtood, *Since Cauſes are to be heard within the Province*, and no *Juriſdiction* is mention'd by the Council of *Nice*, beyond that of a *Metropolitane*, thoſe onely excepted whoſe *Rights* are ſecured according to the *Preſcription* then in uſe in the following *Canon*. For if any other ſuperiour Authority had then been known, that was the proper place to have inſerted it, where the *right* of *Appeal* is determin'd, that being the moſt plauſible Pretence for removing Cauſes to a ſuperiour Court. And it is impoſſible that the *Nicene Fathers* ſhould have ſtopt at *Provincial Synods*, if they had known or believed, that *Chriſt* had appointed a *Vicar* upon Earth, who was to be *Supreme Judge* in all *Eccleſiaſtical Matters*; For it would have been as abſurd as if our Judges ſhould declare, that all Cauſes are to be determin'd in the *Countrey Courts*, when they know there are *ſuperiour Courts of Judicature* appointed in *Weſtminſter-hall*.

It hath been thought a matter of ſome difficulty to ſtate the difference between the *Rights* of a *Patriarch* and a *Metropolitane*. But there are two things chiefly, wherein the diſtinction lies, viz. *a greater extent of Juriſdiction* founded on the Conſecration of Metropolitane Biſhops in ſeveral Provinces; and *a Power of receiving Appeals*, or, *Judicium in majoribus cauſis*, even after *Provincial Synods* have determined them. And ſince in matters of *Appeal*, there muſt be a ſtop ſomewhere, the onely queſtion before us is, Where the *Council* of *Nice* fixed it. I ſay, *in a Provincial Synod* by this *Canon*; for I am certain, it takes notice here of no *Eccleſiaſtical Judicatory* beyond this. In *matters of Faith*, or upon extraordinary *Occaſions*, by the Summons of an Emperour, or a general Concurrence of Chriſtian Princes a *general Council* is the *higheſt Court*; But in the ſtanding and ordinary Method of Proceeding, (where there have been no *ancient Privileges* to the contrary, of which the following *Canon* is to be underſtood) *a Provincial Synod* is the laſt *Court of Appeal*, according to the *Council* of *Nice*. So that all foreign *Juriſdiction* is excluded by this *Canon*; And the *Britiſh Churches* had a full Power within themſelves to end all Cauſes that did

did ariſe within their own *Provinces.* And it was mere uſurpation in any *Foreign Biſhop* to interpoſe in any differences in the *Britiſh Churches*, Becauſe the *Council* of *Nice* had circumſcribed the *Liberty* of *Appeals* to *Provincial Synods.* And this was it which made the *African Fathers* ſo ſtout in defence of their *juſt Rights*, againſt the manifeſt incroachments of the *Biſhop of Rome*; and the *Britiſh Churches* had as great *Privileges* and as *juſt Rights* in theſe matters as the *African Churches.*

(3.) About ſettling the ancient *Bounds* of *Juriſdiction* as to *Patriarchal Churches* in the famous ſixth *Canon.* Which hath been the occaſion of ſo many warm Debates. In the former *Canon*, the *Nicene Fathers* fixed the general *Right* of *Appeals*; And in this *Canon* they ſettle the particular Bounds of *Patriarchal Juriſdiction*, according to *ancient Cuſtome:* So that none ought to violate the *Privileges* which Churches had hitherto enjoy'd. The Words are, "Let ancient Cuſtoms pre-"vail, for the Biſhop of *Alexandria* to have Juriſdicti-"on over *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis*; Becauſe the *Bi-"ſhop* of *Rome* hath a like Cuſtome; Likewiſe in *An-"tioch*, and other *Provinces*, let the *Privileges* of *Chur-"ches* be preſerved; Let no man be made a Biſhop "without the conſent of his *Metropolitane.* If Diffe-"rences ariſe, let the Majority of Votes determine. In this *Canon* there are three things principally deſign'd. (1.) To confirm the *ancient Privileges* of ſome of the greater *Sees*; as *Rome*, *Alexandria* and *Antioch.* (2.) To ſecure *the Privileges of other Churches* againſt their encroachments upon them. (3.) To provide for the quiet eſtabliſhment of *Metropolitane Churches*, which laſt is ſo plain that it will need no farther diſcourſe; But the other two are of great conſequence to our deſign. (1.) *To confirm the ancient Privileges of ſome of the greater Sees*; which had gotten the extent of more than a bare *Metropolitane Power* to themſelves, as is plain in the caſe of *Alexandria*, which ſeems to have been the occaſion of this *Canon.* Not merely from the *Schiſm* of *Meletius* (as is commonly thought) which the Council took care of another way, in the (*a*) *Synodical Epiſtle* to the *Churches of Egypt.* But becauſe

(*a*) Theodor. l. 1. c. 9.

ſo large a Juriſdiction as had been exerciſed by the Biſhops of *Alexandria*, and *Rome*, and *Antioch*, ſeem'd repugnant to the foregoing *Canon* about *Provincial Synods*. It is true that *Meletius* after the *Schiſm* did conſecrate Biſhops in *Egypt*, in oppoſition to the Biſhop of *Alexandria*; But the queſtion between them was, not concerning the Bounds of Juriſdiction, but about the Validity of *Meletius* his depoſition by *Peter* of *Alexandria*; Which *Meletius*, not regarding, fell into a *Schiſm*, and, to maintain this *Schiſm*, he conſecrated near *Thirty Biſhops*, as appear'd by the liſt he gave in to *Alexander*, after the Council of *Nice* extant in (*b*) *Athanaſius*. Whereby it is evident, That *Meletius* his *Schiſm* could not be the Occaſion of this *Canon*; For that *Schiſm* did not at all relate to the ſeveral *Provinces* of *Egypt* here mention'd, which would have continued, if the Biſhop of *Alexandria*'s Authority had been confined to a *ſingle Province*, and what ſtop could it put to the *Schiſm*, to ſay, his Authority extended over all the *Roman Provinces in Egypt?* For, the queſtion was, Who had the Authority? not, How far it extended? But, upon the former *Canon* about *Provincial Synods*, there was a very juſt occaſion, to add this concerning the Biſhops of *Alexandria* and *Rome:* For if no *Salvo* had been made for them, as to the largeneſs of their *Juriſdiction*, the next thing had been for all the *Provincial Synods* to have immediately caſt off all reſpect to them; except onely thoſe of their own *Province*. Now in *Egypt* here are three diſtinct Provinces mention'd as ſubject to the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, viz. *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis*; And ſo the *Nicene* Fathers reckon them in their Epiſtle to the Churches of *Egypt*, and in theſe (*c*) *Athanaſius* mentions *an hundred Biſhops*; But ſometimes he names onely *Egypt* and *Libya*, as in his *Epiſtle* to the *African Biſhops*; ſometimes *Egypt*, and the *two Libya's*; and in both comprehending *Thebais* under *Egypt*; ſometimes he names *Thebais*; and ſeveral times, as it is here, onely *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis*. Which, as *Juſtellus* ſaith, comprehend *the whole* Egyptian *Dioceſe*; But (*d*) *Ammianus Marcellinus* reckons them otherwiſe, *viz.* *Egypt*, *Thebais* and *Libya*, to which Poſterity, he ſaith, added *Auguſtamnica* and *Pentapolis:* But *Pentapolis* was not

(b) Athanaſ. *Apol.* 2. *p.* 789.

Vide Athanaſ. *ib. p.* 777.

(c) Athanaſ. *Apol.* 2. *p.* 788.

(d) Am. Marcel. *l.* 22. *c.* 16.

not comprehended under *Libya*, being always a diſtinct *Province*, and by the Diviſion of *Auguſtus*, was under the *Proconſul* of *Crete*, by the Name of *Cyrenaica*. However (*e*) *Epiphanius* takes in *Libya*, *Pentapolis*, *Thebais*, *Ammoniaca* and *Mareotis*: And ſaith plainly, *That all the Provinces of* Egypt *were under the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of* Alexandria. *And this*, he ſaith, *was the Cuſtome before the Council of* Nice. For he ſpeaks of the quarrel between *Peter*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and *Meletius*, then Biſhop of *Thebais*; of whom he ſaith, *That he was next to the Biſhop of* Alexandria, *but in ſubjection to him, all Eccleſiaſtical matters being referred to him. For it is the Cuſtome for the Biſhop of* Alexandria *to have the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction over all* Egypt. By which it is plain, that the Biſhop of *Alexandria* had then a true *Patriarchal power* by *ancient Cuſtome*, *i. e.* an Eccleſiaſtical Authority over the Biſhops in *ſeveral Provinces*, anſwering to the Power which the *Præfectus Auguſtalis* had over them in the *Civil Government*. It is not at all material whether the name of *Patriarch* or *Dioceſe* (in that ſenſe as it takes in the extent of *Patriarchal Juriſdiction*) were then in uſe, for it is the *thing* we enquire after, and not the uſe of *words*: And if the Biſhop of *Alexandria* had at that time the Power of *Conſecration* of *Biſhops*, of *calling Councils*, of *receiving Appeals* throughout *all Egypt*, no men of Senſe can deny, that he had a *true Patriarchal power*. I grant *he had no Metropolitanes then under him in the ſeveral Provinces*. But, what then? the manner of *Adminiſtration* of the *Patriarchal power* might be different then, from following times; but the *extent of the power* is the thing in queſtion. Either then the Biſhop of *Alexandria* had a barely *Metropolitical power* or *Patriarchal*. If barely *Metropolitical*, then it could not reach beyond *one Province*; If it extended to *more Provinces*, with *full Juriſdiction*, then it was *Patriarchal*. And it is a wonder to me, ſome learned men in their warm Debates about this Canon could not diſcern ſo plain a Truth. But it is often ſaid, *That there were no ſuch things as Patriarchs at this time in the Church*, *nor any Dioceſes here taken notice of*, *as they imply an Union of ſeveral Provinces under a Patriarchal Juriſdiction*. Suppoſe there were

(*e*) Epiph. *har.* 68. *n.* 1.

not under thoſe *Names*; but a *Juriſdiction over ſeveral Provinces* there was in the Biſhop of *Alexandria:* which is a true *Patriarchal power*; and *Appeals* were brought to him out of the ſeveral *Provinces*, as appears not onely by the plain Teſtimony of *Epiphanius* in the caſe of *Meletius*, but by the *Juriſdiction* exerciſed by *Dionyſius* over *Pentapolis*, long before the *Council* of *Nice*. And (f) *Athanaſius* ſaith, *the Care of thoſe Churches then belong'd to the Biſhop of* Alexandria. If it be ſaid, *That there were then no Metropolitanes under the Biſhop of* Alexandria, *but he was the ſole Metropolitane, and therefore this was no Patriarchal, but a Metropolitane power.* I anſwer, (1.) This doth not ſolve the difficulty, but rather makes it greater; becauſe it doth more overthrow the *Metropolitane* Government of the *Church* here ſettled by the Council of *Nice*. For then there were ſeveral *Provinces* without *Metropolitanes*; How then could the *Canons* here made be ever obſerved in them, as to the Conſecration of *Biſhops* and *Provincial* Synods? (2.) I do confeſs there was ſomething peculiar in the caſe of the Biſhop of *Alexandria*. For all the *Provinces of Egypt* were under his immediate care, which was *Patriarchal* as to *Extent*, but *Metropolitical* in the *Adminiſtration*. And ſo was the *Juriſdiction* of the Biſhop of *Rome* at that time, which is the true reaſon of bringing the Cuſtome of *Rome* to juſtifie that of *Alexandria*. For as it is well obſerved by (g) *Chriſtianus Lupus*, *The Biſhop of* Rome *had then no Metropolitanes under him within the Provinces ſubject to his Juriſdiction*; and ſo all *Appeals* lay immediately from the ſeveral Biſhops to him. And therein lay the exact parallel between the Biſhops of *Rome* and *Alexandria*. So that, I do not queſtion, but the firſt part of this *Canon*, was brought in as a *Proviſo* to the former, which put the laſt reſort into *Provincial Synods*. For *Alexander*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, could not but think himſelf extremely concerned in this matter, and although he prevailed againſt *Arius* in matter of *Doctrine*, yet if he had gone home ſo much leſs than he came thither, having great part of his *Authority* taken from him by *Provincial Synods*, this would have weakned his Cauſe ſo much in *Egypt*, that for his ſake the *Nicene* Fathers were

(f) Athanaſ. *de ſent.* Dionyſ. *p.* 552.

(g) Lup. *in Canon. Part.* 5. *p.* 808.

were willing to make an *Exception* as to the general Rule they had laid down before; Which proved of very ill conſequence afterwards: For upon this encouragement, others in following *Councils* obtained as large *Privileges*, though without pretence of *Cuſtome*, and the Church of *Rome*, though but named *occaſionally* here, to avoid envy, yet improved this to the utmoſt advantage; And the Agents of the Biſhop of *Rome* had the impudence in the (*h*) Council of *Chalcedon* to falſifie the *Title* of this *Canon*, and to pretend a *Supremacy* owned by it, which was as far from the intention of this *Council* as a limited *Patriarch* is from being *Head of the Church*. And it is impoſſible for them with all their *Arts* and Diſtinctions they have uſed, to reconcile this *Canon* with an univerſal and unbounded *Supremacy* in the Biſhop of that Church. For it would be like the ſaying that the *Sheriff* of *Yorkſhire* ſhall have *Juriſdiction* over all three *Ridings*, becauſe the *King* of *England* hath power over all the *Nation*. What *Parallel* is there between theſe two? But if the Clauſe be reſtrained to his *Patriarchal power*; then we are certain the Council of *Nice* did ſuppoſe the Biſhop of *Rome* to have onely a *limited power* within *certain Provinces*; Which according to *Ruffinus*, who very well underſtood the *Extent* of the Biſhop of *Romes Juriſdiction* was onely to the *Suburbicary Churches*; Which is the *greater Dioceſe* mention'd by the *Council of Arles*, it ſo very much exceeding the *Dioceſe* of any Weſtern Biſhop beſides; And it is obſervable, that (*i*) *Athanaſius*, as he calls *Milan* the *Metropolis* of *Italy*, *i.e.* of the *Italick Dioceſe*, ſo he calls *Rome* the *Metropolis* of *Romania*, *i.e.* of the *Roman Dioceſe*. But the Council of *Nice* fixing the laſt *Appeal* to *Provincial Synods* in other Places, utterly overthrows a *patriarchal* as well as unlimited *Juriſdiction*; where *ancient Cuſtome* did not then prevail.

(h) *Concil. Chalced. Act.* 16.

(i) Athanaſ. *ad ſolit. vit. agent.* p. 832.

(2.) This *Canon* was deſigned to *ſecure* the *Privileges* of other *Churches*. For that is the general nature of *Exceptions* to make the Rule more firm in caſes not excepted. So that all *Churches* are to enjoy their *juſt Rights* of having the laſt reſort to *Provincial Synods*, that cannot be brought within theſe Exceptions allow'd

low'd by the Council of *Nice*. And here we fix our *Right* as to the *Britiſh Churches*, that they were not under any *Patriarchal Juriſdiction* of the Biſhop of *Rome* before the Council of *Nice*, *i. e.* That he never had the Authority to conſecrate the *Metropolitanes* or *Biſhops* of theſe *Provinces*; That he never called them to his *Councils* at *Rome*; That he had no *Appeals* from hence; That the *Britiſh Biſhops* never owned his *Juriſdiction* over them, and therefore our *Churches* were ſtill to enjoy their former *Privileges* of being govern'd by their own *Provincial Synods*. It was upon this ground, the *Cyprian Biſhops* made their *Application* to the *Council* of *Epheſus*; Becauſe the Biſhop of *Antioch* did invade their *Privileges* contrary to the *Nicene Canons* pretending to a Right to *conſecrate* their *Metropolitane*, which they knew very well was a deſign to bring their Churches in ſubjection to him. The *Council* upon hearing the Cauſe declared their opinion in favour of the *Cyprian Privilege*; and not onely ſo, but declared it to be *a common Cauſe that concerned other Churches which were bound to maintain their own Rights againſt all Uſurpations*; *And that no Biſhops ſhould preſume to invade anothers Province*; *And if they did uſurp any authority over them, they were bound to lay it down, as being contrary to the Canons*; *Savouring of Worldly ambition*; *and deſtructive of that Liberty which* Jeſus Chriſt *hath purchaſed for us with his own Bloud*. And therefore the Council decreed, *That every Province ſhould enjoy its own Rights pure and inviolable, which it had from the beginning, according to the ancient Cuſtome*. This important Canon is paſſed over very ſlightly by *Baronius* and others, but (*k*) Carolus *à Sancto* Paulo *ſaith it proceeded upon a falſe ſuggeſtion*, although the Biſhops of *Cyprus* do moſt ſolemnly avow the truth of their ancient Privilege. (*l*) Chriſtianus Lupus *imputes the Decree to the Partiality of the Council againſt the Biſhop of* Antioch; although he confeſſes, they inſiſted upon the *Nicene Canons*. Which even (*m*) *Leo* I. in his eager Diſputes with *Anatolius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* pleads for as *inviolable*, and as the *Standard* of the *Rights of Churches*. And by the Decree of the Council of *Epheſus*, all Churches are bound to ſtand up for their own Rights

(k) *Geograph. Sacr. Patriarch. Antiochen.*

(l) Lupus *in Can. Epheſ. p.* 368.

(m) Leo *Epiſt.* 78, 79, 80. *ed. Ven.*

Rights againſt the Uſurpations of foreign Biſhops.

But (*n*) *Joh. Morinus* apprehending the force of this conſequence, makes it his buſineſs to overthrow it by ſhewing *that this was a particular and occaſional thing, and therefore not to be made an Example to other Churches.* A twofold *occaſion* he aſſigns; Firſt, *the difficulty of Paſſage by Sea from* Cyprus *to* Antioch, *eſpecially in Winter, when it was very poſſible a Metropolitane might die, and rather than live ſo long without one, they choſe to ſet up one themſelves*; *Another is the fourty years Schiſm in the Church of* Antioch, *between* Euzoius, Meletius *and* Paulinus. But theſe are onely ſlight and frivolous Evaſions. For the *Cyprian Biſhops* never alledged the firſt Inconveniencie, nor did the Biſhop of *Antioch* the ſecond: No, not when *Alexander* was unanimouſly choſen, as *Morinus* confeſſeth, and made his Complaint of the *Cyprian Privilege* to *Innocentius* I. as may be ſeen by his 18 *Epiſtle*; To whom the Pope gave an ignorant Anſwer, as appears by *Morinus* himſelf: For he pretends *that the* Cyprian Biſhops *had broken the* Nicene Canons, *in conſecrating their own Metropolitane, becauſe,* ſaith he, *The Council of* Nice *had ſet the Church of* Antioch, *not over any Province, but over the Dioceſe*; By which he muſt mean the *Eaſtern Dioceſe*, within which *Cyprus* was comprehended: But there is not one word of the *Dioceſe* in the *Nicene Canons*, and theſe things are refer'd to *ancient Cuſtoms*, as *Morinus* acknowledgeth; And he ſaith, *the Dioceſe of the Orient, as diſtinguiſhed from* Aſiana *and* Pontica *was not ſettled at the time of the* Nicene *Council.* And yet he brings the Teſtimony of *Innocentius* to diſprove the allegation of the *Cyprian Biſhops*; when he confeſſes, *that he was ſo miſtaken in the* Nicene Canons, on which he grounds that *Right*; And the *Cyprian Biſhops* had the *Nicene Canons* to plead for themſelves, as the general Council of *Epheſus* thought, who underſtood them far better than *Innocentius* ſeems to have done. If what he ſaith had been true, it is not to be thought that the Council of *Epheſus* would have determin'd in favour of the *Cyprian Biſhops.* But *Morinus* urges againſt them. (1.) *That they named onely three Biſhops,* Troilus, Sabinus *and* Epiphanius. But do they not aver that it had been always ſo

(n) Morin. *Exercit. Eccleſ. l.* c. 4.

ſo *from the Apoſtles time?* (2.) *That no one pleaded for the Biſhop of* Antioch. What then? If they were ſatisfied of the truth of their Allegation, the *Nicene Council*, had already determin'd the caſe. (3.) *They onely doe it conditionally, if it were ſo:* But they enjoy'd their Privilege by virtue of it; which ſhews it could not be diſproved. (4.) *The* Cyprian Privilege *was granted in* Zeno's *time, upon finding the Body of St.* Barnabas. But it is evident they enjoy'd it before; by *the Decree of the Council of* Epheſus. And it was not properly a *Privilege*; For that implies a particular exemption; But it was a Confirmation of their *juſt Rights:* And not onely as to them, but as to *all Provincial Churches.* So that this Decree is the *Magna Charta* of *Metropolitane Churches*, againſt any Incroachments upon their *Liberties:* And ſo the *Council* thought it, when *it appoints all Metropolitanes to take Copies of it, and voids all Acts that ſhould be made againſt it.*

It is neceſſary now to enquire, whether the Biſhop of *Rome* had a *Patriarchal power* over the *Britiſh Churches*, before the *Council of Nice:* And the onely way to doe that, is to examine the ſeveral *Patriarchal rights* which were allow'd in the Church. And if the Marks of none of them do appear; We have reaſon to conclude, he had no *Patriarchal power.* For however ſome urge the Converſion of *Britain* by *Eleutherius* as a Pretence to the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority, yet, allowing it to be true, no man of underſtanding can pretend to derive a *Patriarchal power* from thence, unleſs there were a concurrence of *Juriſdiction* from that time. Neither were it of force, if Saint *Peter* himſelf had preached the Goſpel here; and ſettled the Biſhops of theſe Churches. For, by the ſame reaſon, there could have been no *Patriarchates* at *Antioch* or *Alexandria*, (where he is ſuppoſed to have placed Saint *Mark*) but if notwithſtanding, the Biſhops of thoſe Churches had a true *Patriarchal power*; Then ſo might the *Metropolitanes* of the *Britiſh Churches* have their proper Rights. Although Saint *Peter* himſelf had founded theſe Churches. (o) *Morinus* ſaith, *The Patriarchal power conſiſted in theſe four things.* (1.) *In the Conſecration of Metropolitanes, and the Confirmation of other Biſhops.* (2.) *In calling*

(o) Morin. *Exercit. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 29.*

calling Councils out of the ſeveral Provinces under his Juriſdiction. (3.) *In receiving Appeals from Provincial Synods.* (4.) *In the Delegation of perſons with authority from him to act in the ſeveral Provinces.* The firſt is that upon which the reſt are founded: As we ſee in the caſe of the Biſhop of *Antioch* and the Biſhops of *Cyprus*; For if he could have carried the Point of *Conſecration* of the Biſhop of *Conſtance*, he knew all the reſt would follow. In the *Patriarchate* of *Alexandria* it appears by the *Epiſtles* of (p) *Syneſius*, *That the Biſhops of* Pentapolis, *although then under a Metropolitane of their own, yet had their Conſecration from the Biſhop of* Alexandria. When *Juſtinian* advanced the Biſhop of *Juſtiniana prima* to the dignity of a *Patriarch*, *by giving him power over ſeven Provinces*, he (q) expreſſes the *Patriarchal power* by this; *That all the Biſhops of thoſe Provinces ſhould be conſecrated by him*, and conſequently be under his Juriſdiction, and be liable to be called to his Council, as *Juſtinian* elſewhere determines: And when the (r) Biſhop of *Juſtinianopolis* removed from *Cyprus* thither, he not onely enjoy'd the *Cyprian privilege* there, but was allow'd for a Patriarch by the Council in *Trullo*, and conſequently, the *Conſecration* of the Biſhops in the Province of *Helleſpont* belong'd to him.

(p) Syneſ. *Epiſt.* 67, 76.

(q) *Novell.* 131. c. 3.

(r) *Novell.* 123, & 137.

And when the Patriarchal power was ſettled at *Conſtantinople*, that was the chief thing inſiſted upon, at leaſt as to *Metropolitanes*. The firſt attempt the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* made towards any true Patriarchal power (for all that the (s) Council of *Conſtantinople* gave him was a mere honorary Title) was the *Conſecrating Biſhops* in the Dioceſes of *Aſiana*, and *Pontica*, and *Thracia*: And this was charged on St. *Chryſoſtome* as an Innovation in the Synod (t) *ad Quercum*, *i. e.* in the *Suburbs of Chalcedon*. And his (u) actings in the Council at *Epheſus*, and *Conſecrating* of many Biſhops in that *Dioceſe*, could not be juſtified by the *Canons* of the Church: The beſt excuſe is what (w) *Palladius* makes, viz. *That his going into* Aſia, *was upon the great importunity of the Biſhops and Clergy there*: For what (x) *Morinus* ſaith, *That he did this by the Pope's authority*, is ridiculous; It being not once thought of by St. *Chryſoſtome* or his Friends. And for a Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*

(s) *Concil. Conſt.* c. 3.

(t) Phot. *Bibliotb. Cod.* 59.

(u) Soz. *l.* 8. *c.* 6.

(w) Pallad. *vit. Chryſ. p.* 133.

(x) Morin. *Exercit. Eccleſ. l.* 1. *c.* 14.

ſtantinople to act by authority from the Biſhop of *Rome*, was then as abſurd, as for the *Czar* of *Muſcovy* to act by *Commiſsion* from the Emperour of *Germany*. For it is plain, That one ſtood upon equal Privileges with the other; As fully appears by the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the warm Debates which follow'd it, between the two *Sees*. And what could have ſerved *Leo*'s turn better againſt *Anatolius*, than to have produced St. *Chryſoſtome*'s *Delegation* from one of his Predeceſſours? But in the Council of *Chalcedon*, where the *Right* of the *Patriarch* of *Conſtantinople* was at large debated, this Act of St. *Chryſoſtome* was alledged as a remarkable Precedent to prove a *Patriarchal power:* And there (*y*) a *Canon* was paſſed, *That the Metropolitanes of thoſe three Dioceſes ſhould be conſecrated by the Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, which was the eſtabliſhment of his *Patriarchal authority* over them. Upon this Pope *Leo* inſiſted on the *Council* of *Nice* and the *Canons* there made, and pleaded ſtrongly, *That this was an unjuſt Invaſion of the Rights of thoſe Churches which ought to be inviolably preſerved.* And we deſire no better Arguments againſt the Pope's pretended *Patriarchal power* over theſe *Weſtern Churches*, than what *Leo* inſiſted on for the *Dioceſes* of *Aſia*, *Pontus* and *Thrace*, againſt the *Patriarchal power* of the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. For we plead the very ſame things; That all Churches ought to enjoy the *Rights* of *Provincial Synods:* And that no Perſon can be excuſed in violating the *Nicene Canons*. But if it be pretended, *That the Biſhop of* Rome *had always a Patriarchal power over the* Britiſh *Churches*; Let any one Inſtance be given of it: Let them tell us when he *conſecrated the Metropolitanes or Biſhops of the three Provinces of* Britain; or *ſummon'd them to his Councils*; or *heard their Cauſes*; or *received Appeals from hence*; or *ſo much as ſent any one Legate to exerciſe Authority in his Name*; And if they can produce nothing of this kind, there is not then the leaſt appearance of his *Patriarchal power*.

(*y*) *Concil. Chalced. c.* 28.

We do not deny that the Biſhop of *Rome* had any *Patriarchal power* in thoſe times; But we ſay, It was confined within the *Roman Dioceſe*; As that did comprehend the *Churches* within the *Suburbicary Provinces*; And within theſe he exerciſed the ſame Authority that the

the *Eaſtern Patriarchs* did, *i. e. He conſecrated Biſhops, called Synods* and *received Appeals*, which are the main *Patriarchal rights.* But if we go beyond theſe *Provinces*, (z) *Petrus de Marca* himſelf is extremely put to it to prove the exerciſe of a Patriarchal power; He confeſſes *the matter is not clear either as to Conſecrations or Councils*, but he runs to *References*, *Conſultations* and *Appeals in greater cauſes*; And yet he (a) confeſſes, as to *Appeals* (which only do imply a juſt Authority) *There is no one certain evidence of them before the Council of* Sardica. So that by the confeſſion of the moſt learned and judicious of thoſe who plead for the Pope's being *Patriarch of the Weſt*; No proper *Acts* of *Patriarchal power* can be proved beyond the *Roman Dioceſe*, before the *Council of Nice.* And the ſame (b) learned Archbiſhop doth grant, *that the Biſhop of* Rome *did not conſecrate even in* Italy *out of the* Roman Dioceſe, *as appears by the Biſhops of* Milan *and* Aquileia; *Nor in* Africa, *nor in* Spain, *nor in* Gaul. And, after theſe *Conceſſions*, it is impoſſible to prove the Biſhop of *Rome* Patriarch of the Weſtern *Churches.* Which ſome late Writers of that Church have been much concerned at, and have endeavour'd to ſhew the contrary. (c) *Chriſtianus Lupus* hath written a *Diſſertation* on purpoſe; But the greateſt thing he ſaith to prove it is, *That to affirm, that the Biſhop of* Rome *had no ſuch authority, is an* Euſebian *and Schiſmatical Errour, and came firſt from the Council of* Philippopolis; yet he grants, *That in the Weſtern Provinces, the Metropolitanes did conſecrate their Suffragans, and they their Metropolitanes. But all this*, he ſaith, *was done by ſpecial privilege.* But where is any ſuch *privilege* to be ſeen? It is evident by the *Nicene Canons*, every *Province* had its own juſt Rights for theſe things. And if there were any *privilege*, it muſt be produced on the other ſide. He doth not deny, *That* (d) Leo *diſown'd having any thing to doe in the Conſecration of the* Gallican *Biſhops*, in his *Epiſtle* to the *Biſhops of Vienna*, or that (e) *Hincmarus* ſaith, *The* Tranſalpine *Biſhops did not belong to the Conſecration of Councils of the Biſhop of* Rome. And therefore Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes were to be heard and determin'd by *Provincial Synods*: But he thinks to bring off all at laſt, by

(z) Pet. de Marca *de Concord. l.* 1. *c.* 7. *n.* 7.

(a) *Id. c.* 10. *n.* 1.

(b) *L.* 6. *c.* 4. *n.* 6, 7, 8, 9.

(c) Lup. *in Canon. Part.* 3. *p.* 764.

p. 790.

(d) Leo *Ep.* 89. *c.* 8.

(e) Hincmar. *Ep.* 47. *c.* 21.

saying, (f) *That these were privileges indulged, because of distance from* Rome. Which is a mere Shuffle, without any colour for it, unless such *privileges* could be produced, for otherwise it will appear to be *common Right*, And yet this is the main, which a late Authour, (g) *Emanuel à Schelstraet* hath to say about this matter. But this hath been the common Artifice of *Rome*; Where any Bishops insisted on their own Rights and ancient Customs, and Canons of Councils, to pretend that all came from *privileges* allow'd by the *See* of *Rome*; And the Defenders of it are now shamefully driven to these Arts, having nothing else left to plead for the Pope's Usurpation. But this last (h) Authour (the present Keeper of the *Vatican Library*, which makes so great a noise in the World for Church Records) having endeavour'd, in a set Discourse, to assert the *Pope's Patriarchal power over the Western Churches*, I shall here examine the strength of all that he produceth to that purpose. He agrees with us in determining the *Patriarchal Rights*, which he saith lie in these three things: (1.) *In the right of Consecration of Bishops and Metropolitanes.* (2.) *In the right of summoning them to Councils.* (3.) *In the right of Appeals.* All which he proves to be the just and true *Patriarchal Rights* from the seventeenth *Canon* of the eighth *General Council*. And by these we are contented to stand or fall.

(f) Lup. *ib.* p. 813.

(g) *Concil. Antioch. Can.* 9. *cap.* 14. *p.* 473.

(h) *Antiquit. illustr. Dissert.* 2.

(1.) As to the *Right* of *Consecration of Bishops and Metropolitanes throughout the Western Churches.* He confesses, *That such a Right was not exercised, Because the Metropolitanes in the several Provinces were allow'd to consecrate the Bishops belonging to them, upon the Summons of the Provincial Synod*; And for this he produces *the 4th Canon of the Council of* Nice. Here then is a plain allowance of the *Metropolitane Rights* by this *General Council*; But how doth this prove the *Patriarchal?* Or rather, is it not a plain derogation from them? *No*, saith he, *The Patriarchal Rights are preserved by the sixth Canon.* I grant it; But then it must be proved, That the *Patriarchal Rights* of the Bishop of *Rome*, did at the time of the Council of *Nice* extend to all the Western *Churches*, which I utterly deny. Yet I grant farther,

C. 4. *All.* 1. *n.* 94.

That

That the Biſhop of *Rome* had all the *Patriarchal Rights*, within the *Provinces*, which were then under his *Juriſdiction*, and were therefore called the *Suburbicary Churches*. But theſe were ſo far from taking in all the Weſtern *Churches*, that they did not comprehend the *Provinces* of *Italy* properly ſo called: But he offers to prove out of *Gratian*, and from the Teſtimony of *Pelagius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, *That by reaſon of the length of the way, the Biſhops of* Milan *and* Aquileia *did conſecrate each other.* But is ſuch Authority ſufficient to prove that the Biſhops of *Milan* and *Aquileia* were of old ſubject to the *Roman Patriarchate?* We have nothing to prove this, but the bare word of one who was too much concerned to be a competent Witneſs; and too much alone to be a ſufficient Witneſs in this matter. The length and difficulty of the way was no hindrance afterwards for obtaining the Pope's conſent for the *Conſecration* of the Biſhop of *Milan*, as appears by the inſtance of *Gregory* produced by him; Why then ſhould that be alledged as the *Reaſon* before? For the Ways were not one jot ſhorter or eaſier to paſs. But if we compare the *Election* and *Conſecration* of St. *Ambroſe* at *Milan*, with that of *Deus dedit* in St. *Gregory*'s time; We ſhall ſee an apparent difference in the Circumſtances of them. For at the firſt there was a *Provincial Synod* by the Emperour's appointment, as (*i*) *Theodoret* relates it, who referr'd the choice to the Emperour; But he declining it, and the City falling into great heats about it, St. *Ambroſe* was of a ſudden choſen, being then *Governour* of the *Province*, and ſo was Inthronized, by the Biſhops there preſent. Not one word here of the conſent of the Biſhop of *Rome* required, or ſo much as mention'd; And yet Pope *Damaſus* was as ready to aſſert any thing that looked like a *Right* of his *See*, as *Pelagius* or *Gregory*. But at that time St. *Ambroſe*, at *Milan*, had as great authority as *Damaſus* at *Rome*; And the *Italick Dioceſe* was as conſiderable as the *Roman*. If *the length and difficulty of the Way* were the true Reaſon why St. *Ambroſe* did not go to *Rome*; yet why no Meſſenger ſent? Why no Agent from the Pope to declare his conſent? But then the Extent of the *Roman Dioceſe* was better underſtood, wherein

a. 96.

(i) Theod. *l.* 4. *c.* 5, 6.

wherein all the Biſhops were to receive Conſecration from the Biſhop of *Rome*, having no *Metropolitane* of their own; But this did not reach ſo far as *Milan*. This *Roman Dioceſe* was truly *Patriarchal*, having *ſeveral Provinces* under it, and was therein peculiar and made a Precedent for the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, all the other Weſtern *Churches* being then govern'd by their ſeveral Biſhops and Metropolitanes. (*k*) *Jac. Leſchaſſier* thinks *that five of the eleven Provinces of* Italy *made up this Dioceſe*; I mean the Provinces of *Auguſtus*, and not of *Conſtantine*; *And within theſe were about ſeventy Biſhops who belonged to the Conſecration of the Biſhop of* Rome, *having no other Metropolitane*; *And with this*, as he obſerves, *the old* Notitia *of the* Vatican, *produced by* (*l*) Baronius, *agrees*; wherein the *Suffragans* of the Biſhop of *Rome* are ſaid to be the Biſhops of *Campania*, the *Marſi*, *Tuſcia*, *Umbria* and *Marchia*: which *Notitia* is the ſame with the *Provinciale Romanum*, publiſhed by (*m*) *Miræus*, and compared by him with four *MSS.* wherein are ſet down all the Biſhops of the *Roman Province*, as it is there called. (*n*) *Ferd. Ughellus* reckons up *ſeventy Biſhops of thoſe who were immediately under the Biſhop of* Rome's *Juriſdiction*, *and had no Metropolitane over them*: Theſe were within the Provinces of *Latium*, *Valeria*, *Tuſcia*, *Picenum* and *Umbria*; which neither anſwering exactly to the *Juriſdiction* of the *Roman Preſect*, nor to that of the *Vicarius Urbis*; We are not to judge of the Extent of this *Dioceſe* from that of the *Civil Government*, but from *ancient Cuſtome*, to which the Council of *Nice* doth expreſly attribute it. In the *Diurnus Romanus*, lately publiſhed by (*o*) *Garnerius* out of an ancient *Manuſcript*, there is one Title, *De Ordinatione Epiſcopi Suburbicarii à* Romano *Pontifice*, where the whole Proceſs, as to the *Conſecration* of a new Biſhop, is ſet down, but from thence it appears, that none but the *Suburbicary Biſhops* belonged to his *Conſecration*. We freely grant then, That the Biſhop of *Rome* had a *Patriarchal power* over *ſeveral Provinces*; as the Biſhop of *Alexandria* was allowed to have by the Council of *Nice* in imitation of him; And that within this *Dioceſe* he did exerciſe this as a *Patriarchal right* to *conſecrate Biſhops* within thoſe ſeveral *Provinces*, as the

(k) *Les Occurres de* Leſchaſſier, *p.* 454.

(l) Baron. *A. D. n.* 23.

(m) Miræ. *Notit. Epiſcop. p.* 64.

(n) Ughell. *Ital. Sacr. To.* 1.

(o) Garn. *Diurn. Rom. c.* 3. *p.* 52.

the Biſhop of *Alexandria* did: But we deny that ever the Biſhop of *Rome* did exerciſe this part of his Patriarchal power beyond the foremention'd *Provinces.*

But to prove the larger Extent of the Pope's Power as to *Conſecrations* the Epiſtle of *Siricius* to *Anyſius* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica* (*p*) is urged, *whom the Pope makes his Legate in the Part of* Illyricum, *and charges him, that no Conſecrations ſhould be allowed which were made without his conſent: And the ſame appears by the Epiſtles of* Boniface *to the Biſhops of* Theſſaly *and* Illyricum, *and of* Leo *to* Anaſtaſius. All which are publiſhed together by *Holſtenius* out of the *Barberine Library*; or rather out of his Tranſcripts by *Card. Barberine* (but (*q*) *Hieron. Alexander* cites a Paſſage out of the ſame *Collection* as in the *Vatican Library*) but from whencesoever it came, the Objection ſeems to be the more conſiderable, becauſe, as (*r*) *Holſtenius* in his Notes obſerves, (*s*) Blondel *had denied that it could be proved by any Monument of Antiquity, That the Biſhop of* Theſſalonica *was Legate to the Pope before the time of* Leo.

(p) Schelſtraet. n. 97, &c.

(q) H. Alexander. *de Region. ſuburbic. Diſſ.* 2. *p.* 167.

(r) Holſten. *Not. ad Coll. Rom. p.* 295.

(s) *Primauté p.* 393.

But, to give a clear account of this matter, *Leo* himſelf, in his *Epiſtle* to *Anaſtaſius*, derives this Authority no higher than from *Siricius*, who gave it to *Anyſius* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, *certa tum primum ratione commiſit, ut per illam Provinciam poſitis, quas ad diſciplinam teneri voluit, Eccleſiis ſubveniret. Siricius* immediately ſucceeded *Damaſus*, who died according to (*t*) *Holſtenius*, 11 *Dec.* 384. Three years after the Council of *Conſtantinople* had advanced that *See* to the *Patriarchal dignity*; which gave great occaſion of Jealouſie and Suſpicion to the Biſhops of *Rome*, that being the *Imperial City* as well as *Rome*; And (*u*) *Socrates* obſerves, *That from that time* Nectarius *the Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, *had the Government of* Conſtantinople *and* Thrace, *as falling to his ſhare.* This made the Biſhops of *Rome* think it high time to look about them, and to inlarge their *Juriſdiction*, ſince the Biſhop of *New Rome* had gained ſo large an acceſſion by that *Council*; And to prevent his farther Incroachments Weſtwards, his *Dioceſe* of *Thrace* bordering upon *Macedonia*, the ſubtileſt Device they could think of, to ſecure that *Province* and to inlarge their own Authority, was, to perſuade

(t) Holſten. *Diagrammat. Chronog. Pontif. Damaſi.*

(u) Socr. *l.* 5. *c.* 8.

ſuade the Biſhop of *Theſſalonica* to act as by *Commiſſion* from the Biſhop of *Rome:* So that he ſhould enjoy the ſame *privileges* which he had before. And being back'd by ſo great an Intereſt, he would be better able to conteſt with ſo powerfull a Neighbour as the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople.* And if any objected, *That this was to break the Rules ſettled by the Council of* Nice; They had that Anſwer ready; *That the Biſhop of* Conſtantinople *began:* and their Concernment was, to ſecure the *Rights* of other *Churches* from being invaded by him; By which means they endeavour'd to draw thoſe Churches bordering on the *Thracian Dioceſe*, firſt to own a Submiſſion to the Biſhop of *Rome* as their *Patriarch*; Which yet was ſo far from giving them eaſe, which ſome it may be expected by it, that it onely involved them in continual Troubles, as appears by that very *Collection* of *Holſtenius.* For the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* were not negligent in promoting their own Authority in the Provinces of *Illyricum*, nor in withſtanding the *Innovations* of the Biſhop of *Rome.* To which purpoſe they obtained an *Imperial Edict* to this day extant in both (*w*) *Codes*, which ſtrictly forbids any *Innovation* in the Provinces of *Illyricum*, and declares, *That if any doubtfull Caſe happen'd, according to the ancient Cuſtome and Canons, it was to be left to the provincial Synod, but not without the advice of the Biſhop of* Conſtantinople. The occaſion whereof was this, *Perigenes* being rejected at *Patræ*, the Biſhop of *Rome* takes upon him to put him into *Corinth*, without the conſent of the *provincial Synod:* This the Biſhops of *Theſſaly*, among whom the chief were, *Pauſianus*, *Cyriacus* and *Calliopus*, look upon as a notorious *Invaſion of their Rights*; and therefore in a *provincial Synod* they appoint another Perſon to ſucceed there. Which Proceeding of theirs is heinouſly taken at *Rome*, as appears by (*x*) *Boniface*'s Epiſtles about it, both to *Rufus* of *Theſſalonica*, whom he had made his *Legate*, and to the *Biſhops* of *Theſſaly*, and the other *Provinces.* But they make Application to the *Patriarch* of *Conſtantinople*, who procures this Law, in favour of the ancient *provincial Synods*, and for reſtraint of the *Pope*'s Incroachments, but withall, ſo as to reſerve the laſt reſort to the

(w) Theod. 16. l. 45. t. de Epiſc. C. Juſt. de SS. Eccl. l. 6.

(x) Collect. Rom. p. 54, 65, 69.

the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople.* At this *Boniface* ſhews himſelf extremely nettled, as appears by his next Epiſtle to *Rufus*, and incourages him, *to ſtand it out to the utmoſt*; *And gives him authority to excommunicate thoſe Biſhops, and to depoſe* Maximus, *whom they conſecrated according to the ancient Canons.* But all the Art of his management of this Cauſe lay, in throwing the *Odium* of it upon the Ambition of the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*; And thus the Contention between the Biſhops of the two Imperial Cities proved the deſtruction of the *Ancient Polity* of the Church, as it was ſettled by the Council of *Nice.*

It is ſaid by (*y*) *Petrus de Marca* and *Holſtenius*, *That all this attempt of* Theodoſius *was to no purpoſe*; *Becauſe afterwards the Biſhops of* Macedonia *ſubmitted to the Pope's power*; *And that Reſcript was revoked by another of* Theodoſius *publiſhed in the* Roman *Collection.* It cannot be denied, That for ſome time the Biſhop of *Rome* prevailed, but it appears, that it was not long, by the ſad Complaint made to *Boniface* II. of the Prevalency of the *Patriarch* of *Conſtantinople* in thoſe parts made by *Stephen*, Biſhop of *Lariſſa*, the *Metropolis* of *Theſſaly*, and his Brethren *Theodoſius*, *Elpidius* and *Timotheus:* And our (*z*) Authour himſelf confeſſes, that it appears by the *Notitiæ*, *That theſe Provinces were at laſt wholly taken away from the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and made ſubject to the Patriarch of* Conſtantinople.

(y) *De Concord. l. 4. c. 2. n. 1.*

(z) *Concil. Antioch. c. 13. act. 1. n. 2. p. 421.*

From which account of the matter of *Fact* we have theſe things very obſervable. (1.) That there was no Precedent could be produced as to the Pope's interpoſing in their *Conſecrations* before the time of *Siricius.* It is true, *Damaſus* his Epiſtle to *Acholius* is mention'd ſometimes by the following Popes; But any one that reads both his Epiſtles in the (*a*) *Roman Collection* will find, that neither of them do relate to this matter: And the former is not onely directed to *Acholius*, but to ſeveral other *Biſhops*; And the Deſign of it is, *To adviſe them to take care, that a worthy perſon be put into the See of* Conſtantinople *in the approaching Council*; And to the ſame purpoſe is the following Epiſtle to *Acholius.* But what is this to the Pope's power about *Conſe-*

(a) *Collect. Rom. p. 37.*

p. 42.

ſecrations in the *Provinces* of *Illyricum*? And how was *Acholius* more concern'd than *Euridicus*, *Severus*, *Uranius*, and the reſt of the Biſhops? (2.) That the Biſhop of *Rome*'s interpoſing in their *Conſecrations* was diſliked and oppoſed as *an Innovation* by the Biſhops of thoſe Provinces. Which appears by the Epiſtles of Pope *Boniface* about the Caſe of *Perigenes*: For by the *Canons* of the Church, the *Conſecration* and Deſignation of the *Biſhops* of the Province was left to the *provincial Synods*: And therefore they did not underſtand on what account the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould interpoſe therein. (3.) That the Law of *Theodoſius* was principally deſigned to reſtore the Canonical Diſcipline and the Authority of provincial Synods. For the words are, *Omni innovatione ceſſante, vetuſtatem & Canones priſtinos Eccleſiaſticos, qui nunc uſque tenuerunt, per omnes* Illyrici *Provincias ſervari præcipimus.* Which cannot be well underſtood of any other *Canons* than ſuch as relate to the Eccleſiaſtical Government of Provinces, and not of any *peculiar Cuſtoms* there, as *Gothofred* miſtakes the meaning of them: And in caſe any difference did ariſe, it was to be left *Conventui ſacerdotali ſanctóque Judicio*, i. e. *To the provincial Synod*, and not to any *Legate* of the Biſhop of *Rome*; Whoſe incroachment was that *Innovation* which was to be laid aſide: as is now plain by the *Roman Collection*, without which this Law was not rightly underſtood, as appears by the ſeveral attempts of *Baronius*, *Peron* and *Gothofred*. (4.) That although by the means of *Honorius*, upon the importunity of the *Biſhop* of *Rome* this Reſcript was recalled by (*b*) *Theodoſius*: Yet the former onely was enter'd into the *Codes* both of *Theodoſius* and *Juſtinian*; which hath all the formality of a Law, being directed to the *P. P.* of *Illyricum*, and hath the date by *Conſuls* annexed; but the Revocation is onely a *Reſcript* from *Theodoſius* to *Honorius*, and refers to an *Edict* ſent to the *P. P.* of *Illyricum*; which not appearing, the other being enter'd into the *Code*, gives great ground to believe that this *Revocation* was voided, and the former ſtood as the *Law*; Which ought rather to be preſumed to be the *Act* of *Juſtinian* himſelf, the Privileges of *Conſtantinople* being concerned herein, than merely the Pique of *Tribonian*

(b) *Collect. Rom. p.* 81, 83.

bonian and the *Collectours* of the Laws againſt the *Roman* See, as (*c*) *Holſtenius* ſuggeſts. So that from this whole matter it appears what Oppoſition the Pope's interpoſing in *foreign Conſecrations* met with, not onely from the Biſhops of thoſe *Provinces*, but from the *Imperial Laws.*

(c) Holſten. *Not. ad Collect. Rom. p.* 284.

But let us now ſee what Patriarchal Authority, as to *Conſecrations*, the Biſhops of *Rome* exerciſed in theſe more Weſtern *Churches.* As to *Gaul*, our (*d*) Authour confeſſeth, *That the Biſhops of* Rome *did not challenge the practice of Conſecrations to themſelves, as appears by the Words of* Leo *to the Biſhops of the Province of* Vienna, which he produces. *Non nobis Ordinationes veſtrarum Provinciarum defendimus:* (for ſo he underſtands theſe Words of *Conſecrations*, although they are capable of another meaning, viz. *That he did not take upon him to manage the Affairs of the* Gallican *Churches*, but onely took care that they ſhould doe it themſelves according to the *Canons*, which was *Leo's* Pretence in that (*e*) Epiſtle) but then *he diſtinguiſheth between the Right it ſelf, and the Exerciſe of it, which may be parted with by particular privileges granted, but the Right it ſelf may be ſtill reſerved*; And the ſame he after ſaith in general of the (*f*) Weſtern *Provinces*, wherein he can trace no Footſteps of the practice, and therefore concludes, it muſt be from *privileges granted by the Biſhops of* Rome, *by reaſon of diſtance, which the Patriarch of* Alexandria *would not grant.* But we are now proving the *Right* by the *Practice*, and therefore it is unreaſonable to alledge a *Right* without it; For this way of proving is ridiculous; *viz.* to prove that the Pope had *patriarchal Rights*, becauſe he did *exerciſe them*; And then to ſay, Though he did *not exerciſe them*, yet he had them; And ſo to prove that he had them, becauſe he was *Patriarch of the Weſt.* Yet this is in truth the way of proof this late Authour uſeth; He ſheweth from *Lupus, That all Conſecrations of metropolitane and provincial Biſhops belong to the Patriarch:* Then to prove a *patriarchal Power*, it is neceſſary to prove, that all the Conſecrations within the Provinces do belong to that See. But how doth this appear as to the Weſtern *Provinces?* Did all the *Conſecrations* of Biſhops within them belong

(d) *Antiquit. illuſtr. Diſſert.* 2. *c.* 4. *aſſ.* 1. *n.* 101.

(e) Leo, *Epiſt.* 10. *c.* 8. *ed. Nov.*

(f) Schelſtr. *ib. n.* 105, 106.

to the Biſhops of *Rome*? If not, then they were not within the *Roman* Patriarchate: If they did, we expect the proof of it by the *practice*. No, he confeſſeth, *the practice was different*; *But ſtill they had the patriarchal Right*. How ſo? *Yes*, ſaith he, *That is plain, becauſe the Biſhop of* Rome *was Patriarch of the Weſt*. This way of proving may be good againſt *De Marca*, who had granted the Pope to be the *Weſtern Patriarch*; but it is ridiculous to thoſe that deny it.

(g) *Id.* n. 101. But he attempts ſomething farther, viz. (*g*) *That the Biſhop of* Rome *had, before the Council of* Nice, *the power of depoſing Biſhops in* Gaul, *as appears by* Martianus *of* Arles *depoſed by* Stephanus. This (*h*) *Martianus* had openly declared himſelf of the *Novatian party*; At which *Fauſtinus*, Biſhop of *Lyons*, and other Biſhops in *Gaul* were very much troubled, and expreſſed their Reſentments of it, but he ſlighted their Cenſures of him: Both parties made Applications to St. *Cyprian*, and *Martianus* deſired to preſerve Communion with him; But he was utterly rejected there for joining in the *Novatian Schiſm*. But it ſeems, by St. *Cyprian*'s Epiſtle, *he had ſtill hopes not to be condemned at* Rome, although the *Schiſm* began there. For, ſaith he, *How ill would it look, after* Novatian *himſelf had been ſo lately and univerſally rejected, to ſuffer our ſelves to be deceived by his Flatterers?* St. *Cyprian* and his *Collegues* were in no danger, for they had already detected and condemned him, therefore this muſt be underſtood of *Stephen*, which is the Reaſon he preſſes him ſo hard, and with ſome Authority to diſpatch his Letters to the People of *Arles* to chuſe another Biſhop in the place of *Martianus*, *Dirigantur in Provinciam & ad Plebem* Arelatæ *conſiſtentem à te Literæ*, &c. And a little before he tells him, *He ought to ſend his mind at large to their Brethren the Biſhops of* Gaul, *That they ought not ſuffer him to inſult over their Fraternity*, &c. And the Reaſon he gives for this Freedom which he uſeth with him is, *Becauſe they held the Balance of the Government of the Church in common among them*; *And, being ſeveral Paſtours, they took care of the ſame Flock, who ought all to join in condemning ſuch a Follower of* Novatian, *and thereby preſerve the reputation of their Predeceſſours*, Cor-

(h) Cypr. *Ep.* 68. *ed. Ox.*

nelius

nelius *and* Lucius, *who were glorious Martyrs: and he eſpecially who ſucceeded them.* And ſo, not doubting his compliance, in a friendly manner he deſires him, *to let him know who ſucceeded* Martianus *at* Arles, *that he might know to whom to write.* I appeal to any Man of common Senſe, whether this looks like the *Application* made to the *Weſtern Patriarch*, to whom St. *Cyprian* himſelf owed ſubjection as ſuch. For when the Biſhops of *Rome* began to challenge a *patriarchal Power* over the Churches of *Theſſaly*, they expected *Application* to be made to them in a *Style* ſuitable to that Dignity, as is very remarkable in the (*i*) *Roman Collection*; As in the Petition of *Stephanus*, Biſhop of *Lariſſa*, the *Metropolis* of *Theſſaly*, *Domino meo ſancto ac beatiſſimo & revera venerando Patri Patrum, & Archiepiſcopo atque Patriarchæ* Bonifacio *data ſupplicatio à* Stephano *exiguo:* And in the very ſame ſtyle *Elpidius*, *Stephanus* and *Timotheus*. Theſe write like men that knew their diſtance, and what Authority the Biſhop of *Rome* then challenged; But the meek and humble St. *Cyprian* ſeems to ſtand upon equal Terms with the Biſhop of *Rome*, or rather, as if he were upon the higher Ground, he takes upon him to tell him his duty, and rather checks him for his neglect in it, than owns any Authority in him ſuperiour to his. So that if any *patriarchal Power* be to be inferr'd from this Epiſtle, it would be much rather, that St. *Cyprian* was *Patriarch* of the Weſt, than the Biſhop of *Rome*; ſince he is rather *ſuperiour*, who directs what another ſhould doe, than he who doeth what is directed; And if from hence it follows, *That the execution of the Canons was in the Biſhop of* Rome, it will likewiſe follow, that the *directing* that *execution* was in the Biſhop of *Carthage*.

(i) *Coll. Rom. p.* 20.

p. 31.

But we are told, (*k*) *that, even in* Africa, *no Conſecrations were allow'd, without the conſent of the Biſhop of* Rome: This is great News indeed, of which the *African Code* gives us no information: But (*l*) *Holſtenius* finds it in an Epiſtle of *Siricius* or of *Innocentius*, (which he pleaſes, for the ſame Rules are in both) onely in the Canon Law it is taken from *Innocentius*, and the true Senſe is given of it, *Extra conſcientiam, Metropolitani Epiſcopi, nullus audeat ordinare Epiſcopum.* But what is this

(k) Schelſtrat. *ib. n.* 102.

(l) *Not. in Coll. Rom. p.* 265.

this to the *Roman Patriarchate?* And our Authour doth not ſeem to rely upon it; But he alledges a Paſſage in *Optatus*, *that* Eunomius *and* Olympius, *two Biſhops*, *were ſent to* Carthage *to conſecrate a Biſhop in the place both of* Cecilian *and* Donatus: And *Albaſpinæus* ſaith, *they were ſent by the Pope's Authority.* But this *Obſervation* of his he hath not from (*m*) *Optatus*, by whom it rather appears, that they were ſent by the Emperour, who ſtopt *Cecilian* at *Brixia.* And no one that reads the Paſſages about *Milthiades* at that time, and how *Conſtantine* joined *Marinus*, *Maternus* and *Rheticius* in *Commiſſion* with him, can ever imagine, that the Biſhop of *Rome* was then eſteemed the *Patriarch* of the Weſt; and, as ſuch, to have had *Juriſdiction* over the Biſhops of *Africa.*

(m) Optat. *l.* 1.

(n) Abſtract. *p.* 101.

The laſt (*n*) Attempt to prove the Pope's *patriarchal Power*, as to *Conſecrations* in the Weſtern *Churches*, is *from his Authority of giving Palls to the Metropolitanes.* Which he proves from *Gregory's* Epiſtles, as to the *Biſhops of* Arles *and* London; *And from an Epiſtle of* Boniface, *Biſhop of* Mentz, *wherein*, he ſaith, *it was agreed in* France, *That the Metropolitanes ſhould receive Palls from the* Roman *See.* But how far are we now gone from the *Council* of *Nice* and the Rules of *Church-politie* then eſtabliſhed? We do not deny, that the Biſhops of *Rome* did aſſume to themſelves in following Ages a more than *patriarchal Power* over the Weſtern *Churches:* But we ſay there are no footſteps of it in the time of the *Council* of *Nice*; And that what Power they gained, was by *Uſurpation* upon the *Rights* of *Metropolitanes* and *provincial Synods* then ſettled by general conſent of the Biſhops of the Chriſtian Church. But this *Uſurpation* was not made in an Inſtant, but by ſeveral Steps and Degrees, by great Artifice and Subtilty, drawing the *Metropolitanes* themſelves, under a Pretence of advancing their *Authority*, to betray their *Rights.* And among the Artifices of the Court of *Rome* this of the *Pall* was none of the leaſt; For by it the Popes pretended to confirm and inlarge the *privileges* of *Metropolitanes* which hereby they did effectually overthrow, as though they received them merely from the Favour of the Biſhop of *Rome*, which did undoubtedly

tedly belong to them by ancient Right. But that this was a mere Device to bring the *Metropolitanes* into dependence on the Court of *Rome*, appears by the moſt ancient Form of ſending the *Pall* in the (o) *Diurnus Romanus*, where it is finely called, *the ſhewing their unanimity with St.* Peter. But what the *Nature* and *Deſign*, and *Antiquity* of the *Pall* was, is ſo fully ſet forth by (p) *Petrus de Marca*, and (q) *Garnerius*, that I ſhall ſay no more of it: Onely that from hence the ancient *Rights* of the *Metropolitane Churches* do more fully appear, becauſe it was ſo long before this *Badge* of *Subjection* was received in theſe Weſtern *Churches*; For the *Synod* which *Boniface* mentions, wherein the *Metropolitanes conſented to receive Palls from* Rome, was not till the middle of the 8th Century: And great Arts and Endeavours were uſed in all the Weſtern *Churches*, before they could be brought to yield to this real *Badge* of the Pope's *patriarchal Power* over them. Which is particularly true of the *Britiſh Churches* which preſerved their *Metropolitane Rights*, as long as their Churches were in any tolerable condition; And that without ſuffering any diminution of them from the Pope's *patriarchal Power*: As will farther appear in this Diſcourſe.

(o) Diurn. Rom. p. 88.

(p) De Concord. l. 6. c. 5, 6, 7.

(q) Garner. App. ad Not. c. 4. Diurn. Rom.

(2.) The next Patriarchal Right to be examined, is that of *calling Biſhops within their Juriſdiction to Councils*. It is truly obſerved by (r) *de Marca*, *That thoſe who received Conſecration from another, were bound by the ancient Diſcipline of the Church attend to his Councils*; And in the Senſe of the old Canon Law, (s) *thoſe two Expreſſions, To belong to the Conſecration, or to the Council, were all one.* And ſo every *Metropolitane* had a Right to ſummon the *Biſhops* of his *Province*, and the *Primates* or *Patriarchs*, as many as received *Conſecrations* from them. Thus the Biſhop of *Rome's patriarchal Council* conſiſted of thoſe within his own *Dioceſe* or the *Suburbicary Churches*. Where there being no *Metropolitanes*, the *Roman Council* did much exceed others in the number of Biſhops belonging to it: thence *Galla Placidia* relates, *how ſhe found the Biſhop of* Rome *compaſſed about with a great number of Biſhops which he had*

(r) De Concord. l. 1. c. 7. n. 3.

(s) De Conſtantin. Patriarch. p. 162.

had gather'd out of innumerable Cities of Italy, *by reaſon of the Dignity of his Place.* It ſeems then no Biſhops of other Weſtern *Churches* were ſummon'd to the *Roman Councils.* But the *Biſhops* of *Sicily* were then under the *Italian* Government, and reckon'd with the *Italian Biſhops.* It may be queſtion'd, whether in *Ruffinus* his time they were comprehended within the *Suburbicary Churches.* But in *Leo*'s time the Biſhops of *Rome* had inlarged their *Juriſdiction* ſo far, as to ſummon the Biſhops of *Sicily* to their Councils. This is evident from *Leo*'s Epiſtle to all the Biſhops of *Sicily*, where he charges them *every year to ſend three of their Number to a Council in* Rome; And this he requires in purſuance of the *Nicene Canons*; From whence it ſeems probable, That the Biſhop of *Rome* did by degrees gain all the Churches within the Juriſdiction of the *Vicarius Urbis* as his *patriarchal Dioceſe.* For *Sicily* was one of the *ten Provinces* belonging thereto. But our (*t*) Authour ſaith, *That the Council of* Nice *ſpeaks there onely of provincial Councils, and not of patriarchal.* What then? Was *Sicily* within the *Roman Province*, conſidering the Biſhop of *Rome* merely as a *Metropolitane?* That is very abſurd, ſince *Sicily* was a *Province* of it ſelf, and as ſuch, ought to have had a *Metropolitane* of its own: And ſo all the other neighbour Provinces to *Rome*; whereas we reade of none there; but as far as the Biſhop of *Rome*'s *Juriſdiction* extended, it was *immediate*, and ſwallow'd up all *Metropolitane Rights.* I know (*u*) *Petrus de Marca* thinks *there were Metropolitanes within the Suburbicary Churches*; But I ſee no Authority he brings for it beſides the *Nicene Canon* and the *Decrees* of *Innocentius* and *Leo* which relate to other *Churches.* But any one that carefully reads the Epiſtles of *Leo* to the *Biſhops* within thoſe *Provinces*, and compares them with thoſe written to the Biſhops without them, will, as (*w*) *Queſnel* hath well obſerved, find ſo different a ſtrain in them, that from thence he may juſtly infer, that there were no *Metropolitanes* in the former, but there were in the latter. When he (*x*) writes to the Biſhop of *Aquileia* he takes notice of his *provincial Synod*, and directs the Epiſtles of general concernment to the *Metropolitane*; as he doth not onely to him, but to (*y*) the Biſhop of *Ravenna*

(*t*) Schelſtract. *tb. n.* 108.

(*u*) *De Concord. l.* 1. *c.* 7. *n.* 4.

(*w*) *Not. in Leon. Epiſt.* 17.

(*x*) Leo. *Ep.* 6. *c.* 2.

(*y*) *Ep.* 120.

Ravenna too. And when (z) *Euſebius*, Biſhop of *Milan*, wrote to him, he gives an account of the *provincial Council* which he held. But there is nothing like this, in the Epiſtles ſent to the Biſhops within the *ten Provinces*, no mention is therein made of *Metropolitanes*, or of any *provincial Synods*. But here we find the Biſhops of *Sicily* in common ſummon'd to ſend three of their number to an *annual Council* at *Rome*. From whence I conclude, That the Pope's *Patriarchal Council* lay within the compaſs of theſe *Suburbicary Churches*. I do not deny but upon occaſion there might be more Biſhops ſummon'd to meet at a Council in *Rome*; As when (a) *Aurelian* gave the Biſhops of *Italy* leave to meet at *Rome* in the Caſe of *Paulus Samoſatenus*. And when they met with *Julius*, in the Caſe of *Athanaſius*, and ſuch like Inſtances of an extraordinary Nature and very different from the fixed *canonical Councils*; which were *provincial* elſewhere, but in the *Roman Dioceſe* they were *Patriarchal*; yet they extended no farther than to the Biſhops within the *Suburbicary Churches*. And whoſoever conſiders the Councils of *Italy* in Saint *Ambroſe*'s time, publiſhed by (b) *Sirmondus*, will find that the Biſhops of the *Italick Dioceſe* did not think themſelves obliged to reſort to *Rome* for a *Patriarchal Council*. And, which is more obſervable, the latter of them extremely differs from *Damaſus* about the ſame matter; which was the *Conſecration* of *Maximus* to be Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. For (c) *Damaſus*, in his Epiſtle to *Acholius*, &c. bitterly exclaims againſt the ſetting up *Maximus*, as though all Religion lay at ſtake, and admoniſhed them at the next Council at *Conſtantinople* to take care that a fitter Perſon be choſen in his room: And the ſame he re-inforces in another Epiſtle to *Acholius* alone. But (d) St. *Ambroſe*, and the *Biſhops of Italy* with him, in a Conciliar Addreſs to *Theodoſius*, juſtifie the *Conſecration* of *Maximus*, and diſlike that of *Gregory* and *Nectarius*. Now in this Caſe I deſire to know, whether this Council own'd the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Patriarchal Power? For (e) *Em. à Schelſtraet*, following *Chriſtianus Lupus*, ſaith, *That in the Pope's patriarchal Power is implied, that the Biſhops are onely to conſult and adviſe, but the determination doth wholly belong to the*

(z) *Ep.* 139.

(a) Euſeb. *l.* 7. *c.* 24.

(b) Sirmond. *Append. ad C. Theod. p.* 97.

(c) *Coll. H. Rom. p.* 37.

(d) *Append. p.* 104.

(e) Schelſtraet. *ib. n.* 105.

Pope as Patriarch; *And that the Biſhop of* Alexandria *had the ſame power appears by the Biſhops of* Egypt *declaring they could not doe any thing without the Biſhop of* Alexandria. Let us then grant, That the Biſhop of *Rome* had the ſame Authority within his *Patriarchal Dioceſe*, doth not this unavoidably exclude the Biſhops of the *Italick Dioceſe* from being under his *Patriarchate*? For if they had been under it, would they have, not barely met, and conſulted, and ſent to the Emperour without him, but in flat *oppoſition* to him? And when afterwards the Weſtern Biſhops met in Council at *Capua*, in order to the compoſing the Differences in the Church of *Antioch*, although it were within the *Roman Patriarchate*, yet it being a Council of Biſhops aſſembled out of the *Italick Dioceſe* as well as the *Roman*, the Biſhop of *Rome* did not *preſide* therein, but St. *Ambroſe*; as appears by (*f*) St. *Ambroſe* his Epiſtle to *Theophilus*, about the proceedings of this Council; For he ſaith, *He hopes what* Theophilus *and the Biſhops of* Egypt *ſhould determine in that Cauſe about* Flavianus, *would not be diſpleaſing to their Holy Brother, the Biſhop of* Rome. And there follows another (*g*) Epiſtle in St. *Ambroſe* which overthrows the *Pope's Patriarchal Power* over the Weſtern *Churches* by the confeſſion of the Pope himſelf. For that which had paſſed under the name of St. *Ambroſe* is now found by (*h*) *Holſtenius* to be written by *Siricius*, and is ſo publiſhed in the *Roman Collection*, and ſince in the (*i*) *Collection* of *Councils* at *Paris*. This Epiſtle was written by *Siricius* to *Anyſius* and other Biſhops of *Illyricum*, concerning the Caſe of *Bonoſus*, which had been referr'd to them by the Council of *Capua*, as being the neighbour Biſhops, and therefore, according to the *Rules* of the Church, fitteſt to give Judgement in it. But they, either out of a complement or in earneſt, deſired to know the *Pope's* opinion about it. So his Epiſtle begins, *Accepi literas veſtras de* Bonoſo *Epiſcopo, quibus, vel pro veritate, vel pro modeſtia, noſtram ſententiam ſciſcitari voluiſtis.* And are theſe the *Expreſſions* of one with *Patriarchal Power*, giving anſwer to a Caſe of difficulty which *canonically* lies before him? But he afterwards declares, he had nothing to doe in it, ſince the Council of *Capua* had referr'd it to them, and

(f) Ambroſ. *Ep. l.* 10. *ep.* 78.

(g) *Epiſt.* 79. *ed.* Eraſm.

(h) *Collect. Rom. p.* 189.

(i) *Concil. Labb. T.* 2. *p.* 1033.

and therefore they were bound to give Judgment in it. *Sed cum hujuſmodi fuerit Concilii* Capuenſis *judicium---- advertimus quod nobis judicandi forma competere non poſſit.* If the Biſhop of *Rome* had then *patriarchal Power* over all the Weſtern *Churches*, how came he to be excluded from judging this Cauſe by the Proceedings of the *Council* of *Capua?* Would Pope *Siricius* have born this ſo patiently and ſubmiſſively, and declined meddling in it, if he had thought that it did of *Right* belong to him to determine it? If the *Execution* of the *Canons* belongs to the Biſhop of *Rome* as the *Supreme Patriarch*, how comes the *Council* of *Capua* not to refer this matter immediately to him, who was ſo near them; But, without ſo much as asking his Judgment, to appoint the hearing and determining it to the Biſhops of *Macedonia?* We have no reaſon to queſtion the ſincerity of this Epiſtle which *Card. Barberine* publiſhed as it lay with others in *Holſtenius* his Papers taken out of the *Vatican*, and other *Roman MSS.* by the expreſs *Order* of *Alexander* VII. And although a late (*k*) *Advocate* for the Pope's Power in *France* againſt *De Marca*, hath offer'd ſeveral Reaſons to prove this Epiſtle counterfeit, yet they are all anſwer'd by a (*l*) *Doctour* of the *Sorbon.* So that this Epiſtle of *Siricius* is a ſtanding Monument, not onely againſt the Pope's abſolute and unlimited Power, but his *patriarchal*, out of his own *Dioceſe.*

(k) *Des Jugemens Canon. des Eveſques, p.* 562.
(l) *De antiquis & majoribus Epiſc. cauſis, c.* 29.

But to juſtifie the Pope's *patriarchal Power* in calling the Weſtern *Biſhops* to his *Council* at *Rome*, we have ſeveral (*m*) *Inſtances* brought; As of ſome *Gallican Biſhops* preſent at the Council under *Damaſus*; *Wilfrid*, an *Engliſh Biſhop* under *Agatho* a Legate from the *Council* held in *Britain*; with *Felix* of *Arles* and others; and ſome others of later times. But what do *extraordinary Councils*, meeting at *Rome*, prove, as to the Biſhop of *Rome*'s being *Patriarch* of the Weſtern *Churches?* Do the Weſtern *Councils*, meeting at *Milan*, *Arles*, *Ariminum*, *Sardica*, or ſuch Places, prove the Biſhops of them to be all *Patriarchs?* Theſe things are not worth mentioning, unleſs there be ſome circumſtance to ſhew that the Biſhop of *Rome* called the Weſtern *Biſhops* together by his *patriarchal Power*, for which there is no

(m) Schelſtraet. *tb. n.* 113, 119.

evidence brought. But there is a very great difference between *Councils* aſſembled for *Unity of Faith* or *Diſcipline* from ſeveral *Dioceſes*, and *provincial Synods*, and *patriarchal Councils* called at certain times to attend the *patriarchal See*, as is to be ſeen in the (*n*) *Diurnus Romanus*, where the Biſhops, within the *Roman Patriarchate*, oblige themſelves to obey the Summons to a *Council* at *Rome*, at certain fixed times, as *Garnerius* ſhews; which, he ſaith, *was three times in the year.* But he adds, *this extended no farther than to the Biſhops within the Suburbicary Churches, who had no Primate but the Biſhop of Rome*, and ſo this was a true *patriarchal Council.*

(n) *Diurn. Rom. p. 66.*

(3.) But the laſt Right conteſted for, is, that of *Appeals in greater Cauſes.* By which we underſtand ſuch Application of the Parties concerned as doth imply a *Superiour Juriſdiction* in him they make their reſort to, whereby he hath full Authority to determine the matters in difference: For otherwiſe *Appeals* may be no more than *voluntary Acts* in the *Parties*, and then the Perſon appealed to hath no more Power than their *Conſent* gives him. Now in the Chriſtian Church, for preſervation of Peace and Unity, it was uſual to adviſe in greater Caſes with the Biſhops of other *Churches*, and chiefly with thoſe of the greateſt Reputation, who were wont to give their Judgment, not by way of *Authority*, but of Friendly correſpondence; not to ſhew their Dominion, but their Care of preſerving the Unity of the Church. Of this we have a remarkable Inſtance in the *Italick Council*, of which St. *Ambroſe* was *Preſident*, who did interpoſe in the *Affairs* of the Eaſtern Church; not with any pretence of Authority over them, but merely out of Zeal to keep up and reſtore Unity among them. They knew very well how ſuſpicious the *Eaſtern Biſhops* were of the *Weſtern Biſhops* meddling in their matters ever ſince the Council of *Sardica* (of which afterwards) but they tell them, *it was no new thing for the Weſtern Biſhops to be concerned when things were out of order among them.* (*o*) *Non Prærogativam*, ſay they, *vindicamus examinis, ſed Conſortium tamen debuit eſſe communis arbitrii.* They did not challenge a Power of calling them to account, but they thought

(o) *App. ad Cod. Theod. p. 1086.*

thought there ought to be a mutual Correſpondence for the general good, and therefore they received *Maximus* his Complaint of his hard uſage at *Conſtantinople*. Will any hence infer, that this Council or St. *Ambroſe* had a *Superiour Authority* over the *Patriarch* of *Conſtantinople*? So that neither *Conſultations*, *Advices*, *References*, nor any other *Act* which depends upon the *Will* of the *Parties*, and are deſigned onely for a *common good*, can prove any true *Patriarchal Power*. Which being premiſed, let us now ſee what Evidence is produced from hence for the Pope's *patriarchal Power* over the *Weſtern Churches*. And the main thing inſiſted upon is, (p) *The Biſhop of* Rome's *appointing Legates in the Weſtern Churches to hear and examine Cauſes, and to report them.* And of this, the firſt Inſtance is produced of the *ſeveral Epiſtles of Popes to the Biſhops of* Theſſalonica *in the* Roman *Collection*. Of which a large account hath been already given: And the firſt beginning of this was after the Council of *Sardica* had out of a Pique to the *Eaſtern Biſhops* and Jealouſie of the Emperour allow'd the Biſhop of *Rome* the *Liberty* of granting a *re-hearing* of *Cauſes* in the *ſeveral Provinces*; which was the pretence of ſending *Legates* into them; And this was the firſt conſiderable ſtep that was made towards the advancing the Pope's power over the *Weſtern Churches*. For a preſent (q) *Doctour* of the *Sorbon* confeſſeth, *that in the ſpace of* 347 *years*, *i. e.* to the *Sardican* Council, *No one Inſtance can be produced of any Cauſe, wherein Biſhops were concerned, that was ever brought to* Rome *by the Biſhops that were the Judges of it*. But if the Pope's *Patriarchal Power* had been known before, it had been a regular way of proceeding from the Biſhops in *Provincial Synods* to the *Patriarch*. And withall, he ſaith, *before that Council no inſtance can be produced of any Judges Delegates for the review of Judgment paſſed in provincial Synods: And whatever Privilege or Authority was granted by the Council of* Sardica *to the Biſhop of* Rome, *was wholly new, and had no Tradition of the Church to juſtifie it; And was not then received either in the Eaſtern or Weſtern Churches*. So that all the Pleas of a Patriarchal Power, as to the Biſhop of *Rome*, with reſpect to *greater Cauſes* muſt fall very much

(p) Schelſtrat. *ib. n.* 123.

(q) *De antiquis & majoribus Epiſcoporum cauſis*, p. 71.

p. 75.

p. 91, *&c.* 132, *&c.*

much ſhort of the Council of *Nice*. As to the Inſtance of *Marcianus* of *Arles*, that hath been anſwered already; And as to the Depoſition of Biſhops in *England* by the Pope's authority in later times, it is of no importance, ſince we do not deny the matter of Fact, as to the *Pope's Uſurpations*; But we ſay, they can never juſtifie the exerciſe of a *Patriarchal Power* over theſe *Churches* by the *Rules* eſtabliſhed in the Council of *Nice*.

But it is ſaid, *That the Council of* Arles, *before that of* Nice, *attributes to the Biſhop of* Rome, *Majores Dioceſes, i. e.* according to *De Marca*, *all the Weſtern Churches*; But in anſwer to this, I have already ſhew'd how far the *Weſtern Biſhops* at *Arles* were from owning the Pope's *Patriarchal Power* over them, becauſe they do not ſo much as deſire his *Confirmation* of what had paſſed in Council; But onely ſend the *Canons* to him to publiſh them. But our Authour and *Chriſtianus Lupus* ſay, *that ſuch is the Patriarch's Authority, That all Acts of Biſhops in Council are in themſelves invalid without his Sentence, which onely gives Life and Vigour to them*; *As they prove by the Patriarch of* Alexandria. But if the Biſhop of *Rome* were then owned to be *Patriarch* over ſeven or eight *Dioceſes* of the Weſt, according to *De Marca's* expoſition; how came they to ſit and make *Canons*, without the leaſt mention of his Authority? So that either they muſt deny him to be *Patriarch*, or they muſt ſay he was affronted in the higheſt manner by the *Weſtern Biſhops* there aſſembled. But as to the expreſſion of *Majores Dioceſes*, it is very queſtionable, whether in the time of the *Council* of *Arles*, the diſtribution of the Empire by *Conſtantine* into *Dioceſes* were then made, and it ſeems probable not to have been done in the time of the *Council* of *Nice*, *Dioceſes* not being mentioned there, but onely *Provinces*; And if ſo, this Place muſt be corrupt in that expreſſion, as it is moſt certain it is in others; And it is hard to lay ſo great weight on a place that makes no entire ſenſe. But allowing the expreſſion genuine, it implies no more than that the Biſhop of *Rome* had then more *Extenſive Dioceſes* than other *Weſtern Biſhops*; Which is not denied, ſince even then he had ſeveral *Provinces* under his

his immediate Government, which no other *Weſtern Biſhop* had.

(*r*) St. *Baſil*'s calling *the Biſhop of* Rome, *Chief of the Weſtern Biſhops*, implies nothing but the dignity of his *See*, and not any *Patriarchal Power* over the *Weſtern Churches*. (r) Schelſtrat. ib. n. 77.

It muſt be a degree of more than uſual ſubtilty to infer *Damaſus* his *Patriarchal Power over the Weſt*, (*s*) becauſe St. *Jerome* joins *Damaſus* and the *Weſt* together, as he doth *Peter* and *Egypt*: Therefore *Damaſus* had the ſame Power over the *Weſt* which *Peter* had over *Egypt*. It ſeems St. *Jerome*'s language about the different *Hypoſtaſes*, did not agree with what was uſed in the *Syrian Churches*, and therefore ſome charged him with falſe Doctrine; he pleads for himſelf, that the Churches of *Egypt*, and the Weſt, ſpake as he did, and they were known then neither to favour *Arianiſm* nor *Sabellianiſm*; And, to make his Allegation more particular, he mentions the names of the *Patriarch* of *Alexandria* and the Biſhop of *Rome*. But a Cauſe extremely wants Arguments which muſt be ſupported by ſuch as theſe. (s) *Id.* n. 78.

If (*t*) St. *Auguſtine* makes *Innocent to preſide in the Weſtern Church*; he onely thereby ſhews the *Order* and *Dignity* of the *Roman See*; but he doth not own any *Subjection* of the *Weſtern Churches* to his Power, ſince no Church did more vehemently withſtand the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Incroachments than the Churches of *Africa* did in St. *Auguſtine*'s time; As is notorious in the buſineſs of *Appeals*, which tranſaction is a demonſtration againſt his *Patriarchal Power* over the *African Churches*. And the Biſhop of *Rome* never inſiſted on a *Patriarchal Right*, but on the *Nicene Canons* wherein they were ſhamefully baffled. (t) *Id.* n. 79.

It cannot be denied that (*u*) Pope *Innocent*, in his Epiſtle to *Decentius Eugubinus*, would bring the *Weſtern Churches* to follow the *Roman Traditions*, upon this pretence, *That the Churches of* Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, *and the Iſlands lying between, were firſt inſtituted either by ſuch as were ſent by St.* Peter *or his Succeſſours*. But whoſoever conſiders that Epiſtle well, will not for *Innocent*'s ſake lay too much weight upon it. For, (u) *Id.* n. 80.

Is

Is it reaſonable to think, that the *double Unction*, the *Saturday Faſt*, the *Eulogiæ* ſent to the ſeveral *Pariſhes* in *Rome* were *Apoſtolical Traditions* which all the *Weſtern Churches* were bound to obſerve, becauſe they were firſt planted by thoſe who were ſent from *Rome*? But the matter of Fact is far from being evident, for we have great reaſon to believe, there were Churches planted in the *Weſtern parts*, neither by St. *Peter* nor by thoſe who were ſent by his Succeſſours. Yet let that be granted; What connexion is there between receiving the Chriſtian Doctrine at firſt by thoſe who came from thence, and an Obligation to be ſubject to the Biſhops of *Rome* in all their *Orders* and *Traditions*? The *Patriarchal Government* of the Church was not founded upon this, but upon the ancient Cuſtome and Rules of the Church; as fully appears by the Council of *Nice*. And therefore the Churches of *Milan* and *Aquileia* though in *Italy*, the Churches of *Africa* though probably the firſt Preachers came from *Rome*, never thought themſelves bound to follow the *Traditions* or obſerve the *Orders* of the *Roman Church*, as is very well known both in St. *Cyprian*'s and St. *Auguſtine*'s times. But if the Pope's power be built on this ground, what then becomes of the *Churches* of *Illyricum*? Was the Goſpel brought thither from *Rome*? And, as to the *Britiſh Churches*, this very Plea of *Innocent* will be a farther evidence of their *exemption* from the *Roman Patriarchate*; ſince *Britain* cannot be comprehended within thoſe *Iſlands which lie between* Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa *and* Sicily, which can onely be underſtood of thoſe *Iſlands* which are ſituate in the *Mediterranean Sea*.

And if no Inſtance can be produced of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Patriarchal Juriſdiction over the *Britiſh Churches*, why ſhould not we claim the ſame benefit of the *Nicene Canons* which *Leo* urges ſo vehemently in ſuch a parallel Caſe? Neither can it be ſaid, *that afterwards, Subjection and Conſent makes a juſt Patriarchal Power*; for neither doth it hold as to the *Britiſh Churches*, whoſe Biſhops utterly refuſed to ſubmit to *Auguſtine* the Monk; And if it doth, all the force of *Leo*'s Arguments is taken away. For there were both *Preſcription*

tion pleaded, and a *Conſent* of the *Biſhops* of the *Dioceſes* concerned in the Council of *Chalcedon.* But *Leo* ſaith, *the* Nicene *Canons are beyond both theſe, being dictated by the Spirit of God, and paſſed by the common conſent of the Chriſtian Church*; *And that it was a Sin in him to ſuffer any to break them.* Either this is true or falſe. If falſe, how can the Pope be excuſed who alledged it for true? If true, then it holds as much againſt the Biſhop of *Rome* as the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople.* And as to the *Preſcription of 60 years,* he ſaith, the *Canons of* Nice *were before, and ought to take place, if the practice had been never ſo conſtant,* which he denies. Nay, he goes ſo far as to ſay, *Though the numbers of Biſhops be never ſo great that give their conſent to any alteration of the* Nicene *Canons, they ſignifie nothing, and cannot bind.* Nothing can be more emphatical or weighty to our purpoſe than theſe Expreſſions of Pope *Leo*, for ſecuring the *Privileges* of our *Churches*, in caſe no Patriarchal Power over them can be proved before the *Council* of *Nice.* And it is all the reaſon in

Quoniam diſpenſatio mihi credita eſt, & ad meum tendit reatum, ſi paternarum regulæ Sanctionum, quæ in Synodo Nicæna *ad totius Eccleſiæ Regimen, Spiritu Dei inſtruente, ſunt traditæ me, quod abſit, connivente violentur.* Leo *ad* Marcian. Aug. *Ep.* 78. *c.* 3.

Quoniam contra Statuta paternorum Canonum, quæ ante longiſſimæ ætatis annos in Urbe Nicæna *ſpiritualibus ſunt fundata Decretis, nihil cuique audere conceditur.* Leo *ad* Pulcher. *Ep.* 79. *n.* 2.

Superbum nimis eſt & immoderatum, ultra proprios terminos tendere, & antiquitate calcatâ alienum jus velle præripere, atque ut unius creſcat Authoritas, tot Metropolitanorum impugnare Primatus quietiſque Provinciis, & olim Sanctæ Synodi Nicenæ *moderatione diſpoſitis, bellum novæ perturbationis inferre, atque ut venerabilium Patrum Decreta ſolvantur, quorundam Epiſcoporum præferre conſenſum cui tot annorum ſeries negavit effectum. Nam* 60 *ferre annus hujus conniventiæ eſſe jactatur qua ſe prædictus Epiſcopus æſtimat adjuvari, fruſtra cupiens id ſibi prodeſſe, quod etiam ſi quiſquam auſus eſt velle, nullus*

tamen potuit obtinere. Id. ib.

Nulla ſibimet de multiplicatione congregationis ſynodalia Concilia blandiantur, neque trecentis illis decem atque octo Epiſcopis quantumlibet copioſior numerus Sacerdotum vel comparare ſe audeat vel præferre: cum tanto divinitus privilegio Nicæna *ſit Synodus conſecrata, ut ſive per pauciores ſive per plures Eccleſiaſtica Judicia celebrentur omni penitus auctoritate ſit vacuum quicquid ab illorum fuerit conſtitutione diverſum.* Ad *Anatol.* Ep. 80. n. 1.

the World, That thoſe who claim a *Juriſdiction* ſhould prove it, Eſpecially when the *Acts* of it are ſo notorious that they cannot be conceal'd; as the *Conſecration* of *Metropolitanes*, and matters of *Appeals* are, and were too evident in latter times, when all the World knew what Authority and Juriſdiction the Pope exerciſed over theſe Churches. I conclude this with that excellent Sentence of Pope *Leo*, *PRIVILEGIA ECCLESIARUM SANCTORUM PATRUM CANONIBUS INSTITUTA, ET VENERABILIS* NICÆNÆ *SYNODI FIXA DECRETIS, NULLA POSSUNT IMPROBITATE CONVELLI NULLA NOVITATE VIOLARI.* The *privileges* of *Churches* which were begun by the *Canons* of the *Holy Fathers* and confirmed by the Council of *Nice* can neither be deſtroy'd by wicked Uſurpation nor diſſolved by the humour of Innovation.

In the next great Council of *Sardica*, which was intended to be *general* by the two Emperours *Conſtans* and *Conſtantius*, it is commonly ſaid, that (*w*) *Athanaſius* expreſly affirms the *Britiſh Biſhops* to have been there preſent. But ſome think this miſtake aroſe from looking no farther than the Latin Copy in *Athanaſius*, in which indeed the words are plain enough to that purpoſe; but the ſenſe in the Greek ſeems to be the ſame. For *Athanaſius* pleads his own Innocency from the ſeveral Judgments which had paſſed in his Favour. Firſt, by 100 Biſhops in *Egypt*; next, by above 50 Biſhops at *Rome*; thirdly, in the great Council at *Sardica*, οἱ ἅγιοι, in which, as ſome ſay, above 300 Biſhops out of the ſeveral Provinces there mention'd conſented to his

(w) Athanaſ. *Apol.* 2. *p.* 720.

Inno-

Innocency. But here lies an inſuperable difficulty, for * *Athanaſius* himſelf elſewhere affirms, *that there were but* 170 *Biſhops in all there preſent:* and therefore it is impoſſible he ſhould make 300 there preſent. Which ſome have endeavour'd to reconcile, by ſaying, *the latter was the true number preſent; but the former of thoſe Biſhops ſcattered up and down who did agree in the Sentence which paſſed in favour of* Athanaſius: But then the Greek here cannot be underſtood of thoſe preſent in Council; and, on the other ſide, if it be not ſo underſtood, then the words do not prove what he deſigns, *viz.* that he was acquitted in the *Sardican* Council; in which, although the number were not ſo great, I ſee no reaſon to exclude the *Britiſh Biſhops.*

* *Ad ſolit. vit. agent. p.* 818.

It is true, that in the (*x*) Synodical Epiſtle of that Council, onely *Italy*, *Spain* and *Gaul* are mention'd; And ſo likewiſe in the (*y*) *Subſcriptions.* But it is well obſerved by (*z*) *Bucherius*, that *Athanaſius* reckons up the *Britiſh Biſhops* among thoſe of *Gaul.* And (*a*) *Hilary*, writing to the *Gallican Biſhops* of *Germania prima* and *Germania ſecunda*, *Belgica prima*, *Belgica ſecunda*, *Lugdunenſis prima*, *Lugdunenſis ſecunda*, *Provincia Aquitanica* and *Provincia novem populona*; after he hath diſtinctly ſet down theſe, he then immediately adds, *And to the Biſhops of the Provinces of* Britain. Which makes me apt to think, that about that time the *Biſhops* of *Britain* were generally joyn'd with thoſe of *Gaul*, and are often comprehended under them where they are not expreſly mention'd. And, to confirm this, (*b*) *Sulpicius Severus*, ſpeaking of the Summons to the Council of *Ariminum*, mentions onely of theſe Weſtern parts *Italy*, *Spain* and *Gaul*; But afterwards ſaith, *That the Biſhops of* Britain *were there preſent.* So that *Britain* was then comprehended under *Gaul*, and was ſo underſtood at that time; as *Sicily* was under *Italy*, as (*c*) *Sirmondus* ſhews. And *Sextus Rufus* doth put down the deſcription of *Britain* under that of *Gaul*, as (*d*) *Berterius* hath obſerved. For otherwiſe, who could have thought that *Athanaſius* had meant the Biſhops of *Britain*, when he reckons up onely the *Provinces* of *Gaul?* But he declared that they were preſent with the *Gallican Biſhops.*

(x) Athan. *p.* 756.
(y) Athan. *p.* 767.
(z) Bucher. *Belg. Roman. l.* 9. *c.* 4. *n.* 4.
(a) Hilar. *de Synodis.*
(b) Sulpic. Sev. *l.* 2.
(c) Sirmond. *Advent. c.* 5.
(d) Berter. *Diatr. l. c.* 3.

But it hath been urged with great appearance of Reaſon, that *ſince the* Britiſh *Biſhops were preſent at the Council of* Sardica, *The* Britiſh *Churches were bound to obſerve the Canons of it; and Appeals to the Biſhop of* Rome *being there eſtabliſhed, they were then brought under his Juriſdiction, as Patriarch of the Weſtern Churches.* To give a clear account of this, we muſt examine the Deſign and Proceedings of that Council. The occaſion whereof was this; *Athanaſius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, being depoſed for ſome pretended miſdemeanours by two Synods of Eaſtern Biſhops, and finding no redreſs there, by the prevalency of the *Arian Faction*, makes Application to the Weſtern Biſhops, and to *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*, as the *chief* of them, and earneſtly deſires that his Cauſe might be heard over again, bringing great Evidence from the Biſhops of *Egypt* and other places, that he never had a fair Hearing, but was run down by the Violence of the *Euſebian party* at *Tyre* and *Antioch*. The Biſhop of *Rome* communicating this with the Weſtern Biſhops, as at large appears by *Julius* his Epiſtle in *Athanaſius*, he, in their name as well as his own, ſends to the Eaſtern Biſhops, That this Cauſe might be heard before indifferent Judges: And to that end, that they would come into theſe Parts, and bring their Evidences with them. This they decline; Upon which, and a fuller Examination of the matter, they receive *Athanaſius*, *Marcellus* and others into Communion with them. This gives a mighty diſtaſte to the Eaſtern Biſhops; at laſt the two Brothers, *Conſtantius* and *Conſtans*, agree, there ſhould be a *general Council* called at *Sardica*, to hear and determine this matter. The Biſhops meet; But the Weſtern Biſhops would have the reſtored Biſhops admitted to Communion, and ſit in Council; This the Eaſtern Biſhops utterly refuſe; and upon that withdrew to *Philippopolis*; And declare againſt their Proceedings at *Sardica*, as repugnant to the *Nicene Canons:* The Weſtern Biſhops continued ſitting, and made new *Canons* to juſtifie their own Proceedings. This is the true ſtate of the matter of Fact; as far as I can gather it out of the authentick Writings on both Sides. For the one ſide inſiſts upon the Juſtice of *re-hearing a Cauſe, wherein there was*

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ſo great ſuſpicion of foul dealing; And the other, *that the matters which concerned their Biſhops, were not to be tried over again by others at a diſtance*; *And that this was the Way to overthrow the Diſcipline of the Church, as it had been ſettled by the Council of* Nice *and the ancient Canons of the Church.* It is apparent by the Synodical Epiſtle of the *Greek* Biſhops who withdrew to *Philippopolis.* That this was the main Point inſiſted on by them; *That it was the bringing a new Law into the Church*; *For the Eaſtern Biſhops to be judged by the Weſtern*; *The ancient Cuſtome and Rule of the Church being*; *That they ſhould ſtand or fall by their own Biſhops.* The Weſtern Biſhops on the other ſide pleaded, *That this was a Cauſe of common concernment to the whole Church*; *That there had been notorious partiality in the management of it*; *That* Athanaſius *was condemned, not for any pretended miſcarriages ſo much, as for his Zeal againſt* Arianiſm; *That the Cauſe was not heard in* Egypt, *where he was charged, but at a great diſtance, and therefore in common Juſtice, it ought to have a new hearing by the Eaſtern and Weſtern Biſhops together.* But the Eaſtern Biſhops finding that the Weſtern would not forſake the Communion of *Athanaſius* and the reſt, they look'd on the Cauſe as prejudged, and ſo went away. However the other proceeded to the clearing the Biſhops accuſed, which they did by a *Synodical Epiſtle*, and then made ſeveral *Canons*, as *againſt Tranſlations from mean Biſhopricks to better*, Can. 1. *and uſing Arts to procure them*, Can. 2. *Againſt placing Biſhops in ſuch places where a ſingle Preſbyter would ſerve, and the abſence of Biſhops at Conſecrations*, Can. 6. *Againſt their unſeaſonable Applications to the Court*, Can. 7, 8, 9, 20. *Againſt being made Biſhops* per Saltum, *Can.* 10. *Againſt their Non-reſidence*, Can. 11, 12. *Againſt receiving thoſe who were excommunicated by others*, Can. 13. *About the Appeal of Presbyters*, Can. 14. *Againſt taking Presbyters out of anothers Dioceſe*, Can. 15. *Againſt their Non-reſidence*, Can. 16. *About the Reception of baniſhed Biſhops*, Can. 17. *About* Eutychianus *and* Muſæus, *and the perſons ordained by them*, Can. 18, 19.

But the main *Canons* of this *Council* are the third, fourth and fifth, which concern the *re-hearing* of the *Cauſes of Biſhops*; And the intereſt the Biſhop of *Rome* was

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to have therein. For the right underſtanding whereof we are to conſider the ſeveral ſteps and methods of Proceeding therein eſtabliſhed. (1.) *That the Cauſes of Biſhops in the firſt Inſtance were ſtill to be heard and determin'd by the Biſhops of the Province*; That is plain by the firſt part of *Can.* 3. *Which forbids any Biſhop in caſe of difference with another, to call Biſhops out of a neighbour Province to hear it.* This was agreeable to the *Nicene Can.* 5. Herein it is ſuppoſed that they reflect on the Council of *Antioch*'s Proceedings againſt *Athanaſius*; But the Council of *Antioch* did not proceed upon St. *Athanaſius* in the firſt *Inſtance*, but upon this ground, viz. *That being depoſed in the Council of* Tyre, *he afterwards returned to the Biſhoprick of* Alexandria, *without being firſt reſtored by a greater Synod.* But this ſeems to have been very hard uſage of ſo great a man; For they firſt made the *Canons* themſelves, *Can.* 4, 12. and out of them they framed an *Article*, by virtue whereof they deprived *Athanaſius.* And herein lay the Art of the *Euſebian party*, for if they had framed the *Canon* ſo as it is extant in (e) *Palladius*, it would never have paſſed the Council; For it was not a Council of mere *Arians*, as is commonly thought, but of many (f) Orthodox Biſhops, together with them who in ſome things were overreached by the Artifices of the *Euſebian party*; And they did not meet purpoſely againſt *Athanaſius*; But 97 (g) *Biſhops* were ſummon'd by the Emperour to meet at the ſolemn Dedication of the great Church at *Antioch* called *Dominicum Aureum*; (h) as they had done before on the like occaſion at *Jeruſalem*; And (i) *Euſebius* ſaith, *Such Aſſemblies of Biſhops were frequent at ſuch times.* Theſe, being met together, framed ſeveral Canons, for the better Ordering and Government of the Churches, out of which, being paſſed by general Conſent, the *Euſebians*, who hated *Athanaſius*, framed ſufficient *Articles* againſt him. For, by the fourth Canon, *if a Biſhop, being depoſed by a Synod, doth officiate, he is never to be reſtored*; By the twelfth, *If a Biſhop depoſed, makes Application to the Emperour, and not to a greater Council of Biſhops, he is not to be reſtored.* But now *Athanaſius*, being depoſed by the *Tyrian Synod*, was reſtored upon his *Application* to the Emperour, without any

(e) Pallad. *vit. Chryſoſt. p.* 78.

(f) Hilar. *de Synod. p.* 227, 228.

(g) Athanaſ. *de Synod.*

(h) Phot. *Biblior. Cod.* 257.

(i) Euſeb. *l.* 10. *c.* 3.

any *Synod* called to that end, and did execute his Office as Biſhop of *Alexandria*; and for this reaſon, the Council of *Antioch* confirmed his Depoſition.

A (*k*) late Authour goes about to prove, *That the Canon againſt* Athanaſius *did not paſs the Council of* Antioch, *but that it paſſed an Aſſembly of* 40 Euſebians, *when the reſt were gone:* But this is incredible (as (*l*) *Baronius* his Conceit is ridiculous, who takes the *36 Manſions* that *Antioch* was diſtant from *Alexandria* for *36 Arian Biſhops*) and there is no Teſtimony of Antiquity to prove it. But there is no reaſon to imagine any other Canon againſt *Athanaſius* beſides theſe two, for they effectually did his buſineſs. That which *Palladius* ſaith, *That in the Canon it was ſaid, whether the Biſhop were depoſed juſtly or unjuſtly* is very improbable; But that which gave occaſion for him to ſay ſo was, becauſe the ancient Canon called *Apoſtolical* 28. had in it the word δικαίως, *juſtly*, which they left out, the better to effect their Deſign; That ſo the merits of the Cauſe might not be enquired into. But there was an Errour in the firſt Inſtance committed, not by the Council of *Antioch*, but by that of *Tyre*; unleſs the extraordinary Summons of that Council by the Emperour's Command, as (*m*) *Euſebius* ſaith, be a *diſpenſation*, as to *the regular Proceedings in common Caſes*; But there was ſcarce any thing regular in the Proceeding of that Council; For, according to the Rules of the Church, this Cauſe ought to have been heard in *Egypt*, by the Biſhops there; And they juſtly complain of the Neglect of this in their (*n*) *Synodical Epiſtle*; And (*o*) *Liberius* made a reaſonable Propoſition to *Conſtantius*; *That a Council might be ſummoned at* Alexandria; *That this Cauſe, which had given ſo much diſturbance, ſhould be heard upon the Place, all Parties being preſent.* Which was the beſt *Expedient* at laſt; But the moſt natural way was to have begun there; And therefore the *Sardican Council* did very well to reduce the *Nicene Canon* about proceeding within the *Province* in the *firſt Inſtance.*

(k) Schelſtraet. *de Concil. Antioch. diſſert.* 5. c. 3.

(l) Baron. *A. D.* 341. *n.* 5.

(m) Euſeb. *vit.* Conſtant. *l.* 4. c. 41, 42.

(n) Athanaſ. *Apol.* 2. *p.* 726, *&c.*

(o) *Concil. Labb. To.* 2. *p.* 778.

(2.) *If the Party be grieved at the Sentence paſſed againſt him, then that there be a re-hearing of it granted,* Can. 2. This the Council of *Antioch* allow'd,

Can.

Can. 12. *by a greater Synod of Biſhops, but takes away all hopes of Reſtitution from him that made his Appeal to the Emperour.* The meaning of the Canon is, not to exclude an *Addreſs* for a greater *Synod*; but an *Appeal*, to have the *Emperour* reverſe the Sentence, without any farther hearing by another Aſſembly of Biſhops. So that the final reſort was hereby ſettled in a greater *Council*, from which no *Appeal* ſhould lie. This *Canon* is ſuppoſed to be particularly deſign'd againſt *Athanaſius*; But I do not find that he made Application to the Emperour to be reſtored with a *Non-obſtante* to the Sentence of the *Tyrian Council*; But to have a more indifferent hearing by *another Council.* So the Biſhops of *Egypt* teſtify in their *Synodical Epiſtle* extant in *Athanaſius*; But their Proceeding againſt him at *Antioch* was, becauſe after this he took Poſſeſſion of his *See* without another Sentence of a *greater Synod*; But the great difficulty is, to reconcile this Canon with the fifteenth of the ſame Council, *which takes away all Liberty of Appeal from the unanimous Sentence of a provincial Synod.* (p) *Petrus de Marca*, a Man of more than ordinary Sagacity in theſe matters, was ſenſible of this appearance of *Contradiction*; and he ſolves it thus, That *no Appeal* is allow'd from a provincial Synod, *Can.* 15. But notwithſtanding, by *Can.* 12. there is a Liberty of proceeding by way of *Petition* to the Emperour, for a *re-hearing* the Cauſe by a *greater Synod.* And in this Caſe the Emperour was to be Judge, whether it were fit to grant another hearing or not, and although by this Canon, in the caſe of a general Conſent, no neighbour Biſhop could be called in; as they might in caſe of Difference by *Can.* 14. Yet if the Emperour thought they proceeded *partially*, he might either join Biſhops of another Province with them, or call a more general Council out of the Province, as *Conſtantine* did at *Tyre.* This was the undoubted Right of the Emperours, to call together Aſſemblies of Biſhops for what Cauſes they thought expedient. But (q) *Socrates* expreſly ſaith, *That no Appeal was allow'd by the Canons of the Church*; For ſpeaking of *Cyrill* of *Jeruſalem*'s being depoſed, he ſaith, he appealed to a greater *Court* of *Judicature*, which Appeal *Conſtantius* allow'd:

(p) *De Concord. l.* 7. *c.* 2. *n.* 6.

(q) *Socr. l.* 2. *c.* 40.

allow'd; but then he adds, *That he was the firſt and onely perſon who, contrary to the Cuſtome and Canons of the Church, made ſuch an Appeal.* *H. Valeſius* contradicts *Socrates*, becauſe of the *Appeal* of the *Donatiſts* to *Conſtantine* from the Council of *Arles*. But this is nothing to the purpoſe; for the actions of the *Donatiſts* were not regarded; And beſides, their *Appeal* was to *Conſtantine, to hear the Cauſe himſelf*; But here *Cyrill* appealed to a greater number of Biſhops, according to the *Canon* of *Antioch*. And then appear'd at the Council of *Seleucia* to have his Cauſe heard. (r) *Baronius* is much puzzled with this Expreſſion of *Socrates*, becauſe *it would take away Appeals to the Pope*; But the Eaſtern Biſhops never underſtood any ſuch thing; And *Cyrill* made his *Appeal* to *a greater Synod*. The Canons of *Sardica*, which *Baronius* quotes, were not received and ſcarce known in the Eaſtern Church. *Athanaſius* fled to the Weſtern Biſhops, becauſe he was ſo ill uſed in the Eaſt, not becauſe *of any Authority in the Biſhop of* Rome *to receive Appeals*. But *Cyrill* went according to the Canons of *Antioch*, making *application* to *Conſtantius* to be heard, by a *greater Synod*. (s) *Sozomen* ſaith, *that* Conſtantius *recommended the Cauſe of* Cyrill *to the Council of* Ariminum; But that cannot be, *ſince* (t) *he expreſly forbad the Weſtern Biſhops in that Council to meddle with the Cauſes of the Eaſtern Biſhops*; *And declares, whatever they did in that matter ſhould have no effect*. Therefore the Council to which *Conſtantius* referred this Cauſe, muſt be that of *Seleucia*, which was aſſembled at the ſame time. Which ſeeming to take off from the *Right* of *Provincial Synods* eſtabliſhed in the Council of *Nice*, *Socrates* condemns as *uncanonical*, and ſaith, *He was the firſt that proceeded in this method of ſeeking to the Emperour for a greater Council.*

(r) Baron. *A. D.* 359. *n.* 75.

(s) Sozom. *l.* 4. *c.* 15.

(t) Hilar. *in Fragm. l.* 2. *p.* 44, 45.

But then, (3.) The Council of *Sardica* made an *Innovation* in this matter. For although it allows the liberty of a *re-hearing*, yet it ſeems to take away the Power of granting it from the *Emperour*, as far as in them lay, and gives it to *Julius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, *for the honour of St.* Peter; *And, if he thought fit, he was to appoint the Neighbour Biſhops of the Province to hear*

it, and ſuch Aſſeſſours as the Emperour was wont to ſend. To which was added, *Can.* 4. *That no Biſhop ſhould enter into the vacant Biſhoprick upon a depoſition, and application for a new hearing; till the Biſhop of* Rome *had given Sentence in it:* But then, *Can.* 5. it is ſaid, *That if the Cauſe be thought fit to be re-heard, Letters are to be ſent from him to the neighbour Biſhops to hear and examine it. But if this do not ſatisfie, he may doe as he ſees cauſe.* Which I take to be the full meaning of *Can.* 5. And this is the whole *Power* which the Council of *Sardica* gives to the Biſhop of *Rome.*

Concerning which we are to obſerve, (1.) That it was *a new thing*; for if it had been known before, that the ſupreme Judgment in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes lay in the Biſhop of *Rome*, Theſe *Canons* had been idle and impertinent. And there is no colour in Antiquity for any ſuch judicial Power in the Biſhop of *Rome*, as to *re-hearing of cauſes* of depoſed Biſhops before theſe Canons of *Sardica*; So that (*u*) *Petrus de Marca* was in the right, when he made theſe *the foundation of the Pope's Power.* And if the *Right* of *Appeal* be a neceſſary conſequent from the Pope's Supremacy; Then the non-uſage of this practice before, will overthrow the claim of *Supremacy.* In extraordinary Caſes, the great Biſhops of the Church were wont to be adviſed with; as St. *Cyprian*, as well as the Biſhop of *Rome*, in the Caſes of *Baſilides* and *Marcianus*; But if ſuch Inſtances prove a right of *Appeals*, they will doe it as much for the Biſhop of *Carthage* as of *Rome.* But there was no ſtanding Authority peculiar to the Biſhop of *Rome* given or allow'd before this Council of *Sardica.* And the learned Publiſher of (*w*) *Leo's* Works hath lately proved at large, *That no one Appeal was ever made from the Churches of* Gaul, *from the beginning of Chriſtianity there to the Controverſie between* Leo, *and* Hilary *of* Arles, *long after the Council of* Sardica. But ſuch an Authority being given by a particular *Council* upon *preſent Circumſtances*, as appears by mentioning *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*, cannot be binding to poſterity, when that limited Authority is carried ſo much farther, as to be challenged for an abſolute and ſupreme Power founded upon a *Divine Right*, and not upon the Act of the

(v) *De Concord. l. 7. c. 3. n. 6.*

(w) *Tom. 2. diſſert. 5. c. 14, &c.*

the Council. For herein the difference is ſo great, that one can give no colour or pretence for the other. (2.) That this doth not place the Right of Appeals in the *Biſhop* of *Rome*, as *Head* of the *Church*; But onely transfers the *Right* of *granting a re-hearing* from the *Emperour* to the Biſhop of *Rome*. And whether they could doe that or not is a great Queſtion; But in all probability *Conſtantius* his openly favouring the *Arian Party* was the occaſion of it. (3.) That this can never juſtifie the drawing of *Cauſes* to *Rome* by way of *Appeal*; becauſe the *Cauſe* is ſtill to be heard in the *Province*, *by the neighbour Biſhops*, *who are to hear and examine all Parties*, *and to give Judgment therein.* (4.) That the Council of *Sardica* it ſelf took upon it to judge over again *a Cauſe* which had been judged by the Biſhop of *Rome*, viz. *The Cauſe of* Athanaſius *and his Brethren.* Which utterly overthrows any Opinion in them, That the ſupreme *Right* of *Judicature* was lodged in the Biſhop of *Rome*. (5.) That the *Sardican Council* cannot be juſtified by the Rules of the Church, in receiving *Marcellus* into Communion. For not onely the Eaſtern Biſhops in their *Synodical Epiſtle* ſay, *That he was condemned for Hereſie by the Council at* Conſtantinople *in* Conſtantine's *time*, *and that* Protogenes *of* Sardica *and others of the Council had ſubſcribed to his Condemnation*; But (x) *Athanaſius* himſelf afterwards condemned him; And (y) St. *Baſil* blames the Church of *Rome* for admitting him into Communion: And (z) *Baronius* confeſſes, *that this brought a great diſreputation upon this Council*, *viz.* the abſolving one condemned for Hereſie, both before and after that Abſolution. (6.) That the Decrees of this Council were not univerſally received, as is moſt evident by the known Conteſt between the Biſhops of *Rome* and *Africa* about *Appeals*. If theſe *Canons* had been then received in the Church, it is incredible that they ſhould be ſo ſoon forgotten in the *African Churches*; For there were but two Biſhops of *Carthage*, *Reſtitutus* and *Genethlius* between *Gratus* and *Aurelius*. (a) *Chriſtianus Lupus* profeſſes *he can give no account of it.* But the plain and true account is this, There was a Deſign for a *General Council*; But the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern Biſhops*

(x) Sulpit. Severr. *l.* 2.
(y) Baſil. *Ep.* 50.
(z) Bar. *A. D.* 347. *n.* 55. *n.* 61.
(a) Chriſtian. Lup. *in Can. Sardic. p.* 215.

parting ſo ſoon, there was no regard had by the *whole Church* to what was done by one ſide or the other. And ſo little notice was taken of their Proceedings, that (*b*) St. *Auguſtine* knew of no other than *the Council of the Eaſtern Biſhops*; and even (*c*) *Hilary* himſelf makes their Confeſſion of Faith to be done by the *Sardican Council.* And the calling of Councils was become ſo common then, upon the *Arian Controverſies*; And the Depoſition of Biſhops of one ſide and the other were ſo frequent, that the remoter Churches very little concerned themſelves in what paſſed amongſt them. Thence the *Acts* of moſt of thoſe *Councils* are wholly loſt, as at *Milan*, *Sirmium*, *Arles*, *Beziers*, &c. onely what is preſerved in the *Fragments* of *Hilary*, and the *Collections* of *Athanaſius*, who gathered many things for his own vindication. But as to theſe *Canons*, they had been utterly forgotten, if the *See* of *Rome* had not been concerned to preſerve them; But the *Sardican Council*, having ſo little Reputation in the World; The Biſhops of that *See* endeavoured to obtrude them on the World, as the *Nicene Canons.* Which was ſo inexcuſable a piece of Ignorance or Forgery, that all the Tricks and Devices of the Advocates of that *See*, have never been able to defend.

(b) Aug. c. Creſc. l. 3 c. 34.
(c) Nic. Fabric. Opuſc. p. 39.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the *Faith* and *Service* of the *Britiſh* Churches.

THE Faith *of the* Britiſh *Churches enquired into.*
The Charge of Arianiſm *conſidered.*
The true State of the Arian *Controverſie, from the Council of* Nice *to that of* Ariminum.
Some late Miſtakes rectified.
Of ſeveral Arian *Councils before that of* Ariminum.
The Britiſh *Churches cleared from* Arianiſm *after it.*
The Number and Poverty of the Britiſh *Biſhops there preſent.*
Of the ancient endowment of Churches before Conſtantine.
The Privileges granted to Churches by him.
The Charge of Pelagianiſm *conſidered.*
Pelagius *and* Celeſtius *both born in theſe Iſlands.*
When Aremorica *firſt called* Britain.
What ſort of Monk Pelagius *was.*
No probability of his returning to Britain.
Of Agricola *and others ſpreading the* Pelagian *Doctrine in the* Britiſh *Churches.*
Germanus *and* Lupus *ſent by a Council of* Gallican *Biſhops hither to ſtop it.*
The Teſtimony of Proſper *concerning their being ſent by* Cœleſtine *conſider'd.*
Of Faſtidius *a* Britiſh *Biſhop.*
London *the chief Metropolis in the* Roman *Government.*
Of Fauſtus *originally a* Britain. *But a Biſhop in* Gaul.
The great eſteem he was in.
Of the Semipelagians *and* Prædeſtinatians.
Of the Schools of Learning ſet up here by the means of Germanus *and* Lupus.
Dubricius *and* Iltutus *the Diſciples of St.* German.
The number of their Scholars, and places of their Schools.

Of

Of the Monaſtery of Banchor, *and the ancient Weſtern Monaſteries, and their difference, as to Learning, from the* Benedictine *Inſtitution.*

Of Gildas *his* Iren, *whether an Univerſity in* Britain.

Of the Schools of Learning in the Roman *Cities, chiefly at* Rome, Alexandria *and* Conſtantinople, *and the Profeſſours of Arts and Sciences, and the publick Libraries there.*

Of the Schools of Learning in the Provinces, and the Conſtitution of Gratian *to that purpoſe: extending to* Britain.

Of the publick Service of the Britiſh *Churches; The* Gallican *Offices introduced by St.* German.

The Nature of them at large explained, and their Difference from the Roman *Offices, both as to the Morning and Communion Service.*

The Conformity of the Liturgy of the Church of England *to the ancient* Britiſh *Offices, and not derived from the Church of* Rome, *as our Diſſenters affirm.*

THE Succeſſion of the *Britiſh Churches* being thus deduced from their *original* to the times of the Chriſtian Emperours, it will be neceſſary to give an account of the *Faith* and *Service* which were then received by them.

And it is ſo much the more neceſſary to enquire into the *Faith* of the *Britiſh Churches*, becauſe they are charged with two remarkable Hereſies of thoſe times, *viz. Arianiſm* and *Pelagianiſm*; and by no leſs Authority than that of (*a*) *Gildas* and (*b*) *Bede*.

(a) Gild. *Epiſt.* p. 12.
(b) Bed. *l.* 1. *c.* 8, 10, 17.

The Charge of *Arianiſm* is grounded upon *the univerſal ſpreading of that Hereſie over the World*, as *Bede* expreſſes it, and therefore to ſhew how far the *Britiſh Churches* were concerned, we muſt ſearch into the Hiſtory of that Hereſie, from the Council of *Nice* to the Council of *Ariminum*, where the *Britiſh* Biſhops were preſent.

(c) *R. & L. part.* 1. *p.* 354.

It is confidently affirmed by a late (*c*) Writer, *That the* Arian *Faction was wholly ſuppreſt by the* Nicene *Council, and all the Troubles that were made after that were raiſed by the* Euſebians, *who were as forward as any to anathematize the* Arians, *and all the Perſecutions were raiſed*

ſed by them, under a Pretence of Prudence and Moderation; *That they never in the leaſt appear'd after the Council of* Nice *in behalf of the* Arian *Doctrine, but their whole fury was bent againſt the word* ὁμοούσιος *and* Athanaſius; *That in the times of* Conſtantius *and* Conſtans *the Cauſe of* Arius *was wholly laid aſide by both Parties, and the onely Conteſt was about the word* ὁμοούσιος; *That the* Euſebian *Cauſe was not to reſtore* Arianiſm, *but to piece up the Peace of the Church by comprehending all in one Communion, or by mutual forbearance.* p. 374. p. 415. p. 468.

But if it be made appear, that the *Arian* Faction was ſtill buſie and active after the *Nicene Council*; that the Conteſt about ὁμοούσιος was with a deſign to overthrow the *Nicene Faith*; that the *Euſebians* great buſineſs was, if poſſible, to reſtore *Arianiſm*; then it will follow, that ſome Mens hatred of *Prudence* and *Moderation* is beyond their skill and judgment in the Hiſtory of the Church: and the making out of theſe things will clear the Hiſtory of *Arianiſm* to the Council of *Ariminum.*

But, before I come to the Evidence ariſing from the Authentick Records of the Church, it will not be unpleaſant to obſerve, that this very Writer is ſo great an Enemy to the deſign of *Reconcilers*, that it is hardly poſſible, even in this matter, to reconcile him to himſelf. For, he tells us, that the moſt conſiderable *Euſebians* in the Weſtern Churches, *viz.* Valens, Urſacius, *and their Aſſociates had been ſecret* Arians *all along*; *that the word* Subſtance *was left out of the third* Sirmian *Creed, to pleaſe* Valens *and his Party*; *who, being emboldned by this Creed whereby they had at length ſhaken off all the Clogs that had been hitherto faſten'd on them to hinder their return to* Arianiſm, *moved, at the Council at* Ariminum, *that all former Creeds might be aboliſhed, and the* Sirmian *Creed be eſtabliſhed for ever.* Doth this conſiſt with *the* Arian *Factions being totally ſuppreſt by the Council of* Nice, *and none ever appearing in behalf of the* Arian *Doctrine after*; *and the* Euſebians *never moving for reſtoring* Arianiſm, *but onely for a ſort of Comprehenſion and Toleration?* In another place he ſaith, (*d*) *the* Euſebians *endeavoured to ſupplant the* Nicene *Faith, though they durſt not diſown it.* And was *the* Arian *Faction then totally ſuppreſt while the* Euſebians *remained?* Theſe are the p. 484. p. 508. p. 510. (d) *R. & L. Part.* 2. *p.* 3.

p. 4. the Men whom he calls the *old* Euſebian *Knaves*; And for the *Acacians*, he ſaith, *when they had got the Maſtery*, *they put off all diſguiſe*, *and declared for* Arianiſm. Part. 1. p. 528. Is it poſſible for the ſame perſon to ſay, that *after the* Nicene *Council*, *they never appeared in behalf of the* Arian *Doctrine* in the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches; and yet, *When they put off their diſguiſe*, *they declared for Arianiſm?* What is this but appearing openly and plainly for the *Arian* Doctrine? And if we believe ſo good an Authour as himſelf, their Conteſt after the *Council* of *Nice* was ſo far from being merely about the word ὁμοούσιος, that he frequently ſaith, that Controverſie did take in the whole Merits of the Cauſe, as will appear from his own words in ſeveral places. As p. 358. when he ſpeaks of the *Council* of *Nice*, he ſaith, "The "whole Controverſie was reduced to the word *Conſubſtantial*; which the *Euſebians* at firſt refuſed to admit, as being no Scripture word, but without its "admiſſion, nothing elſe would ſatisfie the Council, "and good reaſon they had for it, becauſe to part "with that word after the Controverſie was once raiſed, would have been, to give up the Cauſe; for it "was unavoidable, that if the Son were not of the "ſame ſubſtance with the Father, he muſt have been "made out of the ſame common and created ſubſtance with all other Creatures; and therefore when "the Scriptures give him a greater Dignity of Nature "than to any created Being, they thereby make him "of the ſame uncreated Subſtance with the Father; "ſo that they plainly aſſert his *Conſubſtantiality*, though "they uſe not the word. But when the Truth it "ſelf was denied by the *Arian* Hereticks and the Son "of God thruſt down into the rank of created Beings, "and defined to be a Creature made of nothing, it "was time for the Church to ſtop this Hereſie, by "ſuch a Teſt as would admit of no Prevarication; "which was effectually done by this word; and, as "cunning and ſhuffling as the *Arians* were, they were "never able to ſwallow or chew it, and therefore it "was but a weak part of the *Euſebians* to ſhew ſo "much zeal againſt the word, when they profeſſed to "allow the thing; For if our Saviour were not a mere "Creature,

" Creature, he muſt be of the ſame uncreated ſub-
" ſtance with the Father, becauſe there is no middle
" between created and uncreated Subſtance; ſo that
" whoever denied the *Conſubſtantiality* could not avoid
" the Hereſie of *Paulus Samoſatenus*, which yet the *A-*
" *rians* themſelves profeſſed to defie; for if he were a
" mere Creature, it is no matter how ſoon, or how
" late he was created.

And therefore it is not to be imagined that the *Euſebians* ſhould really believe the *Conſubſtantiality* of the Son, and yet ſo vehemently oppoſe the *uſe* of the *word*. Would any Men of common ſenſe, who did believe the Bread and Wine in the *Euchariſt* to be turned into the very Body and Bloud of *Chriſt*, ſet themſelves with all their force and intereſt to overthrow the term of *Tranſubſtantiation*? So, if the *Euſebians* did believe the Son of the ſame *Subſtance* with the Father, to what purpoſe ſhould they caball ſo much as they did all the Reign of *Conſtantius*, to lay aſide the word ὁμοούσιος; If it be ſaid, *It was by way of Comprehenſion, to take in diſſenting Parties:* then it is plain they were really diſſenting Parties ſtill, and conſequently did not differ onely about the *Uſe* of a *word*; but about the *Subſtance* of the *Doctrine*. And as thoſe who do believe the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, are for the *Uſe* of the *word*; and thoſe who believe it not, would not have the *word* impoſed; ſo it was in all the Councils under *Conſtantius*, thoſe who chiefly oppoſed the word *Conſubſtantial*, did it, becauſe they liked not the *Doctrine*; and thoſe who contended for it, did it, becauſe they knew the Doctrine was aimed at under the Pretence of laying aſide *an unſcriptural word*. And the ſame Authour tells us from St. *Hilary*, " the Conſequence of ſhutting out p. 484
" the word ὁμοούσιος was, that it muſt be decreed ei-
" ther that the Son was a Creature made out of no-
" thing, or out of another ſubſtance uncreated and
" diſtinct from the Divine Nature. And when he gives an account of the Council of *Seleucia*, held at the ſame time with that of *Ariminum*, he ſaith, *They brake* p. 520.
into two Parties, of the Acacians, *who defied the Council of* Nice *and all its Decrees, and the old* Euſebians, *who pretended to ſtick onely at the word* Conſubſtantial: and

upon their Appeal to the Emperour, there are theſe two things remarkable. 1. That thoſe who were for
p. 522. *laying aſide all diſcriminating words* were *Arians* of the higheſt ſort, *viz.* Aëtians, *who held the Blaſphemy of Diſſimilitude.* 2. That thoſe who were for retaining the word *Subſtance* went on this Ground, *That if God the Son exiſt neither from nothing nor from any other ſubſtance, then he muſt be of the ſame ſubſtance with the Fa-*
p. 524. *ther. Which was the very Argument*, he ſaith, *approved by the Council of* Nice *for ſettling the word* ὁμοούσιος. This is a ſufficient Argument to me, that thoſe who from the Council of *Nice* did chiefly oppoſe that word, did it with a Deſign to overthrow the Doctrine of the Son's being of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father. Which will more fully appear by a brief deduction of the *Arian Hiſtory* from the Council of *Nice* to that of *Ariminum*; not from modern Collections, but from the beſt Writers about that time.

The *Arian Faction* finding themſelves ſo much overvoted in the Council of *Nice*, that they deſpaired to carry any thing there by fair means; betook themſelves to fraudulent Arts, hoping thereby to hinder either the paſſing or the executing any Decree againſt them. At firſt, they endeavoured to blind and deceive the Council by ſeeming to profeſs the Orthodox Faith, but they made uſe of ſuch ambiguous Forms of words as might ſerve their ends, by couching an Heretical Senſe under a fair appearance of joining in the ſame Faith with the reſt. (*e*) (*f*) This being diſcovered by the more ſagacious Defenders of the old Chriſtian Faith, they at length fixed upon the term ὁμοούσιος as the onely effectual Teſt to diſcriminate the *Arians* from others; and when they had uſed their utmoſt skill and endeavour to keep this Teſt from paſſing, and found they could not prevail, they bethought themſelves of another way to keep the *Faction* alive, although the *Hereſie* might ſeem at preſent to be totally ſuppreſt. And that was, by ſuffering *Arius* and his two faſt Friends, *Secundus* and *Theonas*, to be condemned by the Council, and to be baniſhed by the Emperour; but the chief Heads of the Faction, *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia* and *Theognis* of *Nice*, with others, reſolved

(e) Athanaſ. *de Synod. Arim. & Seleuc.* p. 921.
(f) Theod. *l.* 1. *c.* 8.

reſolved upon an *Expedient* to clear themſelves, and yet to keep up the Faction; which was, by ſubſcribing the Confeſſion of Faith, and denying to anathematize *Arius* and his Followers. This is plain from the Epiſtle of *Euſebius* and *Theognis*, extant in (*g*) *Socrates* and (*h*) *Sozomen*, wherein they own their *Subſcription to the Decree of Faith*, but declare, *That they utterly refuſed to ſubſcribe the Anathema againſt* Arius *and his Adherents; becauſe they did not believe them guilty of the Hereſie charged upon them; as they found both by Writing and Converſation with them.* This *Epiſtle* was written by them during their Baniſhment, in order to their return to their Biſhopricks, from which they had been driven by *Conſtantine*'s own Order; and the Reaſon of it is given is his *Epiſtle* to the Church of *Nicomedia*, viz. (*i*) *for communicating with the* Arians *whom he had cauſed to be removed from* Alexandria *for their Hereſie and Diſturbance of the Peace of the Church there*; and the ſame Account is given of it in the Synodical Epiſtle of the Biſhops of *Egypt* extant in (*k*) *Athanaſius*. Which ſhews their Reſolution to keep up the *Faction* in ſpite of the *Council* of *Nice*: For if they had any regard to the Decree there paſt, they would not have preſumed to have communicated with thoſe who were expreſly *anathematized* by the *Council*; and had very hardly eſcaped it themſelves, as *Conſtantine* there upbraids them in his *Epiſtle*. But, upon this notorious Contempt, they were depoſed from their Biſhopricks, and ſent into Baniſhment; where they grew very uneaſie, and reſolved upon any Terms to be reſtored; knowing that if they continued there, the *Faction* was indeed *in Danger to be wholly ſuppreſt*: and, for that end, they wrote that ſubmiſſive Letter to the leading Biſhops, promiſing an univerſal Compliance upon their Reſtauration. And the main ground they built their Hopes upon, was, *becauſe* Arius *himſelf upon his ſubmiſſion was recalled*; as they declare in the end of that Epiſtle.

(g) Socr. *l.* 1. *c.* 14.
(h) Soz. *l.* 2. *c.* 16.
(i) Theod. *l.* 1. *c.* 20.
(k) Athanaſ. *Apol. p.* 727.

Which Intrigue was carried on by (*l*) (*m*) a ſecret *Arian*, Chaplain to *Conſtantia*, the Emperour's Siſter, recommended to the Emperour at her Death; who, being received into Favour, whiſper'd into his Ear very kind things concerning *Arius and his Adherents*;

(l) Socr. *l.* 1. *c.* 25.
(m) Soz. *l.* 2. *c.* 27.

rents; adding, that they were unjuſtly baniſhed, and that the whole Controverſie was nothing but a *Pique* which the Biſhop of *Alexandria* had taken againſt one of his *Presbyters*, for having more Wit and Reputation than himſelf; and that it would become *Conſtantine*, in point of Honour and Juſtice, to recall *Arius*, and to have the whole matter examined over again. Upon this, *Arius* is ſent for, and bid by the Emperour to ſet down his Confeſſion of Faith plainly and honeſtly; which is extant in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, under the Name of *Arius* and *Euzoius*, and was framed in ſuch a ſpecious manner, as made the Emperour believe that *Arius* was indeed of the ſame Mind with the *Nicene Fathers*, onely leaving out the word *Conſubſtantial*. But he would not undertake to determine himſelf, whether he ſhould be received into Communion upon this; but he referr'd the whole matter to the Biſhops then met at *Jeruſalem*; who, ſaith *Sozomen*, *unanimouſly approved this Confeſſion of Faith, and wrote a Circular Letter upon it for receiving* Arius *and his Adherents into Communion*; notwithſtanding the peremptory Decree of the Council of *Nice* to the contrary. Which Epiſtle is extant in (*n*) *Athanaſius*, who looks on it as the firſt Blow given to the Authority of the *Council* of *Nice*; And he underſtands it of that *Arius*, who was Authour of the Hereſie, and not of the other *Arius*, as ſome modern Writers do.

(n) Athanaſ. *Apol. p.* 801. *& Synod. Arim. & Seleuc. p.* 899, 891.

And here, Athanaſius ſaith, *they began to open their Deſign in favour of the* Arian *Hereſie, which till then they had concealed.* For they knew that Work was not to be done at once; but this was a good ſtep towards the leſsning the Authority of the *Nicene Council*; which being once removed, the *Faction* did not queſtion they ſhould be able to ſet up *Arianiſm* ſpeedily. They were not ſo plain hearted to declare preſently for what they aimed at; nor to put it to the Vote, whether the *Nicene Faith* ſhould be deſtroyed or not. For that, having the great Advantage of ſo publick a Settlement, and ſuch a general Conſent of the Chriſtian World, it was not to be overthrown at once, nor by open violence, but to be taken in pieces by degrees; and the generality were to be cheated into *Arianiſm*, under other

other pretences and inſinuations. And the firſt thing was, to perſuade the World, that the *Arians* had been hitherto miſunderſtood, and their Doctrine miſrepreſented by ſuch factious and buſie Men as *Athanaſius*, and a few others, therefore it was abſolutely neceſſary to weaken the Authority of the Council, as being influenced by a ſmall number of Men who overſwayed the reſt; Neither was it ſafe to begin with the Matter of Faith, for that would give too great an Alarm; but it was a much more plauſible way to bring the *Arians* into Communion, as being much miſrepreſented and not owning the Doctrines which the *Athanaſian Party* did charge them with, and being once joined in Communion together, it would be fit to lay aſide all Terms of *Diſcrimination*, as tending to *Faction*; eſpecially ſuch as were lately ſet up, to put a diſtinction between the *Arians* and others. And when theſe things were done by other Councils, the Authority of the Council of *Nice* would fall to the Gound, and, as they ſuppoſed, the *Nicene Faith* together with it. But ſuch Deſigns could not be carried on ſo ſecretly and ſubtilly, but the wiſer ſort ſuſpected what was doing, as *Athanaſius* ſaith; and therefore they ſoon called another Council at *Antioch*, where they made vehement Proteſtations to the contrary. *We*, ſay they, *are no followers of* Arius; *for, being Biſhops, how can we follow a Presbyter?* As though the World could be deceived by ſuch pitifull Reaſonings. But after they declare, *That they embraced none but the ancient Faith*, but withall confeſs they had received *Arius to Communion*; and then make a Profeſſion of their Faith very agreeable to that of *Arius* and *Euzoius*, delivered to *Conſtantine*; wherein they aſſert *the Coeternity of the Son with the Father*, but leave out his being *of the ſame Subſtance*. But fearing this would not give ſatisfaction, they added another, wherein they owned (o) *the Son to be God of God, Lord of Lord, the unchangeable Image of his Deity, Subſtance, Will, Power and Glory:* but after, they expreſs themſelves more fully, when they ſay, *they believe three diſtinct hypoſtaſes and an unity of conſent*; which overthrows the *Nicene* Faith, it being built on the *unity* of *Subſtance* and not of *Will*. It cannot be denied, that the crude expreſſions

p. 891

(o) Ath. p. 892.

preſſions of *Arius* in the firſt Heat of the Controverſie were here rejected, viz. *that there was a time before the Son was, or that he was a Creature like other Creatures*; for they knew theſe expreſſions would not then be born; and therefore they were forced to refine *Arianiſm* to the utmoſt degree, to make it paſs down the better, till the prejudice againſt it by the Council of *Nice* were wholly removed. To which end they ſet forth ſeveral other Confeſſions of Faith to prevent the ſuſpicion of what they aimed at; but theſe were in the time of *Conſtantius*.

I return therefore to the Reign of *Conſtantine*, which excellent Prince (*p*) would ſuffer no alteration to be made in the *Nicene* Faith in his time; and therefore the *Secret Arians* were forced to great diſſimulation and hypocriſie, and to carry on their deſign under other pretences. So (*q*) *Theodoret* ſaith, *That* Euſebius *and his Party outwardly complied in the Council of* Nice *out of fear*; and he applies to them the ſaying of the Prophet, *This People honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.* And elſewhere he ſaith, (*r*) *The* Arians *in the Council ſubſcribed to the* Nicene *Faith, that being in Sheeps clothing, they might devour like ravening Wolves.* (*s*) *Sozomen* ſaith, *It was reported that* Euſebius *and* Theognis, *after their return from Baniſhment, corrupted the Perſon to whom the Subſcriptions of the Council of* Nice *were committed, and raſed out their own Names; and then openly declared againſt the Son's being of the ſame Subſtance with the Father: and that even to* Conſtantine *himſelf.* But that doth not ſeem credible to me. It being much more *probable*, which (*t*) *Socrates* relates, viz. *That* Euſebius *and* Theognis *having recover'd the poſſeſſion of their Churches upon their return from Baniſhment had frequent acceſs to the Emperour, who honoured them as his Converts*; and under that Pretext of embracing the *Nicene* Faith, did more miſchief than otherwiſe they could have done: and ſo made a very great Diſturbance in the Church: which he imputes partly *to their love* of *Arianiſm*, and partly to their *hatred* of *Athanaſius:* but the latter, as *Athanaſius* at large proves, was on the account of the former.

(p) Soz. *l.* 3. *c.* 1.

(q) Theod. *l.* 1. *c.* 5, 7.

(r) *l.* 1. *c.* 19.

(s) Soz. *l.* 2. *c.* 21.

(t) Socr. *l.* 1. *c.* 23.

For,

For, it being their Deſign to introduce *Arianiſm*, without owning it, next to their leſsning the Authority of the Council of *Nice*, the moſt effectual means they could think of was, by all poſſible Arts, to blacken and render odious, thoſe Perſons who moſt vigorouſly defended the *Nicene* Faith. And from hence began the great quarrel againſt *Euſtathius*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, and *Athanaſius*. As to the former, he gives an Account in the *Fragment* of a *Homily* extant in (*u*) *Theodoret*, "what ſhuffling the *Arians* uſed in the Council "of *Nice* to preſerve their Biſhopricks; and, for that "Reaſon, ſubſcribed to the Decree of Faith; and ſo, "having eſcaped the Cenſures they deſerved, they did "ſometimes ſecretly, ſometimes openly, propagate "the Opinions there condemned. One of their great "Arts, he ſaith, was to decline ſuch as well under-"ſtood the Controverſie, and made it their buſineſs "to oppoſe them. And ſo *Euſtathius* himſelf found to his ſorrow. For, *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia* and his Party, meeting together at *Antioch*, whom (*w*) *Theodoret* expreſly calls *the* Arian *Faction*, they there proceeded to the depoſing *Euſtathius*, upon the Accuſation of an infamous Perſon ſuborned to that purpoſe, and afterwards prevailed with *Conſtantine* to baniſh him; which being done, *Theodoret* ſaith, *There was a Succeſſion of Biſhops, who were ſecret* Arians, *as of* Eulalius, Euphronius *and* Flaccillus; *and that was the Reaſon the Orthodox Party then ſeparated themſelves, and were called* Euſtathians. (*x*) *Socrates* and (*y*) *Sozomen* confeſs, *that the quarrel about* Arianiſm *was renew'd ſoon after the Council of* Nice *both in* Egypt *and in* Bithynia, Helleſpont *and* Conſtantinople. But *Socrates* ſaith, *It was begun about the word* ὁμοούσιος, which was indeed the Pretext of the Quarrel, but the true Ground was *Arianiſm*. *Socrates*, being a Man not throughly verſed in theſe Matters, blames both ſides, *for contending about they knew not what; both agreeing in the ſame Doctrine, and yet not agreeing among themſelves.* But he did not penetrate into the depth of the *Arians* Deſigns, as *Theodoret*, a Man of far greater Judgment and Learning did. And he proves from *Euſtathius*, an eminent Biſhop of that time, and one preſent in the Council of *Nice*,

(u) Theod. *l.* 1. *c.* 8.

(w) Theod. *l.* 1. *c.* 21.

c. 22.

(x) Socr. *l.* 1. *c.* 23.

(y) Soz. *l.* 2. 21.

Nice, that *Arianiſm lay at the bottom*; and that they complied at firſt onely out of Fear, but had the ſame hatred to the true Faith they ever had; but after the Council they durſt not ſo openly ſhew it. (z) *Sozomen* ſaith, *the* Arian *Party charged thoſe who aſſerted* Chriſt *of the ſame Subſtance with the Father* (as the Council of *Nice* had determined) with *Sabellianiſm* and *Blaſphemy*; and *the followers of the* Nicene *Faith charged the others with Idolatry and Innovation*; *as aſſerting three diſtinct Gods as to Subſtance, when the Council had declared the Son of the ſame Subſtance with the Father.* And he ingenuouſly confeſſeth, that it was generally believed that *Euſtathius* was depoſed at *Antioch* for adhering to the *Nicene* Faith; and declaring himſelf againſt the *Arian* Party then prevailing in the Eaſt.

(z) Soz. *l.* 2. *c.* 18.

c. 19.

Who finding ſuch ſucceſs in their firſt attempt on *Euſtathius*, they next proceed againſt *Athanaſius*, the other great Champion of the Council of *Nice*. They (*a*) had conceived an inveterate hatred againſt him for his great zeal and activity in that Council, but their rage brake forth, after they heard that he ſucceeded *Alexander* in the See of *Alexandria*. *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia* was his mortal Enemy, who was removed to be near the Court, (though againſt the Canons;) yet he brake through all, thereby to have opportunity to fill the Emperour's Mind with Jealouſies and Suſpicions of all thoſe that oppoſed them, and eſpecially of *Athanaſius*. And (*b*) *Socrates* gives the true Reaſon of the great Spite againſt *Athanaſius*, viz. *that unleſs he were removed, there was no hopes of the* Arian *Doctrine prevailing*: which he there confeſſes was the thing the *Euſebians* aimed at. And now they thought ſuch a Snare was laid for *Athanaſius*, which it was hardly poſſible for him to eſcape. For, upon *Arius* his Submiſſion, they adviſe *Conſtantine* to ſend him to *Alexandria*, there to be received by *Athanaſius*, as the onely way to put an end to all the Diſturbances of the Church. Away goes *Arius* with the Emperour's Command to *Athanaſius*: Who, according to their imagination, (*c*) refuſing to admit him, being anathematized by the Council, as the (*d*) firſt Broacher of a dangerous Hereſie, they eaſi-

(a) Athan. *Apol.* 2. *p.* 725, 726.

(b) Socr. *l.* 1. *c.* 27.

(c) Soz. *l.* 2. *c.* 18. *c.* 22.

(d) Athanaſ. *Apol. p.* 778.

ly

ly exaſperated the good Emperour againſt him, as a ſeditious and turbulent Perſon; and ſo plied him with one Accuſation upon another, that at laſt *Conſtantine* ſent for him to appear before him upon an Information againſt him of no leſs than Treaſonable Practices. But upon a full hearing of the Matter by the Emperour himſelf, (*e*) he was acquitted, and ſent back with Marks of his Favour and Vindication of his Innocency; in an Epiſtle to the People of *Alexandria*, part of which is extant in (*f*) *Sozomen* and (*g*) *Theodoret*, but at large in (*h*) *Athanaſius*. One would think this ſhould have diſcouraged his Enemies from any farther Proſecution of him; but theſe *Euſebians* were Men of reſtleſs, ambitious, implacable Spirits, that ſcrupled no means to compaſs their ends, which they thought they could never doe, unleſs they could blaſt the Reputation of *Athanaſius*. To this end, they laid a moſt malitious deſign againſt him. Firſt, (*i*) they draw in the (*k*) *Meletian Party* in *Egypt* to join with them; who hoped to get their ends one upon the other afterwards; but at preſent they were willing to join together againſt their common Enemy; for ſo *Athanaſius* was accounted by them. And (*l*) *Euſebius* promiſed the *Meletians* great favour at Court, if they would manage the buſineſs againſt *Athanaſius*: which they undertook; and by their means ſo many Complaints were brought againſt *Athanaſius* to the Emperour, that he was forced for the general Satisfaction, to appoint a Council at *Tyre*, which was according to the *Euſebians* deſire; where things were managed with ſo little regard to Juſtice or common Honeſty, that, after he had plainly cleared himſelf as to the main Accuſations, he yet found they were reſolved to condemn him; and therefore he privately withdrew from thence to the Imperial Court, to acquaint the Emperour with the horrible Partiality there uſed. Upon (*m*) this he writes a very ſmart Letter to them, and requires them to come ſpeedily to him, (*n*) to give him an account of their violent Proceedings. They ſend a ſelect Number of their Party to Court with *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia* in the Head of them, who there quit all the Accuſations brought againſt *Athanaſius* at *Tyre*, and ſtart a new

(e) Socr. *l.* 1. *c.* 27.
(f) Soz. *l.* 2. *c.* 22.
(g) Theod. *l.* 1. *c.* 27.
(h) Athanaſ. *Apol. p.* 779.
(i) Soz. *l.* 2. *c.* 24.
(k) Athanaſ. *Apol. p.* 777.
(l) Socr. *l.* 1. *c.* 23. *c.* 24.
(m) Socr. *l.* 1. *c.* 11.
(n) Athan. *Apol.* 803.

one which touched the Emperour in a very tender part, viz. *That he had threatned to hinder the bringing Corn from* Egypt *to* Conſtantinople; which was in effect to threaten the ſtarving his beloved City; which nettled the Emperour ſo much, that it tranſported him beyond his uſual Temper, and immediately he gave order for baniſhing *Athanaſius* into *Gaul*. Not long after *Conſtantine* died, *but before his death*, ſaith (o) *Theodoret*, *he gave order for the recalling* Athanaſius, *to the great regret of* Euſebius *of* Nicomedia *then preſent*.

(o) Theod. l. 1. c. 32.

Let any one now judge, whether *in* Conſtantine's *time the* Arian *Faction were wholly ſuppreſt*; *and whether* Euſebius *and his Party were men that onely pretended to Prudence and Moderation*; Who made uſe of the moſt malitious, unjuſt, abominable means, to ſuppreſs the chiefeſt Oppoſers of the *Arian* Faction? What will not ſuch men ſay to ſerve a turn, who dare to tell the World, *That the* Euſebians *were no leſs Enemies to the* Arians *than to the orthodox*, *and that it is a great and common Miſtake*, *that* Euſebius *was the ringleader of the* Arian *Faction*? If it be a Miſtake, others have it from *Athanaſius*, and it is hard to believe that man ever read (p) *Athanaſius* his Writings, who dare ſay the contrary. All the Biſhops of *Egypt* in their Synodical Epiſtle from *Alexandria* charge the (q) *Euſebians* with *a reſtleſs deſire to promote* Arianiſm; and affirm, *that their malitious proſecution of* Athanaſius *was for no other end*; that *their Councils were called with a Deſign to overthrow that of* Nice, *that they had written againſt them as* Arians; that *the* Euſebians *joined with the* Meletians *onely for the ſake of* Arianiſm; that *the Perſons ſent by the Council of* Tyre *into* Egypt *were* Arians, *and therefore declared Enemies*; *and whatever their pretences were*, *nothing but the advancing* Arianiſm *lay at the bottom*. Were ſo many Biſhops guilty of ſo groſs a Miſtake, who had certainly greater opportunity of knowing, and skill in judging the Men and their Deſigns than the moſt quickſighted Perſon of our Age can have? It would be endleſs to recite all the paſſages in *Athanaſius* his Apology, and Epiſtles, and Diſcourſes of the Councils of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*, to prove that the *Euſebians* carried on the *Arian* Deſign, ſince a great part

(p) Athan. Apol. 2. p. 777.

(q) Athanaſ. Apol. 2. p. 727, 728.

p. 731.

p. 733.

p. 736.

part of them is ſpent in the proof of it. But we are told, with confidence enough, *that the Synod of* Alexandria, *in their Synodical Epiſtle, do not in the leaſt accuſe the* Euſebians *of* Arianiſm, *but onely of holding Communion with them, i. e.* with the *Arians.* This cannot but ſeem ſtrange to any one that will be at the pains to peruſe that excellent Epiſtle. And even in that page, it is expreſly ſaid, (r) *their violent and malitious proceedings againſt* Athanaſius *were on purpoſe to diſcourage others from daring to oppoſe* Arianiſm; *and this with a particular deſign to introduce that Hereſie.* Could any Man be thought to take ſo much pains to ſet up a Doctrine they had no kindneſs to? *i. e.* Would any but *ſecret Arians* endeavour to ſet up *Arianiſm?* unleſs we ſuppoſe them ſuch Tools to be made uſe of by others to doe their buſineſs, and then to be laid aſide. But the *Euſebians* were no ſuch mean *Politicians*; for they were at the top of buſineſs, having all the advantages and opportunities to carry on their own ends; and therefore we have all the Reaſon in the World to conclude them *ſecret Arians*, who were at ſo much trouble to leſſen the Credit of the *Oppoſers* of *Arianiſm:* Which they lookt on as one of the moſt effectual means to introduce it. And although they did not openly declare themſelves *in behalf of the* Arian *Doctrine, after the Council of* Nice; which had been to hinder their own Deſign, in the time of *Conſtantine*; yet they made uſe of all the Methods which bad Men do to carry on their ends; *viz.* by falſe Inſinuations, lying pretences, and all manner of malitious proceedings againſt thoſe who ſtood in their Way; as is moſt notorious in the caſe of *Athanaſius.*

(r) Athan. *Apol.* 2. *p.* 738.

After the Death of *Conſtantine* we are told, *that all the Councils under* Conſtantius *that are commonly accounted* Arian, *have as fully and clearly condemned* Arianiſm, *as the* Nicene *Council it ſelf*; *It is true, they could not digeſt the Word* ὁμοούσιος; *but otherwiſe, as for the whole Scheme of* Arianiſm, *they have in all their Creeds anathematized it with all clearneſs and fulneſs of Expreſſion.* This is ſomewhat ſtrange Doctrine for one who pretends to have read *Athanaſius*, who hath taken ſo much pains to lay open the juggling of the *Arian Faction* in

all thoſe Councils; and, one would think, by this manner of Writing, ſuch a Man took a particular pleaſure in contradicting him. For in his (s) Book of the Councils of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*, he ſaith, *none of the Councils under* Conſtantius *could be brought to anathematize the* Arian *Hereſie, as the Council of* Nice *did.* He ſaith, *that* Conſtantius *himſelf was an* Arian *Heretick, and that his chief Deſign in all thoſe Councils was, to take away the force of the Council of* Nice. He ſaith indeed, *they were not ſuch Fools to own this, but this was the true Reaſon of all the Councils they called and the diſturbance they made, to the great Scandal of the Chriſtian World.* Nay, he ſaith, *that in all their Councils they never once mention'd the* Arian *Hereſie as an evil thing: and if any Hereſies were mention'd, the* Arian *was excepted, which the* Nicene *Council anathematized; and they received with great kindneſs ſuch as were known to be* Arians; *which is an Argument that the calling theſe Councils was not for eſtabliſhing the Truth, but for overthrowing the Council of* Nice. And to ſhew what *Conſtantius* his own Mind was, he obſerves, *that when he came to die he would be baptized by none but* Euzoius, *who had been ſeveral times depoſed for* Arianiſm; *and he there affirms, that* Conſtantius *continued an* Arian *to the laſt.* As to the word ὁμοούσιος about which ſo much ſtir was made, he takes notice, *that all the offence that was taken at it, was by the* Arians; *and the true Cauſe was, becauſe it ſtruck at the root of their Hereſie.* And, as to the word *Subſtance, he wonder'd they ſhould ſo vehemently oppoſe it, when themſelves confeſſed, the Son was from the Father; for either he muſt be from ſomething without him, or ſomething within him diſtinct from his Subſtance, or he muſt be of the Subſtance of the Father; or they muſt make the Word and the Son to be no real Subſtance, but mere Names; and ſo they did not really believe what they expreſſed.* And he farther ſhews, *that no other way of ſpeaking doth ſufficiently expreſs the Difference between the Son of God and his Creatures; which are onely the effects of God's Will.* From whence he concludes, *that the oppoſition to theſe Terms,* whatever was pretended, *was from a diſlike of the Doctrine eſtabliſhed in the Council of* Nice. *For if it had been a mere doubt about the ſignification of the words, they*

(s) Athanaſ. *de Synod. Arim. & Seleuc.* p. 873.
p. 870.
p. 889.
p. 874.
p. 870.
p. 874.
p. 907.
p. 909.
p. 910.
p. 914.

they ought to have explained their own ſenſe, and withall to have condemned the Arian *Hereſie.* p. 915.

It cannot be denied that there were ſome who agreed in the Subſtance of the Doctrine with the Council of *Nice*, but yet diſliked the term ὁμοούσιος; as to theſe *Athanaſius* confeſſes them to be *Brethren*; as long as *they acknowledged the Son not to be a Creature, nor to be from another Subſtance diſtinct from the Father.* And among theſe he reckons *Baſilius* of *Ancyra*; whoſe Doctrine he doth not ſeem to diſlike, provided that to the *ſimilitude of Subſtance in the Son* they add *his being of the Subſtance of the Father.* And in this ſenſe the τὸ ὁμοιούσιον comes to the ſame with the τὸ ὁμοούσιον. There were two great Arguments, theſe uſed againſt the term ὁμοούσιος; The firſt was, *that it implied a Partition or Diviſion of the Divine Subſtance, as a Son among Men is ſaid to be of the ſame Subſtance with his Father, but ſo, as that there is a Diviſion of the ſame common Nature in the ſeveral individuals.* To this *Athanaſius* anſwers, "That the Divine Generation muſt not be apprehended like the humane; but our Conceptions of "God muſt be agreeable to the Divine Nature; and "therefore we muſt not imagine the Son of God to "be of the Subſtance with the Father, after the ſame "manner that the Son of Man is. For, as he is the "Son, ſo he is the Word and Wiſedom of the Father: "and the internal Word or Conception in Man is no "diviſible part of himſelf; but leſt the Notion of *Word* "ſhould ſeem to deſtroy his real Subſiſtence, therefore "the Notion of *Son* is added in Scripture to that of "*Word*; that we may know him to be a *living Word* "and *ſubſtantial Wiſedom.* So that when we ſay, the "Son is conſubſtantial to the Father, we underſtand "it not by way of Diviſion, as among Bodies, but "abſtracting our Minds from all corporeal things, "we attribute this to the Son of God, in a way agreeing to the Divine Nature, and mean by it, that he is "not produced by his *Will* as the Creatures are, nor "merely his Son by *Adoption*; but that he is the *true* "*Eternal Son of God*; by ſuch an emanation as Splendour from Light, or Water from the Fountain. And "therefore when they interpreted the term *Son* in a way ibid. p. 916.

"way agreeable to the Divine Nature, he wonders "they ſhould ſtick ſo much at the word *Conſubſtantial*, "which was capable of the ſame Interpretation. The ſecond Objection was, *That thoſe who condemned the* Samoſatenian *Hereſie, rejected the word* ὁμοούσιος. In an-
p. 918. ſwer to this, *Athanaſius* ſhews, "that the word was "ſo much uſed and allowed in the Chriſtian Church "before the *Samoſatenian* Hereſie was heard of, that "when *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* was accuſed to *Diony-* "*ſius* of *Rome*, for rejecting it; the Council there- "upon was ſo much concerned, that the Biſhop of "*Rome* wrote their ſenſe to the Biſhop of *Alexandria* "about it, he returns an Anſwer, wherein he owns all "the ſenſe contained under it, as appears by his Epi- "ſtle in *Athanaſius*; but for thoſe who oppoſed *Paulus* "*Samoſatenus*, he ſaith, they took the Word in a cor- "poreal ſenſe, as if it implied a diſtinct Subſtance "from the Father; But, ſaith he, thoſe who condem- "ned the *Arians* ſaw farther into this matter; conſide- "ring that it ought not to be applied to the Divine "Nature as it is to corporeal Subſtances; and the Son "of God not being a Creature, but begotten of the "Subſtance of the Father; therefore with great Reaſon "they uſed the word ὁμοούσιος, as being moſt proper to "expreſs the Senſe of the Chriſtian Church againſt the
p. 920, 921. "*Arian* Hereſie; as he ſhews there at large.

From theſe paſſages of *Athanaſius* it appears that there was a *third Party* then in the Church diſtinct from the *Niceniſts* and the *Euſebians*. The former would by no means yield to any relaxation of the Council of *Nice*; becauſe they evidently ſaw that this Deſign was carried on by thoſe who made it their buſineſs under that pretence to introduce *Arianiſm*, who were the *Euſebians*. But there were others extremely concer- ned for the Peace of the Church, and on that account were willing to let go the term ὁμοούσιος, hoping the Doctrine might be ſecured by other expreſſions; and this facility of theirs gave the greateſt advantage to the *Euſebian Party* in all their Councils, who continually almoſt overreached and outwitted them, under the pretence of *Accommodation*. For by this Artifice they gained their Votes, and when they had them, made

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uſe of them merely to ſerve their own Deſigns; as appears by the Account the Hiſtorians give of the management of the *Arian* Affairs under the Reign of *Conſtantius.*

(*t*) *Socrates* ſaith, *that immediately after the death of* Conſtantine, Euſebius *and* Theognis, *the Heads of the* Arian *Faction, apprehended it now to be a convenient ſeaſon for them to throw down the* Nicene *Faith, and to ſet up* Arianiſm; *and to this purpoſe they endeavoured to hinder* Athanaſius *from returning to* Alexandria. *But firſt they gained the Eunuchs and Court-favorites, then the Wife of* Conſtantius *himſelf, to embrace* Arianiſm: and ſo the Controverſie of a ſudden ſpread into the Court, Camp, Cities and all Places of the Eaſt; (for the Weſtern Churches continued quiet during the Reign of *Conſtans*, to whoſe ſhare all the Weſtern Provinces in a ſhort time fell.) After the Death of *Alexander*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, the two Parties openly divided in the Choice of a Succeſſour; the one chuſing *Paulus*, and the *Arians*, *Macedonius*; this nettled *Conſtantius*, who coming to *Conſtantinople* calls a Council of *Arian* Biſhops, who depoſe *Paulus*, and ſet up *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*; who preſently falls to work, going with the Emperour to *Antioch*, where, under the pretence of a *Dedication*, as is obſerved in the precedent Chapter, a Council of ninety Biſhops was aſſembled; *but the Deſign was*, ſaith *Socrates*; *to overthrow the* Nicene *Faith.* Here they made ſome Canons to enſnare *Athanaſius* (of which before.) As to the matter of Faith, they durſt not openly propoſe the nulling the Council of *Nice*; but they gained this great Point, That the Matters of Faith might be diſcuſſed after it, and ſo they ſet open the Gate for New Councils which by degrees might eſtabliſh the *Arian* Hereſie.

(t) Soer. *l.* 2. *c.* 2.

l. 2. *c.* 26.

c. 6.

c. 8.

(*u*) *Sozomen* ſaith, *that after the death of* Conſtantine *the ſecret* Arians *began to ſhew themſelves more openly; among whom* Euſebius *and* Theognis *eſpecially beſtirr'd themſelves to advance* Arianiſm. He agrees with *Socrates* as to the ſpreading of it in the Court and elſewhere; and in the other particulars, to the Council at *Antioch*; but he ſaith, *they framed their Confeſſion of Faith in ſuch ambiguous terms, that neither Party could*

(u) Soz. *l.* 3. *c.* 1.

c. 5.

could quarrel with the Words. But they left out any mention of the *Subſtance of Father and Son*, and the word *Conſubſtantial*; and ſo in effect overthrew the Council of *Nice.*

This is that *Confeſſion* of *Faith*, which the Council in *Iſauria* called (w) *the Authentick one made at* Antioch *in the Dedication.* But it was not ſo *Authentick* but they thought good to alter it; and ſome months after ſent another to *Conſtans* to explain themſelves more fully; whereby they reject thoſe who ſaid, *the Son was made of Nothing or of another Hypoſtaſis, and not from God.* Who could imagine theſe to have been any other than very ſound and orthodox Men? Eſpecially when three years after, they ſent a larger Confeſſion of Faith into the Weſtern Parts for their own Vindication, wherein *they anathematize thoſe who held three Gods*, or *that* Chriſt *was not God*, or *that he was begotten of any other Subſtance beſides God*, &c. But that there was *juggling* under all this appears, becauſe, as *Athanaſius* obſerves, they were ſtill altering their *Forms*; for this again was changed ſeveral times at *Sirmium*, before they reſolved upon that which was to be carried to the Council of *Ariminum.* And although the difference in the matters of Faith as deliyered by them ſeem'd now very nice and ſubtile, yet they were irreconcilably ſet againſt the Council of *Nice* and all that adhered to it. Which was a plain Evidence that they concealed their ſenſe under *ambiguous words*, or that they ſaw it neceſſary at preſent to ſeem orthodox, that ſo they might the better ſet aſide the Council of *Nice*; which being once effected, it would be an eaſie matter to ſet up *Arianiſm*, which was the thing they deſigned.

(w) Athanaſ. de Synod. p. 904.

p. 895.

This Intrigue was not diſcovered fully till after the Council of *Ariminum*, but was certainly carried on all along by the *Euſebian Party*, who without theſe Artifices could never have deceived the Eaſtern Biſhops, who joined with them till they more openly declared themſelves in the Council of *Seleucia*; and then the difference was not between the *Acacians* and *Euſebians*, as ſome have weakly conjectured, but between the *old Euſebians*, who now appear'd to be *Arians* under the Name of *Acacius*, and the Followers of *Baſilius* of *Ancyra*,

cyra, who ſtuck chiefly at the word ὁμοούσιος; of whom *Athanaſius* ſpeaks before. Now to draw in theſe Men, and to hold them faſt, who had great ſway in the Eaſtern Churches, the *Euſebians* were forced to comply in *words* with them, and in all probability to ſuffer them to draw up theſe *Creeds*, provided onely that they left out the *Nicene Decree* and *Anathema's*, which would doe their buſineſs at laſt. So that the *Euſebians* were forced to the utmoſt Diſſimulation and Hypocriſie, to be able to carry on the *Arian* Deſign in the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches. But whatever their Words and Pretences were, their Actions ſufficiently manifeſted their Intentions. For they ſet themſelves with the utmoſt violence againſt all who conſtantly adhered to the Council of *Nice*, and openly favoured and preferr'd all the declared or ſecret Friends to *Arianiſm*. They cauſed *Athanaſius* to be baniſhed a ſecond time from *Alexandria*, and appointed *Gregory* in his Place, *who continued there*, ſaith (x) *Theodoret*, *with great Cruelty for ſix years, and then was murthered himſelf by the* Alexandrians; but that ſeems to have been a miſtake for *George* of *Cappadocia*, who ſucceeded him. For (y) *Athanaſius* ſaith, *he died a natural death*; but he at large deſcribes the *horrible Perſecution* both of the *Clergy* and *Laity* then in *Egypt*, who would not comply with the *Arians*; for his buſineſs was to ſet up *Arianiſm*, as *Athanaſius* ſaith. After his Death, *Conſtantius* finding ſo little ſucceſs in thoſe violent courſes, ſends for *Athanaſius* with great earneſtneſs to come to him; and gives him free Liberty to return to *Alexandria*; and ſolemnly ſwears to him, *he would never more receive any Calumnies againſt him*; and writes ſeveral Letters on his behalf: and one very kind one to himſelf after the death of his Brother *Conſtans*, who was a true Friend to *Athanaſius*; and then his greateſt Enemies courted him, and begg'd his Pardon for what they had done; being forced to it by the violence of the Torrent againſt him: and even *Urſacius* and *Valens*, two warm Men of the *Euſebian Party*, publickly recanted what they had done againſt him, without his ſeeking, and then *anathematized the* Arian *Hereſie*. But this was done while *Conſtans* was alive,

(x) Theod. *l.* 2. *c.* 4.

(y) Athan. *ad ſolit. vit. agent.* p. 823.

p. 816.

p. 817.

p. 823.

p. 825.

p. 826.

and ſo great a Number appeared in the Weſtern Churches on his ſide; but *Conſtans* being dead, the *Euſebian Party* perſuade *Conſtantius*, to take heart once more and to try what he could doe to reſtore *Arianiſm*;
p. 828. then *Valens* and *Urſacius* recant their recantation, and lay it all on the *Fear* of *Conſtans*; and now to ſhew the
p. 829. Emperour's zeal for *Arianiſm*, the publick allowance is taken from *Athanaſius* and his Party, and given to the
ibid. *Arians*; and the Magiſtrates threatned, if they did not communicate with them; and not onely the People baniſhed that refuſed, but the Biſhops were ſummoned to appear in the *Courts* and were there told, *they muſt immediately ſubſcribe or loſe their Places.* But all this while *Toleration* was granted to all but to the followers of the Council of *Nice*. And thus all Places were fill'd with Tumult and Diſorder, and the People forced their Biſhops to the Tribunals for fear of being puniſhed themſelves. And the Reaſon of this Violence was, becauſe the *Arian* Hereſie was ſo much hated by the People, and they hoped by this means to bring
p. 830. them to own it. *Heraclius*, the Emperour's Lieutenant, declared in his Name, *that* Athanaſius *was*
p. 846. *to be caſt out, and the Churches given to the* Arians; and required the People to receive ſuch a Biſhop as he ſhould ſend, *viz. George* of *Cappadocia*, a violent *Arian*. But the tragical Account of all the Perſecutions, which the orthodox Chriſtians then underwent in *Egypt*, from theſe *Men of Prudence and Moderation* is at large ſet down by *Athanaſius* himſelf; and in the concurrent Teſtimony of the *People* of *Alexandria*; ſo that nothing ſeems to have been more violent and cruel in the Heathen Perſecutions than was acted then under *Syrianus* and *Heraclius* in *Egypt*. And that it was wholly for the ſake of *Arianiſm*, *Athanaſius* evidently proves by this Argument, *That if a Man were guilty of never ſo great Crimes, if he profeſſed himſelf an* Arian, *he eſcaped; but if he were an Oppoſer of* Arianiſm *the greateſt Innocency could not*
p. 810, 811. *protect him.*

But this was not the Caſe of *Egypt* alone, but in other Places, *The beſt Qualification for a Biſhop was to*
p. 812. *ſtand well inclined to* Arianiſm; as *Athanaſius* affirms.

But

But otherwiſe, though the Perſons were never ſo well deſerving; one fault or other was found with them to caſt them out: So, ſaith he, it was with *Euſtathius, Biſhop of* Antioch; *a Man famous for his Piety and Zeal, yet becauſe he appeared againſt* Arianiſm, *feigned Accuſations are brought againſt him, and he is ejected with his Clergy, and none but favourers of* Arianiſm *placed in their room*; and the like Examples he brings at *Laodicea, Tripolis, Germaniſia, Sebaſtea, Hadrianople* and many other places; inſomuch that a conſiderable Biſhop ſcarce any where appear'd againſt *Arianiſm*, but they found ſome pretence or other to put him out, and where they could alledge no other Cauſe, they ſaid, *It was the Pleaſure of* Conſtantius. But their dealing with *Paulus*, the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, was very remarkable. He being choſen by the *Anti-Arian Party*, and ſtanding in the Way of *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, whoſe heart was ſet upon that Biſhoprick, being ſo near the Imperial Court, he firſt procured *Paulus* his Baniſhment to *Pontus*, then he was ſent in Chains to *Singara* of *Meſopotamia*, thence to *Emeſa*, thence to *Pontus*, thence to *Cucuſus*, where he was at length ſtrangled by the *Euſebian Party*, as *Athanaſius* ſaith, he had it from the Perſons there preſent. But although *Macedonius* who ſucceeded at *Conſtantinople* were of a temper violent enough, as (z) *Sozomen* ſhews, yet (a) *Theodoret* obſerves, *that even he was expelled* Conſtantinople, *becauſe he would not hold the Son of God to be a Creature*; For, although he denied *Chriſt to be Conſubſtantial with the Father*; yet he aſſerted him to be *like the Father in all things*, and *made the* Holy Ghoſt *to be a Creature*; by which he ſeem'd to deny the *Son* to be ſo, and therefore could not keep the Favour of the *Arian* Party, which then governed all in the Eaſtern Churches; but yet in ſuch a manner, as by no means, yet to declare for *Arianiſm*. And therefore *Theodoret* takes notice, that after the death of *Leontius*, *Eudoxius* was the firſt who pulled off his Vizard, and declared openly for *Arianiſm*; but *Leontius* his way was, to promote onely thoſe in the Church, he was before hand ſure of, and to ſuffer no other to come into Orders, by which means, ſaith he, *moſt of the Clergy were* Arians, *and*

p. 813.

(z) Soz. *l.* 4. *c.* 2.
(a) Theod. *l.* 2. *c.* 6.

c. 23.

the People ſtill continued ſound in the Nicene *Faith*, till *Eudoxius* his Perſecution began.

This was the miſerable Condition of the Eaſtern Churches under the *Prudence* and *Moderation* of the *Euſebian Party*; but the Weſtern Churches continued quiet and very little diſturbed with the *Arian* Hereſie while *Conſtans* lived; who was ready, not onely to maintain the true Faith in his own Dominions, but to give his Aſſiſtence for the Relief of thoſe who ſuffer'd in the Eaſtern Parts. Which was the Reaſon of the calling of the Council of *Sardica* by conſent of both Emperours, although that happen'd onely to widen and inlarge the Breach. However the *Sardican* Council had ſuch effect in the Weſtern Parts, as to the buſineſs of *Athanaſius*, that as (*b*) *Athanaſius* tells *Conſtantius*, *Valens* and *Urſacius*, two very buſie Factours in the *Arian Cauſe*, *freely own the malitious Intrigue that was carried on in the proſecution of him.* The firſt Council of *Milan* is ſuppoſed by (*c*) *Petavius*, to be called the ſame year that of *Sardica* ended. But (*d*) *Sirmondus* thinks it very improbable there ſhould be two Councils in one year; and therefore he believes it rather to have been the year before: which is the more probable Opinion. This Council of *Milan* was aſſembled on the occaſion of ſeveral Biſhops there meeting to wait on the Emperour *Conſtans* in order to a *General Council*, to put things in order in the Chriſtian Church, which the *Arian Faction* had ſo much diſturbed. While they were there the four Eaſtern Biſhops arrived, with the long Confeſſion made at *Antioch*, and deſire the Weſtern Biſhops concurrence with them in it. Theſe expreſs their diſlike of any New Confeſſion of Faith, eſpecially after the *Nicene*; but, ſince they were ſo free of their *Anathema*'s at the end of their Confeſſion, they deſired them to make ſhort Work of it, *to anathematize the* Arian *Hereſie*; which they utterly refuſed to doe, and ſo diſcover'd the Juggle of that ſeeming orthodox Confeſſion. This appears by *Liberius* his Epiſtle in the *Collection* of *Church Records* in (*e*) *Hilary*'s *Fragments*; in which he tells *Conſtantius*, *that theſe four Biſhops were ſo far from anathematizing the* Arian *Hereſie then in order to Peace*, *that upon being preſſed*

(b) Athanaſ. *p.* 826, 839.

(c) Petav. *de* Photin. *Damn. c.* 1.

(d) Sirmond. *Diatr. de anno Syrm. Synodi.*

(e) Hilar. *Frag. op. p.* 414.

ſed to doe it, they roſe up in a Rage and left the Council. From hence the Weſtern Biſhops ſmelt their Deſign, however cover'd over with fair Pretences of Peace and Reconciliation. Which they farther diſcover'd by their own *Legates*, whom they ſent into the Eaſt, who made this Offer to the Biſhops there, that they would accept of their own Terms of Accommodation, provided, *they would but condemn the* Arian *Hereſie, which upon conſultation they refuſed to doe.* Upon theſe plain Diſcoveries, the Weſtern Biſhops could eaſily ſee through all their Propoſals for Peace; being onely made with a Deſign to make them betray the Faith. So that as long as *Conſtans* lived the *Arian Faction* could make little or no impreſſion on the Weſtern Churches; but he being ſoon after taken off by the Treachery of *Magnentius*, Captain of his Guards; and the whole Empire falling to *Conſtantius* upon his Victory over *Magnentius*, a ſudden alteration here happen'd about theſe Matters. *Valens* and *Urſacius* who had ſo ſolemnly retracted their former unjuſt Sentence of *Athanaſius*, now lay it upon their fear of *Conſtans*, and appear in the Head of the *Arian Faction*; and with them, as (*f*) *Severus Sulpicius* ſaith, *the two* Pannonia's *declared for* Arianiſm. And now they having an Emperour to their mind, reſolve to loſe no time, but carry things on with a mighty violence, and baniſh all who would not ſubſcribe to the condemning *Athanaſius*. For this *ſtale Pretence* muſt ſtill be made uſe of to deceive the *People* and to make way for *Arianiſm*; and yet this prevailed ſo far, that, as *Hilary* ſaith, in the *Preface* to his *Fragments*, *the People wondred what made ſo many Biſhops go into Baniſhment, rather than condemn one*; and the Deſign of thoſe *Fragments* is, to ſhew *that the Matter of Faith lay at the bottom of all this violence againſt* Athanaſius. Which proceeded ſo far, that in the Council called at *Arles*, *Paulinus*, Biſhop of *Triers*, was for oppoſing the condemning *Athanaſius*; and deſiring the Matters of Faith might firſt be ſettled, depoſed by the Council and baniſhed by the Emperour. And ſo great then was the Power of Fear upon them, that ſome of thoſe very Perſons, who had clear'd *Athanaſius* at the Council of *Sardica*, did now ſubſcribe

(*f*) Sev. Sulpic. l. 2. p. 405.

ſubſcribe to his condemnation; among whom was *Vincentius* of *Capua* the Pope's own *Legate*; as (*g*) *Athanaſius* himſelf confeſſes. Not long after, *Conſtantius* ſummons another Council at *Milan*; where, (*h*) *Socrates* and (*i*) *Sozomen* ſay, *above three hundred Weſtern Biſhops were aſſembled:* Here again the *Arian Faction* made a great outcry about *Athanaſius*; but *Dionyſius*, Biſhop of *Milan*, and *Euſebius* of *Vercelles*, laid open the Deſign ſo far as to make the Council be broken up and themſelves to be baniſhed by the Emperour's Edict. While the Emperour continued at *Milan*, *Liberius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, was ſummon'd to attend upon him there, in order to his Baniſhment, if he did not condemn *Athanaſius*; (*k*) *Theodoret* hath preſerved the moſt material paſſages that happen'd between them; One whereof is, that if *Conſtantius* really deſigned the Peace of the Church, the firſt thing was to be a general Subſcription of the *Nicene* Faith; after which other things would more eaſily be compoſed. But this would not be hearkned to; and ſo *Liberius* was baniſhed; but afterwards he unworthily complied not onely to the Condemnation of *Athanaſius*, but he profeſſed his conſent to the *Sirmian Creed*, as appears by his Epiſtle in (*l*) *Hilary's Fragments*; for which *Hilary* beſtows his *Anathema's* very freely upon him. But it is of late pleaded on behalf of *Liberius*, *that he ſubſcribed onely to the firſt* Sirmian *Confeſſion in the Council againſt* Photinus *which was expreſs againſt the* Arian *Hereſie.* Whereas *Hilary* (who, I think, knew this matter ſomewhat better) ſaith in ſo many Words, *Hæc eſt perfidia* Ariana, *i.e.* that what he ſubſcribed, contained in it the *Arian Hereſie.* But where doth *Hilary* or any one elſe ſay, that *Liberius onely ſubſcribed the firſt Confeſſion of Sirmium*, and upon that was reſtored? Nay, (*m*) *Sozomen* ſaith, *that* Conſtantius *at firſt required him in terms to renounce the Son's being Conſubſtantial to the Father: but afterwards they joined together the Confeſſion againſt* Paulus Samoſatenus *and* Photinus, *with that of* Antioch *at the Dedication, and to theſe* Liberius *ſubſcribed.* So that he ſtruck in wholly with the *Arian Faction* which undermined the Authority of the Council of *Nice*, and he betray'd the Faith, if he did not renounce

(g) Athanas. ad Conſtant. p. 692.
(h) Socr. l. 2. c. 36.
(i) Soz. l. 4. c. 9.
(k) Theod. l. 2. c. 16.
(l) Hilar. in Fragm. p. 426.
(m) Soz. l. 4. c. 15.

nounce it. The *Eudoxians* at *Antioch*, he ſaith, gave out *that both* Oſius *and* Liberius *had renounced the* Nicene *Faith, and declared the Son to be unlike the Father:* but *Liberius* clear'd himſelf by rejecting the Doctrine of the *Anomæans*, *i. e.* the open and profeſſed *Arians*; and this *Urſacius*, *Valens* and *Germinius* then at *Sirmium* were willing to accept of, having a farther Deſign to carry on in theſe Parts, which was like to be ſpoiled by the *Anomæans* appearing ſo openly and unſeaſonably in the Eaſt. And for the ſame Reaſon, they were willing to call in that which *Hilary* calls *the Blaſphemy of* Oſius *and* Potamius, as being too open and giving Offence to the Followers of *Baſilius* of *Ancyra* in the Eaſt. For now the Emperour having baniſhed ſo many Biſhops and ſtruck ſo much terrour into the reſt, thought it a convenient time to ſettle the Church-affairs to his mind in theſe Weſtern Parts, and to that end he ſummoned a *General Council*; but juſtly fearing the Eaſtern and Weſtern Biſhops would no more agree now than they did before at *Sardica*; he appoints the former to meet at *Seleucia* in *Iſauria*, and the latter at *Ariminum*; whoſe Number, ſaith (*n*) *Severus Sulpicius, came to above four hundred*, and to the ſame purpoſe (*o*) *Sozomen.* When they were aſſembled, *Valens* and *Urſacius* acquainted them with the Emperour's good Intentions in calling them together, and as the onely Expedient for the Peace of the Church, they propoſed, *that all former Confeſſions of Faith ſhould be laid aſide, as tending to diſſenſion; and this to be univerſally received, which they had brought with them from* Sirmium; where it was drawn up by ſeveral Biſhops, and approved by the Emperour. Upon the reading this New Confeſſion of Faith, wherein *the Son* is ſaid *to be like the Father, according the Scriptures, and the Name of Subſtance agreed to be wholly laid aſide:* the Biſhops at *Ariminum* appeared very much unſatisfied; and declared, they were for keeping to the *Nicene* Faith without alteration; and required of the *Arian* Party there preſent to ſubſcribe it, before they proceeded any farther; which they refuſing to doe, they forthwith (*p*) excommunicated and depoſed them, and proteſted againſt all Innovations in matters of Faith. And

(n) Severt. Sulpic. *l.* 2.

(o) Soz. *l.* 4. *c.* 17.

(p) Athanaſ. *ad Afric. p.* 934.

of

of theſe Proceedings of theirs, they ſend an account by ſeveral Legates of their own, wherein they expreſs their Reſolution to adhere to the *Nicene* Faith, as the moſt effectual (*q*) (*r*) (*s*) Bar againſt *Arianiſm* and other Hereſies; and they add, that the removing of it would open the Breach for Hereſie to enter into the Church. They charge *Urſacius* and *Valens* with having once been Partakers of the *Arian* Hereſie, and on that account thrown out of the Church; but were received in again upon their Submiſſion and recantation; but now they ſay, in this Council of *Ariminum*, they had made a freſh Attempt on the Faith of the Church, bringing in a Doctrine full of Blaſphemies; as it is in *Socrates*; but in *Hilary*'s *Fragments* it is onely, that their Faith contained *multa perverſæ Doctrinæ*; which ſhews that they looked on the *Sirmian Creed* as dangerous and heretical. And in the ſame (*t*) *Fragments* it appears by the *Acts* of the *Council*, that they proceeded againſt *Valens*, *Urſacius*, *Germinius* and *Caius* as *Hereticks* and *Introducers of Hereſie*; and then made a ſolemn Proteſtation, that they would never recede from the *Nicene* Faith.

(q) Socr. *l.* 2. *c.* 37.
(r) Sozom. *l.* 4. *c.* 18.
(s) Theod. *l.* 2. *c.* 19.
(t) Hilar. *Frag. p.* 459.

Their ten Brethren whom they ſent to *Conſtantius* to acquaint him with the Proceedings of the Council, he would not admit to ſpeak with him: For he was informed beforehand by the *Arian* Party how things went in the Council, at which he was extremely diſpleaſed, and reſolved to mortifie the Biſhops, ſo as to bring them to his Will at laſt. He (*u*) ſends word to the Council, how much his thoughts were then taken up with his Eaſtern Expedition, and that theſe matters required greater freedom of Mind to examine them than he had at ſuch a time; and ſo commands the Legates to wait at *Hadrianople* till his Return. The Council perceived by this Meſſage that his Deſign was to weary them out, hoping at laſt, as (*w*) *Theodoret* expreſſes it, to bring them to conſent *to the demoliſhing that Bulwark which kept Hereſie out of the Church, i. e.* the Authority of the Council of *Nice*. To this ſmart Meſſage the Council returned a reſolute Reply, *That they would not recede from their former Decree*; but humbly beg leave to return to their Biſhopricks before Winter;

(u) Soz. *l.* 4. *c.* 19.
(w) Theod. *l.* 2. *c.* 19.

ter; being put to great hardſhips in that ſtrait Place. This was to let the Emperour know how he might deal with them, and he ſends a charge to his Lieutenant, not to let them ſtir till they all conſented. And in the mean time effectual means were uſed with their Legates in the Eaſt to bring them to terms; an account whereof we have in (x) *Hilary's Fragments*, which were to null all the former Proceedings, and to receive thoſe who were there depoſed to Communion. Which being done, they were ſent back to decoy the reſt of the Council; who at firſt were very ſtiff, but by degrees they were ſo ſoftned, that they yielded at laſt to the Emperour's own Terms. The very Inſtrument of their Conſent is extant in *Hilary's Fragments*, wherein they declare their full Agreement to the laying aſide the Terms of *Subſtance* and *Conſubſtantial* in the Creed: *i. e.* to the voiding the Authority of the Council of *Nice*, which was the thing all along aimed at by the *Arian* Party. And (y) *Athanaſius* ſaith, it was there declared *unlawfull to uſe the word Subſtance or Hypoſtaſis concerning God.*

(x) Hilar. *Frag.* p. 452.

p. 453.

(y) Athan. *ad Afric.* p. 934.

It is time now to conſider, how far thoſe Churches can be charged with *Arianiſm*, whoſe Biſhops were there preſent and conſented to the Decrees of this Council. It is a noted Saying of (z) St. *Jerome* on this Occaſion, *that the World then groaned and wondered at its being become* Arian. Which a late Authour ſaith, *is a paſſage quite worn out by our Innovatours.* Whom doth he mean by theſe *Innovatours?* The *Divines* of the *Church* of *England*, who from time to time have made uſe of it? Not to prove *an Apoſtaſie of the Catholick Church from the true Faith*; which no Man in his Wits ever dreamt of, but from hence to overthrow the pretended *Infallibility* of *General Councils*, or ſuch as have been ſo called. And notwithſtanding the opprobrious Name of *Innovatours* (which, as we find in thoſe of the *Church* of *Rome*, often belongs to thoſe who give it to others) it is very eaſie to prove, that this one Inſtance of the Council of *Ariminum* doth overthrow not onely the Pretence to the Infallibility of General Councils, but the *abſolute* binding *Authority* of any, till after due examination of the *Reaſons* and *Motives*

(z) Hier. c. Lucif.

of their Proceedings. For it is apparent by the whole Series of the Story, as I have faithfully deduced it, that the whole Deſign of the *Arian* Party was to overthrow the Authority of the Council of *Nice*; which they were never able to compaſs by a *General Council* till this of *Ariminum*, agreeing as they declared with the Eaſtern Biſhops. So that here was a Conſent both of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches, the Council of *Ariminum* being approved by (*a*) (*b*) (*c*) a Council at *Conſtantinople* the ſame year. What is now to be ſaid, when the Biſhops aſſembled in Council both in the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches did effectually, as far as their Decrees went, overthrow the *Nicene* Council? If it be ſaid, *that the Council of* Ariminum *decreed nothing poſitively againſt the* Nicene *Faith*; we are to conſider, that the *reverſing the Decree* of the *Nicene* Council was in effect overthrowing the Faith thereby ſtabliſhed; And ſo St. *Hierome* ſaith, *Tunc* Uſiæ *Nomen abolitum eſt, tunc* Nicenæ *Fidei damnatio conclamata eſt.* And then theſe words follow, *Ingemuit totus Orbis & Arianum ſe eſſe miratus eſt:* and if *nothing would ever be able to ſtop out the* Arian *Hereſie but the* Nicene *Faith*, as is confeſſed; and this Council took away the *Authority* of that Council, then it at leaſt made way for the introducing Hereſie, and left all Men to be Hereticks that had a mind to be ſo. And ſo St. *Hierome* ſaith, *Valens* and *Urſacius* after the Council boaſted, *that they never denied the Son to be a Creature, but to be like other Creatures:* from whence (*d*) St. *Ambroſe* takes it for granted, that *Chriſt's being a Creature* did paſs for good Doctrine in the Council of *Ariminum*. But we are told, that *St.* Jerome *onely complains of the World's being cheated and trepan'd into* Arianiſm *by the Biſhops being ſo weakly overreached and outwitted by an handfull of* Arians. Doth not St. *Jerome* plainly ſay, *the Name of Subſtance was there laid aſide, and the Council of* Nice *condemned?* And could this be a mere *Cheat* and *Trepan* to thoſe who were ſo much aware of it, as to declare at firſt, *they would never give way to it, becauſe they ſaw the Danger of it*; and to renew their *Proteſtations* againſt it, after the Emperour's ſevere Meſſage to them about it? So that, whatever it was, it could be no *cheat*

(a) Soz. l. 4. c. 24.
(b) Socr. l. 4. c. 41.
(c) Hier. *ad* Lucif.
(d) Ambroſ. *Ep.* 33. *ad* Valent.

Cheat or *Trepan* in thoſe who made ſuch *Decrees* at firſt, depoſed the *Arian* Biſhops, ſent ſuch *Meſſages* to the Emperour as they did. Which is a plain Demonſtration that they ſaw and knew what they did; and underſtood the Conſequences of it. *But they were frighted into this Conſent at laſt.* I grant they were ſo. But what then becomes of the *Infallibility* of *Councils*, if mere *Fear* can make ſo many Biſhops in *Council* act and declare againſt their *Conſciences?* If in ſuch Meetings, the Perſons were capable of being ſway'd by any particular *bias*, from aſſerting the Truth, what Security can there be as to Mens *Faith* from their Authority, any farther than we can be ſecure they were not influenced by any Temporal Hopes or Fears? So that we are not barely to reſpect the *Definitions* of *Councils*, but to examine the *Motives* by which they were acted in paſſing thoſe Decrees; and if it appear, they did act freely and ſincerely, and deliver the general ſenſe of the Chriſtian Church, from the beginning, as it was in the Caſe of the *Nicene Council*, then a mighty regard ought to be ſhewed to the *Decrees* of it; but if Partiality, Intereſt, Fear, or any other ſecular *Motive* be found to ſway them in their Debates and Reſolutions, then every particular Church is at liberty to refuſe their *Decrees*, and to adhere to thoſe of more free and indifferent Councils. And this was the Caſe here, as to the Council of *Ariminum*, if the Church had been *abſolutely* tied up to the *Decrees* of *Councils*, however paſt, there had been an utter Impoſſibility of reſtoring the true *Chriſtian Faith*; for there was no ſuch *Council* aſſembled to reverſe the *Decrees* of it; but in every Church, the baniſhed Biſhops being returned, not long after, upon the death of *Conſtantius*, they took care to ſettle the true Faith in the Weſtern Churches, by leſſer Aſſemblies of the ſeveral Biſhops. A remarkable Inſtance whereof appears in (*e*) *Hilary's Fragments*, where we find the *Gallican* Biſhops met at *Paris*, renouncing the Council of *Ariminum*, and embracing the *Nicene* Faith. The like we have Reaſon to believe was done in the *Britiſh* Churches, becauſe in *Jovian's* time, (*f*) *Athanaſius* particularly takes notice of the *Britannick Churches*, as *adhering to the* Nicene *Faith*;

(e) Hilar. *Frag.* p. 431.

(f) Athanaſ. *ad Jov.* p. 246.

(g) Hieron. *ad* Marcel. *ad* Eusagr. (h) Chryſoſt. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 696. *Tom.* 6. *p.* 635. *Tom.* 8. *p.* 111.

and (*g*) St. *Jerome*, and (*h*) St. *Chryſoſtome*, ſeveral times mention *their agreeing with other Churches in the true Faith.* Which is a ſufficient Argument to clear them from the Imputation of *Arianiſm*, which did no otherwiſe lie upon them, than as they had Biſhops preſent in the Council of *Ariminum*.

(i) Sever. Sulpic. *l.* 2.

For (*i*) *Severus Sulpicius*, ſpeaking of the Care *Conſtantius* took *to provide Lodging and Entertainment for the Biſhops at* Ariminum, *out of the publick Charge*, he ſaith, *their Biſhops refuſed to accept it, onely three out of* Britain, *not being able to maintain themſelves, made uſe of the publick allowance, rather than be chargeable to their Brethren. Which*, he ſaith, *he heard* Gavidius *their Biſhop blame them for; but he rather thinks it a commendation for them, in the firſt place to have been ſo poor; and next, that they choſe not to be burthenſome to their Brethren, but rather to live on the Emperour's charge.* This had been better ſaid of any Place, than at the Council of *Ariminum*, where the Emperour's kindneſs was a Snare to their Conſciences; unleſs it be ſaid, That the Emperour took greater advantage by their bearing their own Charges, to make them ſooner grow weary of ſtaying there; and that if the reſt had followed the Example of the *Britains*, the Emperour might have been weary before them. But how came *the* Britiſh *Biſhops to be ſo poor above the reſt*, who were not onely able to live at their own Charges, but to ſupply their Brethren? Which ſhews as much the plenty of the reſt, as it doth the poverty of the *Britains*. What became of all the Endowments of the *Britiſh* Churches by King *Lucius*? The *Britiſh* Hiſtory publiſhed by (*k*) *Geffrey* of *Monmouth* ſaith, *That King* Lucius *gave not onely all the Lands which belonged to the Heathen Temples to the Churches built by him; but added very much to them with many Privileges.* The ſame is ſaid from him by moſt of our Monkiſh Hiſtorians, whoſe Authority is no greater than *Geffrey's*, from whom they derive their Information; onely inlarging it as occaſion ſerves; As *Thomas Rudburn* doth very particularly for the Church of *Wincheſter*, *who makes the old Lands of the* Flamins *to be twelve miles compaſs about the Town*; *And King* Lucius *added*, he ſaith, *to the*

(k) Galfr. *Mon. l.* 2. *c.* 2.

New

New Church, all the Suburbs of the City, with the Privilege of Dunwallo Molmutius, *i. e. of a Sanctuary.* Methinks then the *Britiſh* Biſhops, might have been in as good a condition as the reſt of their Brethren at *Ariminum*; unleſs their Lands were taken away in the Perſecution of *Diocleſian*, as *Rudburn* ſeems to intimate, which is all as true, *as that Monks continued there from* Lucius *to the ſecond year of* Diocleſian; which was a long time before his *Perſecution* began; or there were any ſuch *Monks* in the World. But it ſeems ſtrange, that the *Britiſh* Biſhops ſhould be then under ſuch Poverty, when *Liberius*, in his Conference with *Conſtantius*, told him, *The Churches were able to bear the Charges of their Biſhops in going to Councils, without the publick Carriages.* For even before *Conſtantine*'s time, they had *endowments* beſides the *voluntary Oblations of the People*, which in great Churches were very conſiderable. But that there were certain *Endowments* beſides, appears both by the Edicts of *Maximinus* and *Conſtantine.* By that of *Maximinus*, not onely Houſes, *but the Lands which belong'd to the Chriſtians, whether ſeized into the* (*l*) *Emperour's hands, or in the Poſſeſſion of any City, or given or ſold, are all commanded to be reſtored.* And that this doth not relate to their *private Poſſeſſions*, but to the *publick Revenue* of their *Churches*, will appear by the following *Edict* of *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*; which in the firſt place commands *all their Churches to be reſtored*; and then is added, *becauſe the Chriſtians are known, not onely to have thoſe Places where they aſſemble, but others, which likewiſe of Right belong to their Body*, i. e. their *Churches.* For ſo the Words of the Edict in (*m*) *Lactantius* are. (*Sed alia etiam habuiſſe noſcuntur ad jus corporis eorum, id eſt, Eccleſiarum non hominum ſingulorum pertinentia*) *Theſe are commanded to be reſtored, without any delay or diſpute.* Which is again inforced by another *Edict* of *Conſtantine* to *Anulinus* extant in (*n*) *Euſebius* with the former, and there are mention'd *Houſes, Gardens, or whatſoever Poſſeſſions they had.* Thoſe who would have nothing more meant by theſe Expreſſions, but *ſome Fields and Gardens, rather than Lands*, may conſider that when the Church had plentifull Poſſeſſions, they were called by no other Names. So

(l) Euſeb. *l.* 9. *c.* 10.

(m) Lact. *de Mort. Perſec. c.* 48.

(n) Euſeb. *l.* 10. *c.* 5.

St. *Am-*

(o) Ambroſ. *de trad. Baſilic.* St. (o) *Ambroſe, Agri Eccleſiæ ſolvunt Tributum.*) And in another Law of (p) *Conſtantine* directed to the *Provincials* of *Paleſtine* to the ſame purpoſe, and with as full and large Expreſſions; And howſoever they became alienated, the preſent Poſſeſſours were to be ſatisfied with the mean Profits; But by all means he commands a Reſtitution to be made, not onely to particular Perſons, but *to the Churches too.* But if the *Endowments* of *Churches* were not then conſiderable, what need ſo many *Edicts* for the *Reſtauration* of them? But *Conſtantine* did not onely take ſo much care to reſtore what the Churches had before, but in caſe there were no Heirs at Law to the *Martyrs* and *Confeſſours*, he beſtows their Lands and Goods on the Churches. And after this, about four years before the Council of *Nice*, he publiſhed the famous *Conſtitution* ſtill extant in the (q) *Theodoſian Code*; wherein *a full Liberty is given to all ſorts of Perſons, to leave what they thought fit by Will, to the Catholick Churches of Chriſtians.* And this, as *Gothofred* ſaith, was the true *Donation of Conſtantine*, for, by means of this Law, Riches flowed into the Church, and eſpecially at *Rome.* For although, as (r) *Paulus* ſaith, by an Edict of *M. Aurelius*, the *Collegia licita*, Societies allow'd by the Laws, *were capable of receiving Legacies and Eſtates*, yet by the (s) Laws of the Empire, the *Chriſtians* were no legal Society to that purpoſe before: And by a late Conſtitution of *Diocleſian, Societies were excluded from receiving Inheritances without a ſpecial Privilege*; yet now, by this Law, all thoſe Bars being removed, Riches came in ſo faſt in ſome Places, that there needed new Conſtitutions to ſet bounds to ſo great liberality.

(p) Euſeb. *vit. Conſtant. l. 2. c. 39.*

c. 36.

(q) C. Theod. 16. *tit. 2. l. 4.*

(r) D. 34. *de rebus dubiis, l. 20. cum Senat.*

(s) Baldvin. *de Leg. Conſt. p. 23.*

And the Privileges which *Conſtantine* gave to the (t) *Clergy* of *exemption* from *publick Services*, drew ſo many *to take Orders*, eſpecially in *Corporations*, where the *Services* were very burthenſome; That *Conſtantine* was forced to publiſh *Edicts* to reſtrain the Numbers of them; which were not intended, *to hinder Perſons of Eſtate and Quality from entring into Orders*, as ſome have ſuggeſted, but onely ſuch whoſe *Eſtates* were liable to the *publick Services*, as thoſe who were (u) *Decuriones origine*, and not merely *incolatu* were; who bore all the

(t) C. Theod. 16. *tit. 2. l. 2, 3, 6.*

(u) Berter. *Diatr. 1. c. 10.*

the Offices, and did the publick Duties, having Lands given them on purpoſe in the firſt Settlement of Colonies which were called *Prædia Reipublicæ*, as (*w*) *Pancirol* obſerves; And therefore *Conſtantine* had reaſon to forbid ſuch entring into Orders to the Prejudice of the Government. And ſo the Title of the *Conſtitution* is, *De ordinatione Clericorum in Curiarum & Civitatum præjudicium non facienda.* Which was at that time a very juſt and reaſonable Conſtitution. But afterwards Men of great Honour and Dignities came into the Council, as not onely St. *Ambroſe*, at *Milan*, who was the Conſular Governour over *Liguria*, and *Æmilia*, and St. *Paulinus*, a *Roman* Senatour, *behind none in Birth*, ſaith (*x*) St. *Ambroſe*, having a great Eſtate in *Aquitania*, was made Prieſt at *Barcelona*, and Biſhop of *Nola*, but many Examples of this kind were in one Age in the *Gallican Church*, as (*y*) *Honoratus*, Biſhop of *Arles*, of a Senatorian and Conſular Family; St. *Hilary*, of *Arles*, of a very Noble Family, and born to great Riches; *Sidonius Apollinaris*, whoſe Father and Grandfather were *Præfecti Prætorio Galliarum*, and himſelf married to the Daughter of the Emperour *Avitus*, made *Præfectus Urbi*, & *Patricius*, one of the greateſt Perſons and Wits in *Gaul*, was made (*a*) Biſhop of *Auvergn*; St. (*b*) *German*, Biſhop of *Auxerre*, was of Noble Parents, and Governour of a Province; Saint (*c*) *Ruricius*, Biſhop of *Limoges*, deſcended from the *Annician* Family, as *Venantius Fortunatus* ſaith, which was of that Fame at *Rome*, that St. (*d*) *Hierome* ſaith, *Very few of it miſſed the Conſulſhip, and two Brothers of it were Conſuls together*, as *Claudian* ſaith, a thing never ſeen before or ſince. (*e*) From this Family *Arnoldus Wion* proves *that the Emperours of* Germany *are deſcended.* And of this ſame Family another *Ruricius* ſucceeded his Grandfather in the ſame Biſhoprick.

(*w*) Pancirol. *de Magiſtr. Municip. c. 1.*

(*x*) Ambroſ. *Ep. 36.*

(*y*) Vincent. Barralis, *vit. Abbat. Lerin.*

(*a*) *Vit.* Sidonii Apoll.

(*b*) Conſtant. *vit.* German.

(*c*) Venant. Fort. *l. 4. c. 5.*

(*d*) Hier. *Ep. 8.*

(*e*) *Lipp. Vita in Præfat.*

But, beſides that general Law which gave Permiſſion to others to give liberally to Churches, *Conſtantine* of his own Revenue allow'd a proportion of Corn to be given to the *Clergy* of the *greater Cities*; Of which (*f*) *Athanaſius* ſpeaks, when he ſaith, Conſtantius *took it away from him, and his Clergy, and gave it to the* Arians; But the Gift it ſelf was continued all the time of *Conſtantius*;

(*f*) Athanaſ. *ad ſolit. p. 819.*

Conſtantius; Then it was taken away by (g) *Julian*, and in part reſtored by *Jovian*.

(g) Theod. *l.* 4. *c.* 4.

It is then no wonder that the Biſhops at *Ariminum* refuſed the *publick allowance*, being maintained by the Revenues of their Churches; But it ſeems the *Britiſh* Churches were not then in ſo Rich a condition to maintain their Biſhops ſo long abroad; For *Conſtantine*, drawing all the Wealth and Trade of the Empire Eaſtward, for the greater Advancement of his New City; And this Countrey having been ſo long haraſſed with Wars, and ſcarce recovered from the Effects of them; (For the *Scots* and *Picts* had been very troubleſome to them, both in the times of *Conſtans* and *Conſtantius*; the (*h*) former came himſelf over into *Britain* to ſuppreſs them; and the latter ſent *Lupicinus* his General, who arrived at *London* about the time the Council of *Ariminum* was diſſolved) and therefore in a time of ſuch Confuſion in the *Britiſh* Province, it is not ſtrange that theſe Churches ſhould not be in ſo plentifull a condition as thoſe which were the Seat of Trade and Government. And (*i*) *Ammianus Marcellinus* obſerves, *that the Provincial Biſhops lived in a much meaner condition than thoſe of the greater Cities*, eſpecially of *Rome*; And, although a Heathen, he very much commends them for their *Temperance, Humility and Modeſty.*

(h) Am. Marcel. *l.* 20. *c.* 1.

(i) *Id. l.* 27. *c.* 3.

But *Arianiſm* was not the onely Hereſie the *Britiſh* Churches were charged with; For (*k*) *Gildas* from hence makes every following Hereſie to find a paſſage hither; among which the chief was *Pelagianiſm.* And (*l*) *Bede* doth inſinuate, *That* Pelagius, *being a* Britain, *and, ſpreading his Doctrine far and near, did corrupt theſe Churches with it*; which ſome (*m*) late Writers, having taken up, have affirmed, that both *Pelagius* and *Cæleſtius*, after their Repulſe at *Rome*, came over into *Britain*, and diſperſed their Doctrine here. (*n*) *Leland* ſadly laments the Condition of the Church of God, that had no ſooner recover'd it ſelf from *Arianiſm*, but a new Hereſie ſprung up to diſturb the Peace, and infect the minds of Chriſtians; But as *Egypt* brought forth the Authour of the former Hereſie, ſo did *Britain* the Authour of this, which took his name from hence; And is ſuppoſed to have been *Morgan* in *Britiſh*, which

(k) Gild. *Ep.* 1. § 5.

(l) Bed. *l.* 1. *c.* 10.

(m) Bal. *de Scrip. l.* 1. *c.* 38. Pits, *de Script. p.* 84. Janſen. *de her. Pelag. l.* 1. *p.* 27.

(n) Leland. *de Script. in* Pelagio.

which by his converſation at *Rome* he turned into *Pelagius*; And (o) St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, He was commonly called *Pelagius Brito*, to diſtinguiſh him, as he ſuppoſed, from another *Pelagius* of *Tarentum*. *Leland* obſerves, that ſome made him a *Britain*, as being born in that *Bretagn* which was called *Aremorica*, on the Continent. But I do not find that it had then loſt its name of *Aremorica*. The firſt time we find the name of *Britannia* given to that Countrey, is in the (p) Subſcription of *Manſuetus* to the Council of *Tours*, where he is named *Epiſcopus Britannorum*, after which time it was frequently called *Britannia Ciſmarina*, *Minor*, *Celtica*, &c. (q) *Dempſter* (not a *Jeſuit*, but a Lawyer) takes it very ill of *Browerus*, the *Jeſuit*, that he makes *Pelagius* a *Scot*: But not as *Dempſter* underſtands him, For (r) he explains himſelf, *That he meant one that came out of* Ireland, *and therefore was* Scoticæ *Originis*. For which he quotes Saint *Jerome*. But Archbiſhop (s) *Uſher* hath obſerved, *That he ſpeaks there, not of* Pelagius, *but of* Cœleſtius, *whom he makes the* Cerberus *to the* Pluto, (according to his uſual way of complementing his Adverſaries.) But both, he thinks, came out of the *Britiſh* Iſlands. The late (t) Publiſher of *Marius Mercator*, endeavours to ſhew, *That our learned Primate was herein miſtaken*; *And that Saint* Jerome *doth not ſpeak of* Cœleſtius, *but of* Pelagius *himſelf*; *And that by* Pluto *he means* Ruffinus *dead in* Sicily *three years before St.* Jerome's *writing theſe Words*; *But notwithſtanding he did ſtill bark through* Pelagius *his Mouth*, *whom he compares to a great* Scotch *Maſtiff*, *from which Countrey he is derived in the Neighbourhood of* Britain. If theſe Words relate onely to *Ruffinus* and *Pelagius*, it is certain that St. *Jerome* would have it believed, *That* Pelagius *came out of* Ireland. That which makes it moſt probable, that he means them is, That in the Preface to his (u) *Commentaries* on *Ezekiel*, he mentions the death of *Ruffinus*, and then ſaith, *he hoped now he ſhould be quiet to go on with his* Commentaries *on the Scriptures*; But not long after he complains, *That there were others, which in his Room open'd their Mouths againſt him.* In the beginning of his *Commentaries* on *Jeremiah*, which he undertook after he had finiſhed thoſe on

(o) Aug. ep. 106. *ad* Paulin.

(p) *Concil. Gal. Tom.* 1. *p.* 126. *A. D.* 461.

(q) Dempſter. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 15. *n.* 1012.

(r) Brower. *in* Venant. Fortun. *l.* 3. *p.* 69.

(s) *De Primord. p.* 209.

(t) Garner. *Diſſert.* 1. *in* Mar. Mercat. *c.* 5.

(u) Hier. *in* Ezek. *l.* 5. *Præfat.*

Ezekiel, he mentions one *who carped at his* Commentaries *on the* Epheſians, *and calls* Grunnius, (*i. e.* Ruffinus) *his Forerunner*; And ſaith, he was, *Scotorum pultibus prægravatus*, made fat with *Scotch Flummery*. All this agrees very well with *Pelagius* whom (*w*) *Oroſius* deſcribes as *a very corpulent Man*; But there is one thing which makes the former Opinion not improbable, which is, That St. *Jerome* himſelf takes ſo much notice, *that* Pelagius *at that time wrote little or nothing about theſe matters, but* Cœleſtius *was the Man who appeared, eſpecially in the two main Points about Original Sin, and the Poſſibility of Perfection:* (*x*) In his Epiſtle to *Cteſiphon*, he ſaith, *That the Authour of the Sect ſtill held his Peace, and his Diſciples wrote for him; Magiſtrorum ſilentia profert rabies Diſcipulorum.* Methinks *Rabies* agrees well enough with *Cerberus*, and here it is meant of the Diſciple *Cæleſtius*, and not of *Pelagius*; Which Expreſſion anſwers very well to the other, *Mutus Magiſter latrat per Albinum Canem.* And he ſpeaks as if he deſigned to draw him from his cloſeneſs and retirement; Which doth far better agree to the *mute Perſon*, than to the *barking Cerberus.* There is then no Improbability, that *Cæleſtius* and *Pelagius*, may be both meant; But if any other Countrey hath a mind to challenge *Cæleſtius* to themſelves, I think, they may be allow'd to put in their Claim notwithſtanding theſe Expreſſions. But it is very unworthy in the ſame (*y*) Authour, to prove *Pelagius* to have been an *Iriſh Scot*, and at the ſame time to charge his Vices on the *Britiſh* Nation. He cannot deny, *That* Pelagius *had a great natural ſharpneſs of Wit*, ſince St. *Auguſtine* and his other Adverſaries allow it; But then he ſaith, *it was fierce and contentious, after the faſhion of his Countrey*; and which he could not ſhake off by his long Converſation at *Rome*. *He grants that his* Exhortations to Piety *were vehement and earneſt, but written in an uncouth and imperious Style*, more Gentis, *according to the humour of his Nation.* But why muſt the *Britiſh* Nation be reproached for the particular faults of *Pelagius*? It is a very ill way of confuting *Pelagius*, to attribute Mens Vices and Vertues to their Countries; And is contrary both to the diſcretion of a Philoſopher, and

(*w*) Oroſ. *Apol. c.* 27.

(*x*) Hier. *ad* Cteſiph. *p.* 256. *To.* 2.

(*y*) Garner. *ib. c.* 4. *p.* 134.

to

to the Grace of a Chriſtian; *Pelagius* might have had the ſame temper if he had been ſo happy as to have been born in a Neighbour Countrey; And I do not ſee how his Way of writing doth affect the *Britiſh* Churches; Where the Chriſtians might be very wiſe and humble, notwithſtanding this ſevere and unjuſt Character of the *Britiſh* Nation; Which (as all National Reproaches) is not ſo great a Reproach to any as to him that gives it. But the greateſt Adverſaries to *Pelagius*, did not give him ſo ill a Character; Saint (z) *Auguſtine* ſaith, *he had the eſteem of a very Pious man, and of being a Chriſtian of no mean rank.* Was this *Pro more Gentis* too? And of his Learning and Eloquence St. *Auguſtine* gives ſufficient Teſtimony, in his Epiſtle to *Juliana*, the Mother of *Demetrias*, to whom *Pelagius* wrote an Epiſtle highly magnified for the Wit and Elegance of it. But *Garnerius* will not allow *that* Pelagius *was able to write it himſelf, without the aſſiſtence of his Diſciples* Cœleſtius *and* Annianus. But why ſhould this be ſo hard a thing for a Man whom he confeſſes to have had a great deal of Natural Wit, and (a) St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *He lived long, yea, very long in* Rome, *and kept the beſt Company there?* Could a *Britain* never attain to ſo much Purity of the *Roman* Language as to write an Epiſtle to the Envy of thoſe *meliore ſolo prognatorum*, as he ſpeaks, *who were born in more happy ſoils?* What mean ſuch unbecoming reflexions, on the Countrey of *Pelagius*; when himſelf confeſſes he had ſo much *Mother Wit?* And one would think of the two, that is the better ſoil which produceth more *Wit* than *Words*.

(z) Aug. *de Peccat. Meritis & rem. l.* 3. *c.* 1. *& de Geſtis Pelag. c.* 22. *Epiſt.* 106.

(a) Aug. *de Peccat. Orig. c.* 21.

Our Monkiſh Hiſtorians make *Pelagius* not onely a Monk at *Bangor*, but the Abbat there; So the Authour of the *Polychronicon*, and *John* of *Tinmouth*; *Leland* takes it from them; To whom *Bale* adds, *That he was made Biſhop in the Eaſt*; But without any Authority. (b) *Leland* ſaith, *That he went over into* Aremorica, *to viſit his Countreymen who were newly ſettled there, being carried over by* Maximus. *Gildas* ſeems to imply, That *Maximus* was originally a *Britain*, when he calls him *Germen plantationis ſuæ*; But *Bede* takes no notice at all of his Countrey. The *Saxon Annals*, *Fabius Ethelwerd*,

(b) Leland. *de Scrip.*

thelwerd, *Huntingdon*, and others ſay, *he was born in Britain*; But (c) *Zoſimus* affirms, *That he was a* Spaniard, *and took it ill that he was no more preferr'd, when his Countreyman* Theodoſius *was made Emperour*; However this were, it is certain that he was declared Emperour in *Britain*, and that he went out of *Britain* with the *Forces* here; And that *Gratian's Legions* revolted to him; upon which he fled, and was killed; And that *Maximus*, being unſatisfied with *Gratian's* ſhare of the Empire, went into *Italy* againſt *Valentinian*, and was after four years deſtroyed at *Aquileia*; But in all the Proceedings of *Maximus*, I ſee no ground for the ſettling the Colonies of *Britains* in *Aremorica*. For he landed at the Mouth of the *Rhine*, ſaith *Zoſimus*, and was well received by the *Roman* Legions there abouts. What occaſion then was there for his coming againſt the *Aremorici*: Or, if he had driven them out, had he nothing to doe with his Souldiers, but to people Countries with them? But we find the *Aremorici* in quiet poſſeſſion of their Countrey after this time. So that we ſee no reaſon at all for *Pelagius* to go to his Countreymen in *Aremorica*: From thence *Leland* carries him *to all the Places of Learning in* Gaul; As there were many at that time; *And while he was thus paſſing up and down, he met with* Julianus *of* Campania, *whoſe Wit and Learning recommended him to* Pelagius. But this cannot hold, *For* Pelagius *lived a long time in* Rome before his Hereſie was diſcovered; After the Diſcovery of it, many years paſſed before *Julian* appeared in it; And in the laſt Work of (d) St. *Auguſtine*, juſt before his death, *He calls* Julian *a young man*; Although he had been a Biſhop in *Campania*, at a Place called *Æculanum*, thence his Title was *Epiſcopus Eclanenſis*. The Town ſtood, ſaith (e) *Holſtenius*, near *Mirabella*; But ſince its Deſtruction, the See was removed to *Frigento*, and the Biſhop called *Epiſcopus Frequentinus*. If *Pelagius*, paſſing through *Gaul*, made ſo long a Stay in *Rome*, as St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, before he was ſuſpected of Hereſie, there is no probability at all in the Monkiſh Tradition of his being *Abbat* of *Bangor*. And there is not much more of *Bangor's* being ſo famous a Monaſtery at that time, or of *Pelagius* his being

(c) Zoſim. *l.* 4.

(d) Julian. *l.* 3. *n.* 171.

(e) Holſten. *in* Cluver. *Ital. p.* 1203.

being a *Monk* therein: For the *Britiſh* Monaſteries were no elder than St. *Patrick*'s time, as I may have occaſion to ſhew afterwards. And even at *Rome* it ſelf the Monaſtick ſtate had not been long known there, being brought out of the Eaſt by *Athanaſius* and *Euſebius* of *Vercelles*. And in *Pelagius* his time, thoſe were called *Monks* at *Rome*, who had no Office in the Church, but yet retired from the common Emploiments of the World for *Sacred Studies* and *Devotion*; and where any Number of theſe lived together, that was called a Monaſtery; Such was the *Monaſterium Pinneti*, mention'd by (*f*) *Ruffinus*, not far from *Rome*; Probably a Houſe of *Melania*; whither they were wont to retire in times of greater Devotion. *Garnerius* confeſſes *that* Pelagius *was no otherwiſe a Monk, than as thoſe were then called ſo who led ſtricter Lives than others within their own Houſes*; of which Number he reckons *Pammachius*, *Paulinus*, *Melania*, *Demetrias* and others at that time, to whom *Pelagius* was well known, and much eſteemed by them, before his Hereſie was diſcover'd. The chief Emploiment of theſe Perſons, next to their Devotions, was the *Study* of the *Scriptures*, as appears by St. *Jerome*'s Epiſtles; And ſome grave Perſon made it his buſineſs to inſtruct his Diſciples therein: So St. *Jerome* did at *Bethlehem*; So *Ruffinus* did *Pammachius*, *Melania* and her Family; And ſo *Pelagius* did at *Rome*, where he had Scholars whom he brought up, as appears both by *Cæleſtius*, and *Julianus* whom he inſtructed very young, and by *Timaſius* and *Jacobus*. From this Emploiment it was that he wrote his ſhort *Commentaries* on St. *Paul*'s *Epiſtles*, and his *Epiſtles* to *Melania* and *Demetrias*; But after he was accuſed of *Hereſie*, his time was ſpent in Vindication of himſelf, in *Africa*, *Aſia* and *Rome*; and after many Bandyings to and fro from want of underſtanding the meaning of *Pelagius*, he was, beſides the *Councils* in *Africa*, at laſt condemned in a *Council* at *Antioch*, under *Theodotus*, as (*g*) *Marius Mercator* ſhews; And from thence forward, he ſpent the Remainder of his Life in Obſcurity, dying ſomewhere in the Eaſt.

(*f*) Ruffin. *Op.* p. 9.

(*g*) Marius Merc. in Comment. c. 9.

From whence it appears, that there is no probability, that *Pelagius* and *Cæleſtius* ſhould come back to *Britain*,

Britain, to ſpread their Hereſie here. For he complain'd of his Age, when he ſet forth his *Commentaries* at *Rome*, about *Anno Domini* 404. And he was certainly in the Eaſt at the Council of *Dioſpolis*, *Anno Domini* 415. from whence he ſent *Cæleſtius* to *Rome*, but abode there himſelf with *Albina*, *Pinianus* and *Melania*; And wrote Letters to clear himſelf firſt to *Innocentius*, and then to *Zoſimus*, who was ſo well ſatisfied therewith, that he wrote a ſharp Letter to the *African* Biſhops (who had condemned him) in his Vindication; ſeverely taxing his Accuſers; Although there were Hereſie in that Confeſſion which *Cæleſtius* tendred to *Zoſimus*, and which he eſteemed Orthodox. And (h) St. *Auguſtine*, is fain to make uſe of all his Wit to bring the Pope off from approving of Hereſie. (i) *Henr. de Noris* confeſſeth *that he was circumvented by the* Pelagians. *But it was in a matter of Fact*, ſaith (k) *Janſenius*; What, when he denied Original Sin in that very Paper he delivered in to *Zoſimus*! (l) *Cappellus* thinks it better *to deny* Zoſimus *his Letter*; but therein he is condemned by (m) *Petavius* and others who have lately written about this matter, and ſay, *that* Cappellus *his Opinion is ſingular and falſe*, being contradicted by the Teſtimonies of *Marius Mercator*, *Facundus Hermianenſis* and St. *Auguſtine*: And one of them blames the Pope *for too great eaſineſs*; and the other *for too great haſtineſs*, and doth think, *that the buſineſs of Appeals, then conteſted by the* African *Biſhops ſtuck in the Pope's ſtomach, which made him willing to take this Occaſion to rebuke them.* But the *African* Fathers proceeding ſmartly againſt the *Pelagians*, notwithſtanding *Zoſimus* his Letter, made him to comply too, in condemning both *Cæleſtius* and *Pelagius*, notwithſtanding his former Epiſtle. So that upon the whole matter *Pelagius* and *Cæleſtius*, by their own natural Wit, had, in all probability been too hard for a whole Succeſſion of Popes, *Innocentius*, *Zoſimus* and *Xyſtus*, had not the *African* Fathers interpoſed, and freely told them what the true Doctrine of the Church was. For (n) they offer'd to ſubſcribe *Innocentius* his *Epiſtles*; *Zoſimus* was very well ſatisfied, and thought them peeviſh and unreaſonable that were not; (o) *Xyſtus* was *their Patron*

(h) Aug. *de Peccat. Origin. c. 6. ad* Boniface. *l. 2. c. 3.*
(i) Noris *Hiſtor. Pelag. l. 1. c. 12.*
(k) Janſen. *Hiſt. Pelag. p. 28.*
(l) Cappell. *de Appellat. c. 2. § 28.*
(m) Petav. *Dogm. Theol. Tom. 3. de Har. Pelag. c. 1. § 15.* Garner. *Diſſ. 2. de Synodis in Cauſa Pelag. Natal.* Alex. *Sæc. 5. p. 169.*
(n) Aug. *ad* Boniface. *l. 2. c. 3, 4.*
(o) Aug. *Ep. 104.*

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at Rome, before the *African* Biſhops appear'd ſo reſolute in the Cauſe. And had it not been for them; for all that I can ſee, *Pelagianiſm* had ſpread with the *Approbation* of the *Roman See.*

But notwithſtanding it was at laſt condemned at *Rome*, and *Imperial Conſtitutions* publiſhed againſt it; Yet it found a Way over into the *Britiſh* Churches, by the means of one *Agricola*, the Son of *Severianus*, a *Pelagian* Biſhop, as (*p*) *Proſper* informs us. It appears by the Reſcript of (*q*) *Valentinian* III. *Anno Dom.* 425. *There were ſeveral* Pelagian *Biſhops in* Gaul. And the ſevere Execution of the Edict there was probably the occaſion of this *Agricola*'s coming over hither and ſpreading that Doctrine here. (*r*) *Bale* and (*s*) *Pits* run into many Miſtakes about this *Agricola.* (1.) They call him *Leporius Agricola*, and then confound the two Stories of *Leporius* and *Agricola* together: For after his Preaching *Pelagianiſm*, they mention his *Converſion* and *Recantation* by St. *Auguſtine*'s means. Now there was one *Leporius* of whom (*t*) *Caſſian* and (*u*) *Gennadius* ſpeak, that was a Diſciple of *Pelagius*, who was driven out of *Gaul* by *Proculus*, Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, and *Cylinnius* of *Forum Julii*, and ſo went into *Africa*, where being convinced by St. *Auguſtine*, he publiſhed his *Recantation* extant in (*w*) *Sirmondus* his *Gallican Councils*, and elſewhere; And *Aurelius*, *Auguſtinus* and *Florentius*, gave an account of it to the Biſhops of *Provence*; But there is no *Pelagian errour* there mention'd, but ſomething of *Neſtorianiſm*: And by *Leontius* ſucceeding *Cylinnius* in his See, before *Anno Dom.* 420. It follows, that *Leporius* recanted before the *Pelagian Hereſie* was ſpread into theſe Parts; And therefore this *Leporius* could have nothing to doe in it: Beſides, it ſeems probable that this *Leporius*, after his *Recantation*, continued in *Africa*; For one *Leporius*, a Presbyter, is (*x*) mention'd in the Election of *Eradius* in the See of *Hippo*, *Anno Dom.* 426. and (*y*) St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *he was a Stranger.* (2.) *Bale* makes him *the Son of* Severus Sulpicius, *a* Pelagian *Prieſt in* Britain: But *Proſper* and *Bede* ſay, he was the Son of *Severianus*, a Biſhop. It is true (*z*) *Gennadius* charges *Severus Sulpicius* with *Pelagianiſm* in his old Age; But if he died, as the

(*a*) *Sam-*

(p) Proſper. *in Chron.* Florent. & Diony. *Conſ.*
(q) *Concil. Gall. Tom.* 1. *p.* 54.
(r) Bal. *de Scrip. Brit. Cent.* 1. *n.* 4.
(s) Pits *de Scr. Æt.* 5. *n.* 341.
(t) Caſſian. *de Incarn. l.* 1. *c.* 4.
(u) Gennad. *de Script. c.* 59.
(w) *Concil. Gall. To.* 1. *p.* 51.
(x) Aug. *Ep.* 110.
(y) Aug. *Serm.* 50. *de diverſis.*
(z) Gennad. *de Script. c.* 19.

(a) *Gall. Chriſtia. To.* 1. *p.* 147.
(b) *Apud* Boland. *Acta Sanct. Jan.* 29.

(*a*) *Sammarthani* ſay, *Anno Dom.* 410. *Pelagianiſm* was not known to the World then; And (*b*) *Guibertus Abbas* frees him from the imputation of it: But this *Severus* never was a Biſhop, and therefore could not be the Father of *Agricola*. (3.) They both make him *a Monk of Banghor*; which had need to have been a large Place to receive all that they ſend thither. (4.) They ſay he did write againſt one *Timotheus*, a *Britiſh* Heretick; *two Books*, ſaith *Bale*; *but one*, ſaith *Pits*; Which ariſes from a Miſtake of *Sigebert*'s Copy, where *Britannia* is put for *Bithynia*, as our Learned Archbiſhop *Uſher* hath obſerved: And *Pits* ſeemed to have ſome miſtruſt of this, for he doth not affirm his ſpreading his Doctrine in *Britain* as the other doth.

(c) Proſper. *c.* Coll.

But *Pelagianiſm* was not ſpread here by *Agricola* alone; for (*c*) *Proſper*, ſpeaking of *Celeſtine*'s care to root it out of *Britain*, he ſaith, *It had taken poſſeſſion here by the Enemies of God's Grace*, Solum ſuæ originis occupantes, *returning to the Soil from whence they ſprang*: So that there were more than one, and thoſe *Britains* who, being infected with that Hereſie themſelves, did return hither to infect others. From hence (*d*) ſome have thought that *Cæleſtius* at leaſt, if not *Pelagius*, did come hither, being driven out of *Italy* by *Celeſtine*; as *Proſper* relates: which *Janſenius* thought not improbable: But it now appears by the *Commonitorium* of *Marius Mercator* delivered to *Theodoſius* in the Conſulſhip of *Dionyſius* and *Florentius*, *i. e. Anno Domini* 429. That *Cæleſtius* did return into the Eaſt, and was baniſhed from *Conſtantinople* by the Emperour's Edict; From whence it follows, That *Cæleſtius* came not into theſe Parts; nor do we reade what became of him after the Council of *Epheſus*, wherein he was condemned by 275 Biſhops, as the ſame *Marius Mercator* ſhews. Whoſe account of theſe things, being a Perſon of that time, and active in this Cauſe, hath clear'd ſeveral things, which were much in the dark before.

(d) Janſen. *Hiſt. Pelag. l.* 1.

But whoſoever they were who brought *Pelagianiſm* hither, it appears by *Proſper* that they were *Britains*, and had too great Succeſs here by the ſpreading of *Pelagianiſm*. But care was taken by the founder part to get it out; and therefore, diſtruſting their own ſufficiency

ciency to deal with ſuch ſubtile Adverſaries, *they ſend for help*, ſaith (e) *Bede*, *to the Biſhops of* Gaul; *Who called a great Council, and unanimouſly choſe* Germanus *and* Lupus, two Biſhops of great Reputation, to come over on purpoſe. They readily undertook the Employment, and performed it with great Succeſs, as it is at large related by (f) *Conſtantius* and *Bede*. It is affirmed by a late (g) Authour, *That the Acts of the Council which ſent* Germanus *and* Lupus *are ſtill in being, with the Inſtructions given them at their coming hither*; If ever they come to light, they will very much clear this intricate part of the Hiſtory of the *Britiſh Churches*. For there is now fifteen years difference among Writers about the time of their coming. *Proſper* ſaith it was, *Anno Dom.* 429. But *Sigebert*, as (h) *Sirmondus* obſerves, places it, *Anno Dom.* 446. To which he thinks *Bede's* Relation doth beſt agree; And *Sirmondus* himſelf puts it that year *Aetius* III. and *Symmachus* were Conſuls, in the 21 of *Valentinian* III. and 5 of *Leo* I. If this Computation of the time be true, then it is impoſſible that St. *German* ſhould be ſent hither by *Celeſtine*, as *Proſper* affirms; For *Xyſtus* was Pope after *Celeſtine*, *Anno Dom.* 432. And it is incredible, That if he had been ſent hither by Commiſſion from him, Neither *Conſtantius* in his Life of St. *German*, who lived ſo near that time; Nor the Authour of the Life of St. *Lupus Trecenſis*; Nor *Bede* ſhould take any notice of it. But they all mention the particular Application made by the *Britains* to the *Gallican* Biſhops for their Aſſiſtence; and their meeting in Council on purpoſe, and chuſing, and diſpatching St. *German* and *Lupus*, without any intimation of *Celeſtine*. (i) *Baronius* and (k) *Janſenius* go about to reconcile theſe things, by ſaying, *Either that the Pope approved him whom the Council choſe*; *Or that the Pope left it to the Council to chuſe*; But neither of theſe will hold. For *Proſper* ſaith, *That* Celeſtine *ſent him*, Vice ſuâ, *in his own Name and ſtead*; Which is very different from appointing a Council to chuſe one to be ſent: And *Conſtantius* ſaith, *That immediately they went*; Which ſhews they did not ſtay for the Pope's Approbation. And withall, the kindneſs was not ſo great at that time between *Celeſtine*

(e) Bed. *l.* 1. *c.* 17.

(f) Conſtant. *vit.* Germani.

(g) Garner. *diſſ.* 2. *c.* 21.

(h) Sirmond. *Not. in Concil. Gall. Tom.* 1. *p.* 86.

(i) Baron. *A. D.* 429. *n.* 9.

(k) Janſen. *Hiſt. Pelag. l.* 1.

ſtine and the *Gallican* Biſhops, That either he ſhould ſend to them to appoint; or they ſhould wait for his direction in this matter. For *Proſper* and *Hilary* had made great Complaints of them at *Rome*, as favouring *Pelagianiſm* too much. And, among theſe, *Hilary*, Biſhop of *Arles*, was the chief. For (*l*) *Proſper* complains of him particularly in his Epiſtle to St. *Auguſtine*, which was ſent to him, *Anno Dom.* 428, or 429. as the late Editors of St. *Auguſtine*'s Epiſtles conclude; So that *Hilary* was Biſhop of *Arles* at that time before St. *Auguſtine*'s death, *Anno Dom.* 430. After his death, the ſame *Proſper* and another *Hilary* join in a Complaint to *Celeſtine*, and went to *Rome* on purpoſe; as appears by his (*m*) Anſwer, who therein reproves the Biſhops of *Gaul, for giving too much countenance to ſome Presbyters who vented new Doctrines*, viz. *Caſſian* and his Followers; *and who reflected on the memory of St.* Auguſtine. It is not therefore any ways probable that the *Gallican* Biſhops, having been complained of ſo long before St. *Auguſtine*'s death, that he wrote a Book in anſwer to them before he died, ſhould be intruſted by *Celeſtine* to chuſe Perſons to go over into *Britain* to confute *Pelagianiſm*, when he ſuſpected them, from *Proſper*'s information, to be too much inclined to it. It ſeems therefore moſt likely that St. *German* and *Lupus* were ſent by a Council of *Gallican* Biſhops, without the Pope's concurrence, ſince *Conſtantius*, who certainly knew all the circumſtances of this matter, ſaith nothing at all of it. And this St. *German* was ſo great with *Hilary*, Biſhop of *Arles*, that he joined with him in the depoſing *Chelidonius* (for which Pope *Leo* was ſo incenſed againſt him) as *Honoratus* affirms in his Life: which was no new acquaintance, but of ſo long ſtanding, that if *Hilary* of *Arles* were at that time ſuſpected at *Rome*, St. *German* would harldly have been pitched upon by *Celeſtine* for his Legate into *Britain*.

(l) Proſper. *Ep. ad* Aug. *inter* Aug. *Epiſt.* 225.

(m) *Concil. Gall. Tom.* 1. *p.* 59.

I wonder how (*n*) *Baronius* and (*o*) *Voſſius* came to miſtake the *Hilary* who joined with *Proſper*, for *Hilary* Biſhop of *Arles*; Since this *Hilary* never was a Diſciple of St. *Auguſtine*'s, as the other was; And he was certainly Biſhop of *Arles*, after St. *Auguſtine*'s death, when *Celeſtine* mentions the other *Hilary* as preſent with

(n) Baron. *A.D.* 426. *n.* 20.

(o) Voſſ. *Hiſt. Pelag. l.* 1. *c.* 19.

with *Proſper* at *Rome*, when they informed againſt the Biſhops of *Gaul*. For *Honoratus* ſucceeded *Patroclus* in the See of *Arles*; *Proſper* ſaith, that *Patroclus* was killed, *Anno Dom.* 426. *Honoratus* continued but two years in the See: And ſo *Hilary* might well be newly Biſhop of *Arles*, when *Proſper* and the other *Hilary* ſent to St. *Auguſtine*, as plainly appears by their Epiſtle; So that *Semipelagianiſm* did not, as Archbiſhop (*p*) *Uſher* ſuppoſes, then begin in *Gaul*, when St. *Germanus* and *Lupus* were here employ'd againſt *Pelagianiſm*, but was begun before, and embraced by thoſe very Biſhops who ſent them hither; Who for their own Vindication appear'd zealous againſt *Pelagianiſm*, and were therefore willing to embrace this opportunity to ſend two of their Number into *Britain*. And it is the more ſtrange, that ſo Learned a Perſon ſhould fall into this miſtake, when he had ſo fully proved, as (*q*) *Holſtenius* confeſſes, That *Hilary*, Biſhop of *Arles*, did favour the *Semipelagians*; and it is certain that *Proſper* did complain of him to St. *Auguſtine* (if the Copies be not corrupt, as he ſhews they are not) before St. *German*'s voyage into *Britain*. For St. *Auguſtine* received the Complaint time enough to write his two Books of *Predeſtination* and *Perſeverance*, in anſwer to it, after his Book of *Retractations*, and before his elaborate Work againſt *Julian*, and therefore they are probably ſuppoſed to be written, *Anno Dom.* 428. If we then yield that St. *German*'s coming hither was when *Proſper* ſaith, *Anno Dom.* 429. yet we find that *Semipelagianiſm* had prevailed among the *Gallican* Biſhops before that time, or elſe there was no cauſe at all for *Proſper*'s Complaint.

(p) Uſſer. *de Prim. p.* 344.

(q) Holſten. *Not. in Martyrol. Rom.* 345.

And to make it appear yet more improbable, that *Celeſtine* ſhould ſend St. *Germanus* and St. *Lupus*; We are to conſider, that *Lupus* was Brother to *Vincentius Lirinenſis*, and were both of the ſame Society. Which *Vincentius* was a great Stickler in the *Semipelagian* Cauſe, as all the Members of that Society that were conſiderable were engaged in it; And when the Pope wrote ſo ſmartly againſt the Accuſers of St. *Auguſtine*'s Doctrine, it is very unlikely he ſhould pitch upon one of that Society moſt ſuſpected for it, and whoſe Brother appeared ſo

early and ſo warmly in it; Not onely by the Objections under his Name in *Proſper*; But by the whole Deſign of his *Commonitorium*; Which, if I miſtake not, was levell'd againſt thoſe who went about to broach a new Doctrine about *Predeſtination*, as they ſaid, under St. *Auguſtine's* name. And they who carefully reade over that Diſcourſe, and conſider the drift of it, will find I am not miſtaken: But (*r*) *Baronius* is, when he would clear the Authour of the *Commonitorium* from favouring thoſe who impugned St. *Auguſtine's* Doctrine about *Predeſtination*; Which was quite another thing from favouring *Pelagianiſm*, which *Caſſianus*, *Fauſtus*, and this *Vincentius* all profeſſed to abhor.

(r) Baron. *Not. ad Martyrol. 24. Maii.*

But what ſhall be ſaid to *Proſper*, who affirms *that* Celeſtine *ſent St.* German? (1.) (*s*) *Proſper*, in his undoubted Work againſt *Caſſian*, doth not affirm it. For there he onely ſaith, *That* Celeſtine *took care to free* Britain *from* Pelagianiſm. Why is not the Miſſion of St. *German* here mention'd, when it had been moſt ſeaſonable againſt the chief of the *Semipelagians*? No doubt *Proſper* would not have loſt this Opportunity of magnifying *Celeſtine's* care, by ſending Biſhops of ſo great Reputation. Eſpecially, if theſe Biſhops were not *Semipelagians*; But if ſo, why doth he not mention them in that Work as ſuch, when he complains how much *Semipelagianiſm* did prevail, and even among their Biſhops? (2.) The *Proſper* publiſhed by *Pithæus* never mentions it, which he thought to be the genuine *Chronicon* of *Proſper*. (*t*) *Hadrianus Valeſius* concludes one or the other not to be genuine; ſince they differ in point of time, and it is not probable the ſame Man would write two ſeveral Books about the ſame matter with ſuch Diverſity. (*u*) *Bucherius* thinks it impoſſible the ſame Perſon ſhould write both; yet both paſs under the Name of *Tyro Proſper*; and ſo he ſaith the ancient *MS.* of it, which he had (which was like that (*w*) *Pontacus* calls *Lodunenſe*) had that Name in the Title of it; But *Pontacus* his had the Title of *Proſper Aquitanus*, where he is ſaid to be *Epiſcopus Reginii*, and great debate hath been, whether he was Biſhop of *Regium Lepidum* in *Italy*;

(s) Proſper. *c. Caſſ. ad fin.*

(t) *Rer. Franc. l. 3. p. 102.*

(u) *Doctr. Tem. c. 12. p. 212.*

(w) Pontac. *App. ad Chron. p. 28.*

Italy; or of *Regium* (*Riez*) in *Gaul*; But (*x*) *Sirmondus* proves, *he was neither one, nor the other*; By the Teſtimonies of *Gennadius*, *Victorius*, *Marcellinus*, and others; And by *Fauſtus* immediately ſucceeding *Maximus* in that See: And ſo leaving no room for *Proſper* between them. But there was a *Proſper*, Biſhop of *Orleans* at that time; and another *Proſper*, Biſhop of *Regium Lepidum* in *Italy*, as (*y*) *Ughellus* ſhews, which might occaſion the Miſtake; But, beſides theſe, (*z*) *Sirmondus* tells us, there was another *Proſper* in *Gaul* who wrote a *Chronicon* too, and ended at the ſame time with *Tyro Proſper*; with this difference, that the one was onely an *Appendix* to St. *Jerome*, the other an entire *Chronicon*, as *Gennadius* expreſſes it. Which is ſuppoſed to be that publiſhed by *Labbe* out of ſeveral *MSS*. But (*a*) thoſe who have carefully examin'd it have found ſuch a difference in the *Computation* uſed in the ſeveral parts of it, That they cannot think them written by the ſame Authour; And therefore conclude that publiſhed by *Pithœus* to be the genuine *Chronicon* of *Proſper*, as far as it reaches; And that the firſt Part, which ſhould make it entire, is not yet diſcover'd. So that it remains uncertain whether this Paſſage be in the true *Proſper* or not. Our (*b*) Learned Primate of *Armagh* was of opinion, *That the Chronicon publiſhed by* Pithœus *was not written by* Proſper, *but by* Gennadius; becauſe *Boſton* of *Bury* ſaith, *That* Gennadius *added a Chronicon to St.* Jerome. And, I confeſs, the Paſſage in it about the Hereſie of the *Prædeſtinati* doth better agree with *Gennadius* than *Proſper*; And for that Reaſon *Sirmondus* hath found out another *Proſper*. But the Preſident (*c*) *Mauguin* ſaith, *it was counterfeited by the* Semipelagians *in* Proſper's *name*; *And that there is no mention in any Authours of another* Proſper *who publiſhed a Chronicon, which ended at the time the true* Proſper *did*, viz. *Anno Domini* 444. *Sirmondus* ſaith, *All the ancient Copies had the Name of* Proſper *upon it.* And it is ſo quoted by *Sigebert*; But if he had a mind to paſs for the other *Proſper*, he would never have differ'd ſo materially as he doth from him. So that this whole matter is very dark and obſcure yet.

(3.) Suppoſe it be granted that *Proſper* wrote ſo, yet there

(x) Sirmond. *Not. ad* Sidon. Apoll. *l.8. ep.15.*

(y) Ughell. *Ital. Sacr. Tom.* 2. *p.* 259.

(z) Sirmond. *Hiſt. Prædeſt. c.* 5.

(a) *Annal. Eccleſ. Franc. A.D.*455. *n.*7. 433. *n.*18.

(b) Uſſer. *de Prim. p.*429.

(c) Maug. *Hiſt. & Chronica Diſſert. p.* 519.

there is greater Reaſon to believe *Conſtantius* than *Proſper* in this matter. For *Conſtantius* was not onely living in that Age; but a Perſon of great Reputation, as appears by *Sidonius Apollinaris* his Epiſtles to him; and one that wrote with great fidelity, ſaith (*f*) *Baronius*; And therefore it cannot be ſuppoſed that he ſhould not expreſly ſet down by whom St. *German* was ſent into *Britain*. Beſides, *Conſtantius* is not alone; but the Authour of the Life of St. *Lupus* gives the ſame account; and ſo doth *Bede*, (with whom *Paulus Diaconus*, *Frecalphus*, *Erricus* and *Ado Viennenſis* agree) And he places their coming after the Reign of *Theodoſius*; And therefore it was impoſſible that *Celeſtine* ſhould ſend them.

(f) Baron. *A.D.* 429. *n.* 9.

St. *Germanus* and *Lupus* being thus employ'd by the Biſhops of *Gaul*, in a ſolemn Conference at (*g*) *Verulam* they diſputed with the *Pelagians*; and had ſo great Succeſs therein; and by their Preaching up and down in many places; *That they left the* Britains *well ſettled, as they ſuppoſed, in the ancient Faith.* But no ſooner were they returned, but ſome of the *Pelagians* got ground again; which occaſion'd another Meſſage to St. *German*, who then took with him (*h*) *Severus*, Biſhop of *Triers*; And then they prevailed ſo far as to procure the baniſhment of theſe Heretical Teachers, according to the Edict of *Valentinian*; And from thence forward *Bede* obſerves *that the* Britiſh *Churches continued ſound and orthodox.*

(g) Matt. Weſt. *A. D.* 446.

(h) Bed. *l.* 1. *c.* 21.

But here it will be proper to conſider how juſtly two *Britiſh* Biſhops have been charged with *Pelagianiſm*; the one is *Faſtidius*, and the other *Fauſtus*.

As to *Faſtidius*, (*i*) *Leland* confeſſes, *that his memory had been loſt, but for the mention which* Gennadius *makes of him*; (*k*) who ſaith of him, *that he was* Britannorum Epiſcopus; *And wrote a Book to one* Fatalis, De vita beata, *wherein the Doctrine was very ſound and good.* (*l*) *Trithemius* highly commends him, *as a man of great Wit and Eloquence, an excellent Preacher, and very pious Man.* (*m*) *Bale* ſaith, *that, being made Biſhop, he preached over all* Britain, *and was, as is reported, Metropolitane of* London: What *Bale* ſpeaks *upon report*; (*n*) *Pits* affirms *with confidence*, that he was *Arch-*

(i) Leland. *de Script.*

(k) Gen. *Catalog.*

(l) Trith. *de Script.*

(m) Bal. *Cent.* 1. *n.* 41.

(n) Pit. *de Scrip. An.* 5. *n.* 30.

Archbiſhop of London. (o) Archbiſhop *Uſher* thinks, they had no other ground for this, but a different reading in *Gennadius*, Britanniarum Epiſcopus. *From whence they concluded, He muſt be Archbiſhop of* London, *that being, as they ſuppoſed, the Metropolis of* Britain; *But he rather inclines to the opinion of* Berterius; *That* York *was then the Metropolis of* Britain; *Not onely becauſe it was a* Roman *Colony, but becauſe the* Prætorium *and Emperour's Palace was there.* But theſe Arguments are not ſufficient to overthrow *London's* being the chief *Metropolis* of the *Roman* times. For every Province had its *Metropolis*; And the ſuperiority of one *Metropolis* above another depended on the Reſidence of the *Roman* Governour, the *Vicarius Britanniarum.* I grant that, in the time of the Wars with the Northern *Britains*, *York* was the chief Seat of the Emperour when he was here, as in the times of *Severus* and *Conſtantius*; but that was for the conveniency of attending the Wars, and being near to give Directions and ſend Supplies. But the Preheminence of Places in the *Roman* Account did depend more upon the *Civil* than the *Military Officers*; Theſe being more uncertain than the other, and where the Supreme *Court* of *Judicature* was, that was the *chief Metropolis*, and that was where the Supreme Governour of thoſe Provinces had his reſidence. Thus every Province had a Preſident in the *Metropolis*; but where there was a Superiour Officer over theſe Preſidents, as the *Vicarius Britanniarum* was over the five Provinces, the Place of his reſidence was the *higheſt Metropolis*, becauſe the Preſidents Courts were in Subordination to his, whether they were *conſular* or *preſidial*; and therefore the ſolemn *Conventus* out of the Provinces were appointed there. Of theſe things we have a clear inſtance in the Caſe of *Arles*, where by the Conſtitution of (p) *Honorius, the ſeven Provinces, over which that was the Metropolis, were to have an annual Aſſembly there*, where the chief Magiſtrate reſided; and the Reaſons there given are, the great conveniency of that City being upon the River *Rhoſn*, both for other buſineſs and trading into all parts. The ſame Reaſons will hold to make *London* the *chief Metropolis* in the *Roman* times, becauſe of its

(o) Uſſer. *de Prim.* p. 317.

p. 97.

(p) *Vit.* Sirmond. *Not. ad* Sidon. Apollin. p. 245.

its admirable ſituation for Trade and Commerce, and the opportunity of ſending into, or receiving Diſpatches from the foreign Provinces and the Emperour's Court where ever it was. So that I ſee no reaſon to queſtion *London*'s being the chief *Metropolis* among the *Romans*. The Argument from *York's being a Colony* ſignifies nothing after *Antoninus* gave the *Jus Civitatis* to the whole Empire; and *London* was a *Colony* before *York*, (as I may ſhew elſewhere,) and of a higher nature, when it was called (*q*) *Auguſta*, which ſhews that it was then the *Imperial City of* Britain, that name being given to no other City in *Britain* beſides. And it is obſerved by the learned (*r*) *Marc. Velſerus, That thoſe Cities which had the Title of* Auguſta *conferred upon them, were the* Capita Gentium, *the chief Metropoles of the Provinces*; And ſince by the general Rule of the Church, the Eccleſiaſtical Government did follow the Civil, There is no reaſon to queſtion, but if *Faſtidius* were then Biſhop of *London*, he was the chief *Metropolitane* over the *Churches* of *Britain*.

(q) Am. Marcel. *l.* 27. 8. 28. 3.

(r) Velſer. *Rer. Vindel. l.* 5.

But whether *Faſtidius* were *Metropolitane*, or onely a *Britiſh* Biſhop, his Doctrine is of late charged to be inclinable to *Pelagianiſm*. For *Holſtenius* found in ancient *MS.* the Book *Faſtidius* wrote *De Vita Chriſtiana* with his name to it, and ſo publiſhed it; but it is not directed *ad Fatalem*, but to a certain Widow. In this Book a late (*s*) *Auguſtinian* hath diſcovered, as he thinks, *ſome Tincture of* Pelagianiſm; but to any candid Reader his Exceptions will appear very frivolous, and there is ſo much of true Primitive Chriſtianity in the reſt of it, as makes good the Character which *Gennadius* and *Trithemius* give of him. Out of which Book, and no great one, *Bale* hath made *four*, one *De Vita Chriſtiana*, a ſecond *De Doctrina Spiritûs*, a third *De Viduitate ſervanda*, a fourth, *Admonitiones Piæ*. *Pits* keeps the ſame number, but leſt he ſhould ſeem to take all out of *Bale*, he alters the Title of one of them; And becauſe *Gennadius* ſaith his Doctrine was *Deo digna*, therefore *Pits*, very artificially, makes the Title of his ſecond Book to be *De Doctrina Deo digna vel ſpirituali*. *Boſton* of *Bury* makes him *the Authour of two Books*, by miſtaking *Gennadius*; but as far as we can find,

(s) Hen. de Noris, *Hiſt. Pelag. l.* 1. *c.* 19.

find, there is but one exſtant. (*t*) *Dempſter* hath found *Faſtidius to have been born upon the Mountains of the Weſtern parts of Scotland*, and he makes him Authour of a fifth Book called *Chronicon Scotorum*, which is a Strain beyond *Pits*. He poſſitively affirms that he lived *An.Dom.*440. *Trithemius* ſaith, about *An.Dom.*420.

(t) Dempſter. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 6. *n.* 530.

As to *Fauſtus*, his Caſe is much harder. That he was originally a *Britain* I find not denied by any; For although (*u*) *Facundus* calls him a *Gaul*, yet that was becauſe of his being a Biſhop ſo long there, as *Sirmondus* obſerves; he being *Ortu* Britannus, *habitaculo Regienſis*, as (*w*) *Alcimus Avitus* ſaith, in his Epiſtle to *Gundobadus*, King of the *Burgundians*, *to whom*, he ſaith, *Fauſtus was known*. In his (*x*) Epiſtles to *Ruricius*, *Fauſtus* ſpeaks of his living in a *State of Baniſhment*, *and the Comforts he found in it*; This our Learned (*y*) Primate underſtood of his living *out of his own Countrey*; But (*z*) *Hen. de Noris*, *of a Baniſhment by* Euaricus *an* Arian *King then in* Gaul, *which he ſuppoſes he underwent for writing againſt the* Arians. If he had produced any Teſtimony of ſuch Baniſhment, there might have been Reaſon to have underſtood his Expreſſion ſo; But ſince there is none, and his Words are general as to his Countrey; I ſee no cauſe to take them in any other ſenſe. For Men do not uſe to call that their Countrey where they live as Strangers, and he ſpeaks of the kindneſs of *Ruricius* ſo to him, that he did *Patriam in peregrinatione facere*, which cannot well bear any other ſenſe, than that he made up *the want of his own Countrey to him*. (*a*) *Sirmondus* grants he was a *Britain*, but he adds, *he was one of thoſe* Britains *who dwelt upon the* Loir, *i. e.* in the parts of *Aremorica*. There is no queſtion, but in the time of *Fauſtus*, there were great numbers of *Britains* there; for (*b*) *Jornandes* ſaith, *That* Riothamus, *their King or General*, *went with* 12000 Britains *againſt* Euricus, *King of the* Viſigoths. Which *Riothamus* (*c*) *Sidonius Apollinaris* writes to, and mentions the *Britains with him*; But it may be juſtly a queſtion, whether there were any *Colonies* of *Britains* on the Continent, before *Fauſtus* his birth; For *Fauſtus* was made Abbat of *Lerins*, before the *Saxons* came firſt into *Britain*; For he was Abbat

(u) Facund. *r.* Mocian. *p.* 561.

(w) Alc. Avit. *Ep.* 4. *p.* 35.

(x) Caniſ. *Antiqua Leſſ. Ta.* 5. *p.* 435.

(y) *De Primord. p.* 439.

(z) Noris *Hiſt. Pelag. l.*2. *c.*16.

(a) Sirmond. *Not. ad* Facund. *p.* 562.

(b) Jornand. *c.* 45.

(c) Sidon.Apoll. *l.* 3. *ep.* 9.

when St. *Caprasius* died, as the Authour of his Life affirms, which was about *Anno Domini* 430. But their coming was not till *Anno Domini* 449. and it will be hard to make out any Settlement of the *Britains* on the *Loir* before. It is then most probable that *Faustus* went at first out of *Britain* into *Gaul*, where he attained to a wonderfull Reputation both for Piety and Learning. *He was worshipped as a Saint*, saith (*d*) *Noris, in the Church of* Riez, and his Name was preserved in the *Calendar* of the *Gallican Church*. *Molanus* was the first who durst adventure to strike out his name; *Baronius* follow'd him, but upon admonition restored it, as (*e*) *Bollandus* observes, who likewise takes notice, that he was called a Saint by *Cl. Robertus*, by *Ferrarius*, and by *Pet. Galesinius*, in his *Martyrology*, who adds, *that his Books are piously and learnedly written, and that Miracles are said to be wrought by him.* It is certain, he was a Person in mighty esteem in his own time, as appears by the Passages of (*f*) *Sidonius Apollinaris*, of (*g*) *Ruricius*, and others, concerning both his Eloquence, Learning and Piety. Of whom *Sidonius Apollinaris* gives that excellent Character, *that he had learnt to speak better than he was taught, and to live better than he spake:* He was Bishop of *Riez*, *Anno Domini* 462. for at that time he was joined with *Auxanius* in determining the Controversie between *Leontius* of *Arles* and *Mamertus* of *Vienna*. But nothing can more manifest the esteem he was then in among the *Gallican* Bishops, than that in the Council of *Arles* he was pitched upon as the fittest Person to draw up their sense in the great Points then so much agitated about *Predestination* and *Grace*, as appears by his Preface to *Leontius*. At this Council thirty Bishops were present, and there *Lucidus* presented his *Recantation* of the *Errours* he held about *Predestination*, and after this *Faustus* wrote his Books of *Grace* and *Free-will*, to which, he saith, another Council at *Lyons* caused some things to be added. In these Books it is thought that, under a Pretence of confuting those Errours, he sets himself against St. *Augustine's Doctrine*, as seems clear by one Expression in his first Book; *That if it be true, that some are predestinated to Life, and others to Destruction,*

(d) *Hist. Pelag. l. 2. p. 297.*

(e) *Acta Sanct. ad 16 Jan.*

(f) Sidon. Apoll. *Ep. 3, 9. l. 9. & in* Euchar.

(g) Ruric. *Epist. l. 1. ep. 2.*

on, ut quidam Sanctorum dixit, non judicandi naſcimur, ſed judicati: But theſe words may refer to what follows, as well as to what went before, *As a certain holy Man hath ſaid, We are not born to be judged, but we are judged before we are born.* According to which Doctrine, ſaith *Fauſtus*, *There can be no Equity in the day of Judgment.*

It hath been a great Queſtion among ſome Learned Men, whether there were any Perſons who drew ill Conſequences from Saint *Auguſtine's Doctrine*, and were therefore oppoſed by *Fauſtus* and others, or whether it were the *mere Doctrine of* St. *Auguſtine* that was ſo oppoſed by them, and urged with thoſe Conſequences as following from it. I ſee no Reaſon to deny, that the *Semipelagians* did charge the Followers of St. *Auguſtine* with the ſame things which are made the Opinions of thoſe who are called the *Predeſtinatian Hereticks* by *Sigebert*, *Gennadius*, *Hincmarus*, and others. But yet that there were certain Perſons who did own ſuch bad Conſequences as the overthrowing *the Liberty of Man's Will* and *the Neceſſity of our Endeavours*, will appear from theſe two Reaſons. (1.) St. *Auguſtine's* Doctrine was ſo miſunderſtood by ſome in his Life time, as appears by the Controverſie amongſt the *Adrumetine Monks*. The Caſe was this, *Florus*, one of that Society, going to *Uzala*, a City near *Utica*, between *Hippo* and *Carthage*, where *Euodius* was then Biſhop, a Friend of St. *Auguſtine's*, there met with (*h*) St. *Auguſtine's* large Epiſtle to *Sixtus* againſt the *Pelagians*, which being ſent home, and *Florus* himſelf going to *Carthage*, before his return they were fallen into great Heats upon the Occaſion of that Epiſtle. *Some of them*, as (*i*) St. *Auguſtine* himſelf ſaith, *did ſo preach up the Grace of God, as to deny Free-will, and conſequently to ſay, That God in the day of Judgment would not render to men according to their Works*; Others ſaid, *That our Free-will was aſſiſted by the Grace of God, that we may know and doe the things that are right*; *That the Lord, when he comes to render to every Man according to their Works, may find our Works good, which he hath prepared that we may walk in them. And they*, ſaith he, *who judge thus do judge rightly.* Therefore thoſe who

(h) Valent. *ad* Aug. *Ep.* 216.

(i) Aug. *ad* Valent. *Epiſt.* 214.

thought otherwiſe did miſtake his Doctrine; For, as he ſaith, *If there be no Grace, there can be no Salvation; If there be no Free-will, there can be no day of Judgment.* To what purpoſe is all this, if ſome of theſe did not ſo miſunderſtand his Doctrine as to overthrow all Liberty of Will in Mankind? And ſo (*k*) *Euodius*, in his Anſwer to thoſe *Adrumetine Monks* ſhews, *That there is ſtill Free-will in us, but wounded by the Fall, and onely recoverable by the Grace of* Chriſt. (*l*) Janſenius *grants that they did miſunderſtand St.* Auguſtine's *Doctrine, thinking that Free-will was wholly deſtroyed by it; And that no Man ought to be reproved when he doeth amiſs, but that others ought to pray that he may have Grace to doe better.* But the Preſident (*m*) *Mauguin* will not allow this; For he ſaith, *That St.* Auguſtine *was at firſt falſely informed of the ſtate of the Controverſie among them by* Creſconius *and* Felix; *But after* Florus *his coming he found they were* Semipelagians *who miſunderſtood his Doctrine.* But to what purpoſe then doth (*n*) St. *Auguſtine* take ſuch pains to prove even in the Book he wrote after the coming of *Florus, That there is Free-will ſtill left in Mankind? Liberum itaque arbitrium confitendum nos eſt habere, & ad malum, & ad bonum faciendum.* Not ſo as to exclude *the neceſſity of Divine Grace*, as he proves at large, *but yet in ſuch a manner as to ſhew its conſiſtency with Divine Commands, and the juſt Reproof and Puniſhment of thoſe who doe amiſs.* Which ſhews plainly, That he thought there were ſome ſtill who miſinterpreted his Doctrine, not barely to object againſt it, but to make ill uſe of it. Therefore (*o*) *Noris* had no Reaſon to conclude *that the Errour of the* Adrumetine *Monks was* Semipelagianiſm. (2.) It appears evidently from the Caſe of *Lucidus*, and the Councils of *Arles* and *Lyons*. I grant that the Objections mentioned by *Proſper* and *Hilary* were made by the *Semipelagians*, and not by any *Predeſtinatian Hereticks* at that time in *Gaul*; and therein (*p*) *Sirmondus* was certainly miſtaken, as he was likewiſe, when he ſaith, *that the Epiſtle of* Celeſtine *was againſt the latter, and not againſt the former.* But it appears by *Fauſtus* his Epiſtle to *Lucidus* that there were ſome who did ſo aſſert *Predeſtination* as to make all Mens Endeavours vain and uſeleſs; And this dangerous

(k) *Apud* Sirmond. *Hiſt. Prædeſt. c.* 1.

(l) Janſen. *Hiſt. Pelag. l.* 1. *p.* 27. *l.* 7. *c.* 1.

(m) *Prædeſt. Fab. confut. c.* 1.

(n) *De Corrept. & Grat. c.* 1. *c.* 4. 14, 15, 16.

(o) *Hiſt. Pelag. l.* 2. *p.* 281.

(p) *Hiſt. Prædeſt. c.* 2, 3.

gerous

gerous Errour he renounced in his Recantation delivered to the Council of *Arles*. (q) *Mauguin* is very hard put to it, when he ſaith, *That all theſe things were the mere invention of* Fauſtus; whom he makes to be *Countreyman* with *Pelagius* and *Cæleſtius*, and *to have ſucked in the Poiſon of* Pelagianiſm *with his Milk*. He grants that he was famous for his Wit, Eloquence and Philoſophy; But eſpecially for *a profound cunning*, which (r) *Iſidore* mentions in him; From whence he endeavours to prove by many Arguments, *That theſe Councils and Epiſtles were all forged by* Fauſtus. But he is ſo far from perſuading Learned Men to be of his Mind, That (s) *Noris* himſelf confeſſeth *he can never aſſent to it*; And although it be looked on as part of the cunning of *Fauſtus*, That he deſigned to convey his Books ſo privately to his Countreymen the *Britains*, as appears by the Epiſtle of *Sidonius Apollinaris* to him, yet it is utterly incredible that he ſhould forge two Councils, and ſet down the Names of ſeveral Biſhops as preſent in them, with whom *Sidonius Apollinaris* was particularly acquainted, and yet he not diſcover the Cheat and Impoſture. But the *Janſeniſts* yield, that both thoſe Councils were held about *Anno Domini* 475. But they ſay, *that the Biſhops were partly* Semipelagians, *partly deceived by* Fauſtus *who was ſo*; And *Noris* doth not deny, *that there were other Perſons who were then charged with thoſe Opinions which* Lucidus *held. But*, he ſaith, *they were not many nor conſiderable enough to make a Sect*; *And that they did not willingly yield thoſe Conſequences. But not knowing how to anſwer the* Semipelagians, *they were forced to aſſert them*; *Which their Adverſaries therefore charged them with as their own Opinions.* Which ſeems no improbable Account of thoſe called *Predeſtinatians*. It cannot be denied, that *Fauſtus* his Books were ſeverely cenſured after his death, not onely by the *Scythian Monks* at *Conſtantinople*, among whom *Joh. Maxentius* was the chief; but by the *African* Biſhops who were then Exiles in *Sardinia*, by whom *Fulgentius* was employ'd to write againſt them. But *Poſſeſſor*, one of the *African* exiled Biſhops, being then at *Conſtantinople*, and finding great Heats about *Fauſtus* his Books, ſends to Pope *Hormiſdas*, to know his

(q) *Prædeſt. Fab. conſut. c. 7.*

(r) *Iſid. de viris illuſtr. c. 14.*

(s) *Hiſt. Pelag. l. 2. c. 15.*

his Judgment about them; Which he did at the requeſt of *Vitalianus* and *Juſtinianus* two of the greateſt Men in the Emperour's Court. He returns a cautious Anſwer as to *Fauſtus*; Which, by the way, ſhews how little Credit is to be given to the Decree of *Gelaſius* about *Apocryphal Books*, for therein *Fauſtus* his *Books* are condemned. But if this had been done by *Gelaſius*, is it probable that *Hormiſdas*, his Succeſſour, would have ſtuck ſo much at it as *Maxentius* ſaith that he did? But he refers them for the ſenſe of the Church to St. *Auguſtine*, and *Proſper*, and *Hilary*; And the *Definitions* of his *Predeceſſours*. *Maxentius* rails againſt this Anſwer, as unſatisfactory and next to *heretical*, and ſets St. *Auguſtine*'s Sayings againſt thoſe of *Fauſtus*. Afterwards, *Cæſarius*, Biſhop of *Arles*, not onely wrote againſt *Fauſtus* his Doctrine, but by his means chiefly it was condemned in the *Second Council of Orange*: Which aſſerted *the Neceſſity of Preventing Grace*; The denying whereof was the main *Errour* charg'd on *Fauſtus*, not ſo much as to *good Works* (for (t) *Janſenius* hath at large proved, *That the* Semipelagians *did yield the Neceſſity of Internal Grace as to them*;) but *Fauſtus* and *Caſſian* and *Gennadius* denied it as to *Faith* or *Good Inclinations*.

(t) Janſen. *Hiſt. Pelag. l.* 8.

But to return to St. *Germanus* and his Companions into *Britain*; If we give Credit to our *Antiquaries*, they did other Kindneſſes to the *Britiſh* Churches beſides the confuting *Pelagianiſm*, whereof two are moſt conſiderable. (1.) The Inſtitution of *Schools* of *Learning* among the *Britains*. (2.) The Introduction of the *Gallican Liturgy* into the uſe of theſe Churches.

(1.) As to *Schools* of *Learning*; none were more famous among the *Britains* than thoſe of *Dubricius* and *Iltutus*, who are both ſaid to have been the *Diſciples of St.* German. The Anonymous Authour of the *Chronicle* in (u) *Leland* ſaith, *that St.* Germanus *and* Lupus, *having rooted out* Pelagianiſm, *conſecrated Biſhops in ſeveral parts of* Britain, *and among the reſt they placed a Cathedral at* Landaff, *and made* Dubricius *Archbiſhop, who diſpoſed of his Diſciples to ſeveral Churches*; *He made* Daniel *Biſhop of* Bangor, *and ſent* Iltutus *to a Place from him called* Lan Iltut, *or the* Church *of* Iltutus.

(u) Collect. vol. 2. p. 42.

Iltutus. (*w*) *Camden* ſaith, *to this day it is called* Lantuit, *where the Foundations of many Houſes are ſtill to be ſeen*; Near the Place called *Bovium* in the *Itinerary*, now *Boverton*. But there is another Place near *Nidum* or *Neath*, whoſe name comes very near it *Llanylted*. The (*x*) old Regiſter of *Landaff*, after it hath mention'd *the frequent Meſſages the* Britains *ſent to the neighbour Biſhops of* Gaul *for aſſiſtence againſt the* Pelagians, *and the coming of* Germanus *and* Lupus *ſent by them*, it adds, *that they conſecrated Biſhops in many Places, and made* Dubricius *Archbiſhop over all the* Britains, *Dextralis partis* Britanniæ, *Of the right hand part of* Britain. With which *John* of *Tinmouth* and *Capgrave* agree. What this *Right hand part of* Britain *was* at the time of the Conſecration of *Dubricius* is not ſo eaſie to underſtand; Archbiſhop (*y*) *Uſher* takes it for *South Wales*; it being the cuſtome of the *Britains* to call *the South the Right hand ſide*; ſo *Aſſerius Menevenſis* calls *Suſſex* the *Region of the Right hand* Saxons. But it is obſervable that (*z*) *Aſſerius* there makes *Demetia*, or *South Wales*, to be but a part of what he calls *Dextralis pars* Britanniæ. For when he ſaith in general, *That all the Countrey of the Right hand of* Britain *ſubmitted to King* Alfred, he then inſtanceth particularly in *Hemeid* King of *Demetia*, and *Houil*, and other Kings of *Guent*, by which *North Wales* is as much underſtood as *South Wales* is by the other. And therefore I rather think *Dubricius* was made Archbiſhop over all the *Britains* in thoſe parts; For (*a*) *Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis* ſaith, *The Biſhop of* Caerleon *had ſeven ſuffragan Biſhops under him*: And (*b*) *Matt. Weſtminſter* ſaith, *That* Dubricius *was made Archbiſhop of* Caerleon, (although he might have a Seat at *Landaff*, as the Regiſter of that Church affirms, by the Gift of *Mouricus.*) But it appears that he had then *Archiepiſcopal Power*; And poſſibly, upon the Diſturbance of thoſe times, the See might for a time be removed to *Landaff*; From whence it was again removed by St. *David* to the Town bearing his Name. But the Biſhops of *Landaff* who ſucceeded were ſo unſatisfied with it; That the Regiſter of that Church ſaith, *That from* Oudoceus *the ſecond, from* Dubricius, (for he ſucceeded *Teliaus* in that See) *They choſe rather to be conſecrated*

(w) *Brit.* p. 498.

(x) *v. Monaſt. Anglic. vol.* 3. p. 188.

(y) *De Primord.* p. 80.

(z) *De Geſtis Alfred. ad A. D.* 884.

(a) *Polychron. l.* 1. *c.* 52.

(b) *Matt. Weſtm. A. D.* 490, & 507.

ſecrated by the Archbiſhops of Canterbury, *than by their own Metropolitan of St.* David's, as appears by the Proteſtation made by the Biſhop of *Landaff* to *Calixtus* II. in the Council of *Rhemes*, *Anno Dom.* 1119. But, I confeſs, it doth not ſeem very probable that a *Britiſh* Biſhop ſhould go for Conſecration to *Auguſtine* the *Monk* or his Succeſſours; For the *Britiſh* Biſhops did all look on them as *Intruders*; And if any ſhould have done it, how would they have been received by the *Britiſh* Churches at that time? It is therefore far more probable, either that they went over to the *Britiſh* Archbiſhop, at *Dol* in *Britannie*, or that there was a Succeſſion preſerved for ſome time of the Archbiſhops of *London* among the *Britains*, after the retirement of *Theonius* and *Thadiocus*, the two other *Metropolitans* of *London* and *York*, who, as (*c*) *Matt. Weſtminſter* ſaith, *did withdraw when their Churches were deſtroyed by the* Saxons, *with many of their Clergy into* Wales; where as long as that Succeſſion continued they might exerciſe ſome parts of their Function, leaving the main to the Archbiſhop of *Caerleon*, to whom of right it belonged; And *Ranulphus* ſaith; *That Province extended as far as the* Severn, *and ſo took in* Cheſter, Hereford *and* Worceſter; But before *Dubricius* was ſo much advanced, the Authours of his Life ſpeak of the *great number of Scholars which flocked to him from all parts of* Britain; Not the Rude and Vulgar onely, but Perſons of greateſt Reputation, among whom they name St. *Theliaus*, *Samſon*, *Aidanus*, and many others. Two Places they mention, where he received and inſtructed his Diſciples, one at *Hentlan*, on the River *Wye*, where they ſay *he had a Thouſand Students with him, whom he brought up in humane and divine Literature.* And the other was at *Moch-rhos*, where he had a Place for Study and Devotion.

(c) Matt. Weſtm. *A. D.* 586.

Iltutus by (*d*) *Vincentius*, and the (*e*) Authour of the Life of *Samſon* is ſaid poſitively to have been *a Diſciple of St.* Germanus; And the (*f*) Authour of the Life of *Gildas* ſaith, *That in the School of* Iltutus *many Noblemens Sons were brought up*, among whom he reckons as the chief *Samſon*, afterwards Archbiſhop of the *Britains*, viz. at *Dol* in *Britannie*; *Paulus*, Biſhop of

(d) Vincent. *Spec. Hiſt. l.* 21. *c.* 105.
(e) *Biblioth. Floriac. p.* 468.
(f) *Vit.* Gild. *ib. c.* 3.

of the *Oxiſmii*, the moſt Northern of the *Aremorici* (which Biſhoprick is ſince divided into three, *Treguier*, St. *Pol de Leon* and St. *Brieu*) and *Gildas*, called *Sapiens*, of whom afterwards: *Leland* to theſe adds *David* and *Paulinus*: And ſaith, *his School flouriſhed like an Univerſity among the* Britains. (g) *Bollandus* and *Henſchenius* make a very probable Conjecture, *That when St.* German *came into* Britain, *and found the decay of Learning to have been the great occaſion of the ſpreading of* Pelagianiſm, *he appointed* Dubricius *and* Iltutus *to undertake the Education of the* Britiſh *Clergy*; And that by theſe means, as *Bede* ſaith, *theſe Churches continued afterwards pure and free from this Hereſie.* Which was a wiſe and ſeaſonable Inſtitution; And hereby we ſee the *Britiſh* Churches were not defective in Learning in their loweſt Condition, when the *Britains* were forced to leave their Habitations, and to fly into Corners.

(g) *Act. Sanct. Feb. 9. Vit. S.* Teliaj. *Comment.* § 1. n. 3.

Of which, beſides theſe Nurſeries of *Dubricius* and *Iltutus*, we have a famous Inſtance in the Monaſtery of *Banchor*, which even (*h*) *Bede* ſaith, *was furniſhed with learned Men at the coming of* Auguſtine *into* England. This *Banchor* was diſtant but ten or twelve miles from *Cheſter*, as (*i*) *Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis* and *Bradſhaw*, in his Life of St. *Werburg*, ſay. (*k*) *Leland* in his Itinerary deſcribes the Place as *ſtanding in a Valley, and having the compaſs of a walled Town, and two Gates remaining half a mile diſtant from each other.* (*l*) *Camden* ſuppoſes it to be the *Bomium* in *Antoninus*, being ten miles diſtant from *Deva*, *i. e. Cheſter.* That which was moſt obſervable in this *Britiſh* Monaſtery was, that Men there were bred up to *Learning* and *Devotion* together, and ſo more reſembling our *Colleges* than the *Egyptian Monaſteries*, where men were brought up to *Ignorance* and *Labour* as much as to *Devotion.* Wherein the *Benedictines* followed them according to their firſt Inſtitution: For St. *Benedict* himſelf not onely deſpiſed Learning, as the Writers of his Life ſay; But he takes no care about it in the *Rule* of his *Order*; And when (*m*) *Boniface* gave an account to *Zachary* of his ſetting up a *Benedictine Monaſtery* at *Fulda*, he ſets the Monks out by their *Abſtinence and*

(h) Bed. *l.* 2. *c.* 2.

(i) *Polychr. l.* 4. *c.* 31.

(k) *Collect. vol.* 2. *p.* 63. *Itiner. p.* 308.

(l) Camd. *Brit. p.* 457.

(m) Bonifac. *Epiſt.* 141.

hard Labour with their own Hands, without Servants. It is true that (*n*) *Trithemius* ſpeaks much of *the Schools of Learning in the Benedictine Monaſteries*, but not before *Anno Dom.* 890. which was after the (*o*) *Conſtitutions* of *Charles* the great, *who appointed Schools for inſtructing Youth both in Monaſteries and Cathedrals*; Which gave the firſt Countenance and Encouragement to Learning at that time; And (*p*) *Lupus Ferrarienſis* ſaith, *That the reviving of Learning was then owing to him:* But although theſe *Conſtitutions* extended no farther than to *Grammar Schools*; yet from hence, thoſe who were inclined to Learning in the *Monaſteries* applied themſelves more to it; and by degrees gained a great Reputation by it, as *Rabanus Maurus* at *Fulda*, whoſe eſteem drew *Lupus* thither, and many others; Which example prevailing, and the Monks finding ſuch reſort to increaſe their Wealth as well as Reputation, as (*q*) *Aub. Miræus* obſerves; from that time the Monaſteries were deſirous to have ſome of their Number to be eminent for Learning, which had been before ſo much neglected by them, as wholly beſides the Rule of their Order. But the *Monaſteries* of the *Weſtern Churches* before St. *Benedict*'s time, ſuch as that of St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Euſebius* of *Vercelles*, St. *Auguſtine* in *Africa*, St. *Martin* in *Gaul*, were chiefly intended as *Nurſeries* to the Church, and the Perſons educated therein, were brought up with a deſign to doe the Church ſervice afterwards. This method of Education taking ſo much in other Churches (as in *Gaul*, where ſo many eminent Biſhops were taken out of the *Monaſtery* of *Lerins*, according to the Rule of *Capraſius*,) St. *German* who was ſo well acquainted with St. *Honoratus*, St. *Hilary* of *Arles*, and others of that Education, might probably be the firſt Inſtrument of ſetting up this way in the *Britiſh Churches*. And to confirm this, St. *Patrick*, who carried over this *Monaſtick Education* into *Ireland*, ſpent many years under the Diſcipline of St. *German*, as (*r*) *Probus* and (*s*) *Jocelin* the Writers of his Life do agree. And thoſe who have written of St. *German* have mention'd him as one of his Diſciples, as (*t*) *Erricus* of *Auxerre*. And (*u*) *William* of *Malmsbury* ſaith, *he was not onely a Diſciple of Saint* German,

(n) *Chron. Hirſ. A. D.* 890.

(o) *Capit. Anſeg. l.* 1. *c.* 71. *l.* 5. *t.* 95.

(p) Lup. *Epiſt.* 1.

(q) *Orig. Monaſt. l.* 2. *c.* 1.

(r) Prob. *vit.* Patr. *apud* Bed. *Ta.* 3.

(s) Jocel. *vit.* Patr. *c.* 22.

(t) *Bibliotb. MSS.* Labb. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 537.

(u) *De Geſtis Pont. l* 2. *p.* 145.

German, *but being made Biſhop by* Celeſtine, *he was ſent by St.* German *into* Ireland. And in the *Iriſh* Monaſteries there were *Schools* like thoſe of *Dubricius* and *Iltutus* for the breeding of Youth in Learning. For therein, as *Rouſe* an *Antiquary* in *Edward* IV. time ſaith, *The Maſters did teach*, ſecundum formam Studiorum antiquorum, *according to the ancient method of Learning*; Which our learned (*w*) Primate underſtands *of joining the Studies of humane Learning with divine*; of which he produces an Inſtance in a *MS.* of the Library of *Worceſter*; Being a Commentary of an *Iriſh* Biſhop upon *Martianus Capella*'s *Aſtrology* which he read to his Diſciples in the Monaſtery of St. *Remigius* in *Down*. And the Authour of the *Opus Tripartitum* of the Life of St. *Patrick* ſaith, *That he ſet up at* Armagh *Summum ſtudium literale*. Which in the Language of that time is the ſame with an *Univerſity*, onely this is a *Law-term*, and implies a *Legal Society* incorporated for the Profeſſion of Learning, which the (*x*) Civilians tell us, *None but the Supreme Authority of a Nation can doe*. In this School at *Armagh*, *Caradoc* of *Lancarvan* in his Life of *Gildas* ſaith, *That he was a Profeſſour*, Studium regens & prædicans in Civitate *Ardmaca*. But the Anonymous Authour of his Life publiſhed out of an ancient *MS.* by *Joh. à Boſco* (*y*) ſaith, *That* Gildas, *going over into* Ireland *in the time of* Ammeric, *i. e.* about *Anno Dom.* 566. *found both Religion and Learning much decay'd there, and that he built many Churches and Monaſteries, and brought up many Noble Mens Sons therein. In his younger days*, he ſaith, Gildas *went to* Iren, *and viſited the Schools of many Learned Men, and enquired their Opinions in Philoſophical and Divine matters.*

(*w*) *De Primord. p.* 910.

(*x*) Choppin. *de Doman. Franc. l.* 3. *tit.* 27. Linn. *Jus publ. l.* 8.

(*y*) *Biblioth. Flor. vit. Gild. c.* 10.

ll. c. 6.

Some queſtion hath been made by Learned Men, what this Authour means by *Iren*; The moſt eaſie and obvious ſenſe is to take it for *Ireland*, where there were ſo many Schools of Learning in the Monaſteries of St. *Patrick*'s foundation; And *Iris* is uſed by (*z*) *Diodorus Siculus* for *Ireland*: And (*a*) *Ierne* in the Book *de Mundo*, and *Apuleius*; and the Inhabitants are called *Irenſes* by (*b*) *Ordericus Vitalis*; and the Countrey is called *Erin* by the Inhabitants, as Archbiſhop

(*z*) Diod. Sic. *l.* 5.

(*a*) *De Mund. p.* 64. *ed.* Valcken.

(*b*) Ord. Vital. *l.* 10. *ad A. D.* 1098.

(c) *Hiſt. Gottesch. c. 9.*

(c) *Uſher* obſerves; But the marginal Note of *Joh. à Boſco* hath led ſome quite out of their way in ſeeking for this Place; Which is, *That* Iren *was an Univerſity then in* Great Britain; And from hence they have proceeded to prove our famous Univerſity of *Oxford* to be meant by it; (d) Firſt, *Iren*, ſay they, *was miſtaken for* Icen, *and that for* Ychen, *and* Ychen *for* Rydychen, *and* Rydychen *in the* Britiſh *Tongue ſignifies the ſame with* Vadum Boum, *and that is the ſame with* Oxford. I cannot think Learned Men write theſe things any otherwiſe, than as *Sports of Wit*, which are intended for the *diverſion*, and not for the *conviction* of the Reader. As likewiſe, when the ſame Authours produce out of *Conſtantius* his Life of St. *German*, *Regionis illius Univerſitas*, to prove the *Antiquity of their Univerſity*. But that Paſſage in the Copy of *Aſſerius*, printed by *Camden* is more material, viz. *That St.* German *ſtaid half a year in* Oxford; *and approved the Orders made by* Gildas, Melkin, Nennius *and* Kentigern. I know what Heats have been about this Paſſage among very Learned Men. For my part, I ſee no cauſe to miſtruſt the ſincerity of Archbiſhop *Parker* in the Edition of his very ancient Copy, where this Paſſage was not to be found; And I do not queſtion *Camden*'s Fidelity in publiſhing *Aſſerius* out of ſome other Copy; But it had been fair to have given an Account whence he had it, and for what Reaſons he inſerted it in another Edition of *Aſſerius*; and why he preferred the *Savilian* Copy before the other. But I cannot but wonder that theſe Learned Men have taken no more notice of the Inconſiſtency of this Paſſage with the Hiſtory of thoſe times. For theſe Perſons all lived a conſiderable time after St. *German*, as it were eaſie to prove, if it were worth the pains. For *Gildas* was not born till at leaſt forty four years were paſt after St. *German*'s death: which thus appears; He ſaith he was born the year of the Victory of *Aurelius Ambroſius* over the *Saxons* at the *Mons Badonicus*, which was forty four years after they came hither, *Anno Dom.* 449. And by comparing St. *German*'s Embaſſy to *Valentinian* at *Ravenna*, where he died, we ſhall find that St. *German* was dead the year before the *Saxons* arrival,

(d) *Antiq. Acad. Oxon. Apol. l. 2. n. 84. Hiſt. Acad. Oxon. l. 1. p. 9, 10, 11.*

arrival, *Anno Dom.* 448. As the (*e*) *Samarthani* ſhew. But againſt this there is a conſiderable Objection from what (*f*) *Bede* ſaith, *That the* Saxons *and* Picts *joined together after St.* Germans *coming, which occaſion'd the Victory by ſinging* Alleluiah *according to St.* German's *direction*; and it is ſo much ſtronger, in that the very ſame Expreſſions are in *Conſtantius*. But this may be eaſily ſolved by thoſe that conſider the frequent Incurſions the *Saxons* made on the *Britains* before they were ſent for over, as appears by the *Comes Litoris* Saxonici *per* Britanniam, appointed to ſecure the Coaſts from the *Saxons*; And that *Gildas* therefore wonders the *Britains* ſhould ſend for the *Saxons*, *of whom they were ſo much afraid before*; And when the *Roman* Forces were withdrawn, no doubt they did more boldly and frequently diſturb them.

(e) *Gall. Chriſtian. To.* 2. *p.* 267.

(f) Bed. *l.* 1. *c.* 20.

Beſides, (*g*) *Conſtantius* ſaith in St. *German*'s Life, *that he ſucceeded St.* Amator *in his See, and continued therein thirty years and twenty five days.* But St. *Amator* died *Anno Dom.* 418. as our Learned (*h*) Primate hath proved, *becauſe the Calends of* May *on which he died were that year*, *as* Conſtantius *ſaith*, *the fourth day of the Week*, which agrees to 418. If it be ſaid, *That this Paſſage of* Aſſerius *is meant of an Elder* Gildas, *called* Gildas Albanius *whoſe Life the ſame excellent Antiquary ſuppoſes to be written by* Caradoc *of* Lancarvan; I anſwer, that when he comes to fix the times in his *Chronological Index*, he doth overthrow his own Suppoſition: For *Caradoc*, by his own confeſſion, makes *Gildas contemporary with King* Arthur, and he is ſaid by him to be born *Anno Dom.* 493. And therefore *Caradoc*'s *Gildas* can be no elder than the *Gildas Badonicus*. Although therefore the want of skill may make *Caradoc* ſet his *Gildas* elder than he ought to have done; yet whoſoever will compare that Life publiſhed by *Joh. à Boſco* with the other by *Caradoc*, will find that they were deſigned for the ſame Perſon. And therefore *Leland*, with far more judgment, mentions but one *Gildas*; but *Bale* and *Pits* make more; but it is their Vanity to multiply Authours as well as Books. St. *Kentigern* was baptized aſſoon as he was born, by *Servanus*, one of the Diſciples of *Palladius*, whoſe Miſſion had

(g) Conſtant. *vit.* German. *l.* 2. *c. ult.*

(h) Uſſer. *de Prim. p.* 382.

the

the ſame date with the firſt coming of St. *Germanus* and *Lupus*; And therefore it is not very probable that St. *German* ſhould ſee the Orders of *Gildas* and *Kentigern*, much leſs thoſe of *Melkin* and *Nennius*, whoſe Ages fall ſo far ſhort of the others.

But although St. *German*'s being at *Oxford* cannot be proved by ſuch obſcure and incoherent Paſſages as this; yet I doubt not but by the Evidence already produced, he did take care to advance Learning and Piety in the *Britiſh Churches* whereſoever he came: Both which were falling very much to decay upon the irruption of the barbarous Nations. While the *Roman* Empire flouriſhed there was care taken for the encouragement of Learning, eſpecially in greater Cities. At *Rome* by the Conſtitution of *Valentinian* we may ſee the Orders then made for Regulation of Students there; as for entring their Names who came thither out of the ſeveral Provinces by the *Magiſter Cenſus*, with the *Teſtimonials* from the Governours of *Provinces*, of the Place of their Birth and Quality, who then were to declare what *Studies* they deſigned to follow, and an account was to be given of their Lodgings: And particular Officers were appointed called *Cenſuales* to make an Inſpection into their Lives, that they did avoid all Clubs called there *Conſociations*, or frequent appearing at the *Sports*, or affecting unſeaſonable and publick Entertainments. If any were found faulty, they were to be chaſtiſed, and ſent away home, but none were permitted to ſtay after twenty at *Rome*, and an account of theſe things was to be taken monthly, and given in to the *Præfectus Urbis*, and return'd to the Emperour every year; as appears by the (*i*) *Conſtitution* it ſelf in the *Theodoſian Code*. By which we find, That *Rome* it ſelf was then the chief *Univerſity* of the *Empire*, to which *Students* reſorted from all the *Provinces*, and the Emperour thought it not below his Cognizance to have notice ſent him of the Numbers, Qualities and Behaviours of the *Students*; But leſt the Splendour and Vanities of *Rome* ſhould tempt them to forſake the Service of their Countrey, they were not permitted to ſtay there after twenty years of Age; For then, not having the Difficulties of the Lan-

(i) C. Theod. l. 14. tit. 9. L. 1. A. D. 370.

Language to conquer which they were uſed to while Children, at fifteen they were thought fit to be inſtructed in other Studies, and five or ſix years was all the time this Law allow'd them to proſecute them under the Maſters at *Rome*. Where, beſides an infinite number of private Teachers in that vaſt City, there were publick *Profeſſours* appointed, who had their *Schools* within the *Area* of the *Capitol*, which were called *Auditoria publica*, as we may reaſonably infer from the (*k*) *Conſtitution* of *Theodoſius*; where the *Exedræ* of the *Portico's* of the *Capitol* at *Conſtantinople* are appointed to make *Auditoria* for the *publick Profeſſours* there: And *Conſtantinople* follow'd the Pattern at *Rome*. Theſe *Exedræ* were, as (*l*) *Vitruvius* deſcribes them, Places of *Capacity* within the *Portico's*, with Seats round, in which the *Rhetoricians*, and others, were wont to diſcourſe; Or, according to (*m*) *Cicero*, they were *Cellæ ad colloquendum aut meridiandum*, ſuch as *Craſſus* had at *Tuſculum*, and *Cotta* at *Rome*, where thoſe great Men were wont to ſit for their diverſion and diſcourſe with each other: And the *Greek Gloſſary* renders *Exedra*, a *School*; ſuch a one (*n*) *Strabo* deſcribes in the *Muſæum* at *Alexandria*, which conſiſted of a *Walk*, an *Exedra*, and a great Houſe where the Learned Men did all live and eat together upon a publick Allowance, under the Government of a Perſon appointed by their Kings, and after by the *Cæſars*. This *Muſæum* was adjoining to the Palace, and near it was the famous Library of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*: For that was *in Bruchio*, as (*o*) *Epiphanius* ſaith, and was diſtinct from the other *Library* afterwards *in Serapeo* mentioned by (*p*) *Ammianus Marcellinus*. This *Bruchion* was a Region of the City, as *Epiphanius* ſaith; And ſome will have its Name from the Πυρυχεῖον, the *Granary* of *Alexandria* being there, and by contraction it was called Πρυχεῖον. So the *MS.* of (*q*) *Euſebius* mention'd by *Valeſius* hath it. But (*r*) *Salmaſius* would have the name taken *from the Stores laid in there for the College of Learned Men in the* Muſæum, which *Ammianus Marcellinus* calls *Præſtantium hominum domicilium*; And this Πυρυχεῖον, he ſaith, is the ſame with Πρυλαιεῖον, and *Euſtathius* ſaith, *The one ſignified the ſame at* Alexandria, *which the*

(k) C. Theod. l. 15. tit. 1. l. 53.

(l) Vitruv. Antiq. l. 5. c. 2.

(m) De Orat. l. 3.

(n) Geogr. l. 17.

(o) Epiph. de Ponder.

(p) Am. Marcell. l. 22. c. 15.

(q) Euſeb. l. 7. c. 32.

(r) Salmaſ. in Spartian. p. 52.

the other did at Athens; And, he obſerves, that it was accounted a great favour in the Emperours to grant any Learned Man ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ σίτησιν, *i. e. a Fellowſhip in the College.* So (s) *Athenæus* mentions it as the kindneſs of *Hadrian* to *Pancrates* the Poet, for flattering *Antinous*; *That he gave him a Right of Commons in the* Muſæum: As he did likewiſe to *Dionyſius* the Sophiſt, and *Polemon*, and *Nicetas Smyrnæus*, as *Philoſtratus* in their Lives relates. *Ariſtonicus* wrote the Hiſtory of the *Muſæum* at *Alexandria*, and of the Philoſophers and Learned Men who flouriſhed in it, and the manner of their living there; Out of whom (t) *Photius* ſaith that *Sopater* borrow'd part of the twelfth Book of his *Miſcellanies*. But this Book being loſt, as likewiſe thoſe of *Callimachus* and *Alcidamas*, no particular account can be given of the Hiſtory of it. Onely in general we know, that the moſt Learned Perſons in their ſeveral Profeſſions were invited thither, and had there all the Encouragements which Freedom from Care, good Air, (for the *Muſæum* was celebrated for that by *Strabo*) ſutable Society and an excellent Library could give them; the Keepers whereof were men of the greateſt Reputation, as *Demetrius Phalereus*, *Zenodotus Epheſius*, *Eratoſthenes*, *Apollonius*, *Ariſtonymus*, *Chæremon*, *Dionyſius*, &c. In this *Muſæum* it was that (u) *Hadrian* propoſed Queſtions to the Profeſſours; and in it were Ἀγῶνες inſtituted, or Sports by *Philadelphus* to *Apollo and the Muſes*, after the finiſhing his *Library* and Rewards given to thoſe that overcame in the Opinions of the *five Judges* appointed for that purpoſe. From hence came the *Commiſſiones* and *Agones Sacri* among the *Romans*, at which Judges were appointed; Among whom (w) *Horace* mentions *Metius Tarpa* for one. Theſe were ſometimes performed in the *Capitol*, as (x) *Rycquius* obſerves, *i. e.* in the *Portico's* where the *Exedræ* were like thoſe at *Conſtantinople*. What the Number of publick Profeſſours was at *Alexandria* and *Rome* is not certainly known, but at *Conſtantinople* their Number is determin'd by a (y) *Conſtitution* of *Theodoſius*. In the *Publick Schools* called there *Auditorium Capitolii* and *Auditorium noſtrum*, there were to be for the Latine Tongue

(s) Athen. *l.* 15.

(t) *Cod.* 161.

(u) Spartian. *in* Hadrian.

(w) Horat. *de Arte Poet. & in Satyr.*

(x) *De Capitol. c.* 35.

(y) C. Theod. *l.* 14. *tit.* 9. *l.* 3. *l.* 2.

Tongue *three Oratours, and ten Grammarians*; For the Greek *five Sophiſts and ten Grammarians*; *One Profeſſour of Philoſophy and two of Law.* Theſe had their diſtinct *Schools* allotted them called *Publicæ Magiſtrationes* and *Cellæ* in the *Law*; And all others were forbidden to teach in publick, either within the *Capitol*, or elſewhere, upon pain of Infamy for the Fact, and Baniſhment out of the City. The Emperour *Valens*, by another Conſtitution, appointed for the Publick Library at *Conſtantinople ſeven Antiquaries to look after the Books, four Greek and three Latine, who were to have a publick allowance*; So that there was a *Bibliotheca Palatina* there as well as at *Rome*, and both in probability were near the *Capitol*, where the *Profeſſours* taught; For that at *Rome* was called *Bibliotheca Capitolina*, concerning which *Joh.* (z) *Sarisburienſis* ſaith, *It was reported that* Gregory *the great cauſed it to be deſtroyed, out of a fear, that Heathen Learning ſhould abate Mens Love to the Scriptures*; which was a very fooliſh and ſuperſtitious fear. For Men know better how to value the Scriptures by it. And he did ill then to fetch the Soul of *Trajan* out of *Purgatory* (but I hope one Story is no truer than the other) for he founded the *Bibliotheca Ulpia*, which was next to the *Palatina*; and *Victor* ſaith, *There were twenty ſeven more publick Libraries in* Rome. If this Story be true, *Gregory* rather follow'd the Steps of *Julian* than of *Conſtantine*; for the one envied Learning to the Chriſtians as much as the other promoted it, *Victor's* Epitome ſaith of *Conſtantine*, that he did, *Nutrire artes bonas, præcipuè ſtudia Literarum*; And his (a) *Conſtitutions* ſtill extant do ſhew the great kindneſs he had for Learning and Learned Men; granting great Privileges and publick Salaries to the Profeſſours of Learning in the ſeveral Cities of the Empire. But *Julian*, finding that Chriſtianity did ſpread by the Learning of the Chriſtians, he firſt *drew the choice of publick Profeſſours to himſelf*, by making his *Approbation* neceſſary after the *Judicium Ordinis* and *Decretum Curialium*, and ſo excluded the Chriſtians. Afterwards (b) he expreſly declared, *He would endure none to interpret Heathen Authours, who argued againſt their Religion:* But no *Conſtitution* appears

(z) *Polycrat. l. 8. c. 19.*

l. 2.

(a) *C. Theod. 13. tit. 3. LL. 1, 2, 3.*

Ib. L. 5.

(b) *Julian. Ep. 42.*

in the *Code* beſides the former tending that Way. Upon this *Proæreſius*, ſaith (*c*) St. *Jerome*, *left the Chair at* Athens, although he had a particular Indulgence by *Julian*. And (*d*) *Oroſius* adds, *That the Chriſtian Profeſſours of Learning almoſt univerſally forſook their Places:* But both mention an expreſs Edict of *Julian's* to that purpoſe. Some Writers ſpeak of another Edict *forbidding Chriſtian Children to learn*; But I can find no Edict to that purpoſe; And it ſeems to me to have been onely a conſequence of the former; Since Chriſtian Parents would not ſend their Children to be taught by Heathens, having ſeen the ſad effect of it in the *Apoſtacy* of *Julian*, under his Heathen Tutours, *Mardonius*, *Maximus* and *Iamblichus*.

(c) Hier. *Chron.*

(d) Oroſ. *l.* 7. *c.* 30.

But by this Edict we find how univerſally Learning was then diffuſed through the *Provinces* of the *Roman* Empire, which was in great meaſure due to *Antoninus Pius*, of whom (*e*) *Jul. Capitolinus* ſaith, *That he appointed Honours and Penſions to Rhetoricians and Philoſophers through all the Provinces*; which were confirmed and inlarged by the ſeveral Edicts of *Conſtantine* to that purpoſe, already mention'd. And (*f*) *Fr. Baldwin* takes particular notice of his Zeal to promote Learning. In *Gaul* (*g*) St. *Jerome* mentions the *Florentiſſima Studia Galliarum*; And *Conſtantius*, in the Life of St. *German*, the *Auditoria Galliarum*; after which, he ſaith, he went to *Rome* as the chief *Univerſity* eſpecially for *Law*; thence (*h*) *Sidonius Apollinaris* calls it *Domicilium Legum*, and Saint (*i*) *Auguſtine* ſaith, *he went thither to ſtudy the Laws.* But other Profeſſions flouriſhed elſewhere; as at *Carthage*, (*k*) *Salvian* ſaith, *There were Profeſſours of all Arts and Sciences:* And at *Sicca Veneria* in *Africa*, *Arnobius* was Profeſſour of *Rhetorick*. Near *Lyons* in *Gaul* the 60 Cities had dedicated an Altar to *Auguſtus*, where the *Rhoſn* and the *Arar* meet, there *Caius Caligula* appointed Prizes to be plaid both in *Greek* and *Latine Eloquence*; And not that onely, but *Philoſophy* was there taught; Thence (*l*) *Odilo*, Abbat of *Clugney*, about *Anno Dom.* 1020. calls *Lyons* of old *the Mother and Nurſe of Philoſophy*. In the time of *Diocleſian* and *Maximianus*, the Nobility of *Gaul* were brought up

(e) *Vit.* Anton. Pii.

(f) De *Legibus* Conſtant. *l.* 2. *p.* 142.

(g) *Ad* Ruſtic.

(h) Sidon. *Ep.* 6. *l.* 1.

(i) *Confeſſ. l.* 6. *c.* 8.

(k) De *Gubern. Dei*, *l.* 7.

(l) *Vit.* Maioli, *Vit.* Adell.

to

to Learning at *Auguſtodunum* (*Autun*) and there *Eumenius* was both *Rector* and *Profeſſour*, as appears by his Speech to *Conſtantius*, where (*m*) he celebrates ſo much the *Scholæ Mænianæ*, *Quondam pulcherimo opere & ſtudiorum frequentiâ celebres*; which having ſuffer'd very much in the Rebellion of the *Bagaudæ* under the latter *Claudius*; he was extremely concerned to have them rebuilt, which is the deſign of his excellent *Oration*. But long before, in *Tiberius* his time, (*n*) *Tacitus* ſaith, *The Sons of the Nobility did there*, Liberalibus ſtudiis operari, *improve themſelves in Learning*. (*o*) *Euſebius* mentions, in the time of *Nero*, *Statius Urſulus* of *Tholouſe*, a famous Profeſſour of *Rhetorick*. And (*p*) *Auſonius* reckons up many of thoſe who had been famous there and at *Bourdeaux*, and other Places. But to ſpare our pains in particular Places, there is extant in the *Theodoſian Code* an (*q*) Edict of *Gratian*, *requiring all the chief Cities of theſe Parts of the* Roman *Empire to ſettle and maintain in them Profeſſours of Learning, both of the Greek and Roman Languages*. This Edict was directed to the *Præfectus Prætorio Galliarum*, and was commanded to be obſerved through all his *Dioceſe*; which *Gothofred* reſtrains to *the Provinces of Gaul*, excluding *Britain*, for which I ſee no reaſon; Since (*r*) *Auſonius* who was himſelf in that Office in *Gratian*'s time comprehends the *Britains* under his *Juriſdiction*. And the *Notitia Imperii* places the *Provinces* of *Britain* under him after *Gratian*'s time. Which *Notitia* he thinks was made about *Anno Dom.* 426. By virtue of which Edict we are to ſearch for the ancient *Schools* of Learning among the *Britains*, in the *chief Cities* of the *Provinces* at that time; eſpecially at *London*, which was the *Caput Gentis*, being *Auguſta* or the *Imperial City*, and ſo at *York* and *Caerleon*. So that the *Britiſh Churches*, as long as the *Roman Power* continued here, had the ſame advantages for Learning which they had in other *Provinces*; But when the *Roman Forces* were withdrawn, and nothing but Miſeries and Deſolation follow'd; then St. *German*'s Care proved a moſt ſeaſonable Relief to them in providing ſuch Schools as thoſe of *Dubricius* and *Iltutus* for the breeding up of Perſons qualified for the Service of the

(m) *Orat. pro reſtaur. Schol. n.* 3.

(n) *Annal.* 3. *c.* 43.

(o) *In Chronic.*

(p) *In Profeſſ.*

(q) *C. Theod.* 13. *tit.* 3. *L.* 11.

(r) *In Moſell. v.* 407.

Church; as far as the Miſeries of thoſe times would permit.

The laſt thing to be conſidered is, The *Publick Service* of the *Britiſh Churches*. And in an ancient *MS.* in the *Cotton Library*, about the *Original* of *Divine Offices*, *Germanus* and *Lupus* are ſaid *to have brought into the uſe of the* Britiſh *Churches*, Ordinem Curſûs *Gallorum*. By which (*s*) Archbiſhop *Uſher* underſtands the *Gallican Liturgy*. For *Curſus* in the Eccleſiaſtical uſe of the Word is the ſame with *Officium Divinum*, as *Dominicus Macer*, in his late *Hierolexicon* ſhews; thence *Curſum celebrare*, is, *to perform Divine Offices*; And ſo the word *Curſus* is often uſed in (*t*) *Fortunatus* his Life of St. *German*, Biſhop of *Paris*, and in our (*u*) *Saxon Writers*: But this *Curſus Gallorum* is there diſtinguiſhed from the *Curſus Orientalis*, and the *Curſus Ambroſii*, and the *Curſus Benedicti* (which little differs, he ſaith, from the *Curſus Romanus*) And this was that which *Germanus* and *Lupus* had learnt in the Monaſtery of *Lerins*, where it was uſed by *Caſſianus* and *Honoratus*, as the Authour of that Book affirms, which I find to have been the ſame which (*w*) Sir *H. Spelman* commends for its great *Antiquity*. And that Authour derives the *Gallican Liturgy* from St. *John* by *Polycarp* and *Irenæus*; Which *MS. Mabillon* was inclined to think to have been the Book which *Gregorius Turonenſis* wrote *de Curſibus Eccleſiaſticis*, but for the quoting the (*x*) Life of *Columbanus* and *Attala*, which was not written till after his Death.

(s) *De Primord. P.* 343.

(t) *Apud* Suri. 28. *Maii.*

(u) Bed. *l.* 4. *c.* 18. *Concil. Cal. c.* 7. Aſſer. *vit.* Alfr.

(w) *Concil. Brit. To.* 1. *p.* 167.

(x) Mabillon. *Anal.* 1, *p.* 9.

This will oblige us to enquire, what the *Gallican Liturgy* at this time was, and how far different from the *Roman*. It is agreed on all hands, that there was a material difference between them, but wherein it lay is not ſo eaſily underſtood. When *Gregory* ſent *Auguſtine* the *Monk* into *England*, to ſettle the *Saxon Churches*, and he was conſecrated by the Archbiſhop of *Arles*, one of the Queſtions, (*y*) *Auguſtine* propoſed, was, *ſince there was ſuch difference between the Offices of the* Roman *and* Gallican *Churches*, *Which he ſhould follow? Gregory* anſwered, *That he ſhould chuſe what he thought moſt proper for the* Engliſh *Church*. Which implies, That there was a diverſity ſtill between them;

(y) Bed. *l.* 1. *c.* 27.

And

And that the Pope did not oblige him to follow the Example of the *Roman Church*; chiefly, I ſuppoſe, Becauſe the Queen, being a Chriſtian before, and uſing the *Gallican Liturgy* in the *Publick Service*, and her Biſhop being of the *Gallican Church*, it would have given great Offence to them to have had it taken away; as likewiſe to all the *Britiſh Churches* which had been accuſtomed to it. If the Books of *Muſæus* mention'd by (z) *Gennadius* were extant, we ſhould eaſily underſtand wherein the difference lay. For, he being a *Presbyter* of the Church of *Marſeilles*, and a Man Learned in the Scriptures, was deſired by *Venerius*, the Biſhop there, *to draw up a Form of Publick Service, conſiſting of two Parts*, viz. *The Morning Service, and the Communion Service.* The firſt he finiſhed in the time of *Venerius*, and is highly commended by *Gennadius for its Order, Uſefulneſs and Decency.* The ſecond, in the time of *Euſtathius* his Succeſſour, which he likewiſe commends for *its great weight and exactneſs.* And there was great Reaſon at that time, to bring the *Church Service* into *Order*, becauſe *Caſſian* and others endeavour'd to introduce the *Monaſtick Cuſtoms* which he had obſerved in *Egypt* and elſewhere, as appears by the deſign of his *Monaſtick Inſtitutions*, eſpecially the ſecond and third Books, which he dedicated to *Caſtor*, Biſhop of *Apta Julia*, at the ſame time that *Venerius* was Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, where *Caſſian* lived. This *Muſæus* was therefore employ'd to draw up the moſt convenient *Order* for the *Publick Service*, from whence we may be able to judge of the difference in both parts between the *Gallican* and *Roman Offices.*

(z) Gennad. *de Scriptor. c.* 79.

I begin with the *firſt*, viz. the *Morning Service*, which conſiſted of *Leſſons*, *Hymns* and *Pſalms* agreeable to the *Leſſons*, and ſhort *Collects* after them.

In the *Church* of *Rome*, for a long time, *viz.* for above 400 years, they had nothing before *the Sacrifice*, as the *old Ritualiſts* agree, beſides the *Epiſtle* and *Goſpel*; then *Celeſtine* appointed the *Pſalms* to be uſed; or as (*a*) *Walafr. Strabo* and *Micrologus* ſay, cauſed *Antiphonæ* to be made out of them and ſung. The *Epiſtle* was conſtantly taken out of St. *Paul*, as *Walafr. Strabo* proves out of the *Pontifical Book*; But *in proceſs*

(a) Walafr. *c.* 22. Microl. *c.* 1.

ceſs of time, he ſaith, *other Leſſons were taken out of the Old and New Teſtament, agreeably to the time*; Which might be borrow'd from the *Gallican Church*; as other Inlargements of their *Offices* by the *Ritualiſts* Confeſſion were, and in probability the Diſtribution of the *Leſſons* was firſt begun by *Muſæus*, which we have digeſted according to the *Roman* Cuſtome in the *Lectionarius*, publiſhed by *Pamelius*, by ſome attributed to St. *Jerome*. After the *Leſſons* follow'd the *Reſponſoria*, or *Proper Hymns*, for ſo (*b*) *Iſidore* ſaith, *they were called, becauſe, one ſinging, the whole Choire did anſwer*; and (*c*) *Rhabanus Maurus* calls ſuch an *Anthem*, *Reſponſorius Cantus*; and theſe differ'd from the *Antiphonæ*, becauſe in them the whole Choire ſung each Verſe *alternatim*: But (*d*) *Rupertus* thinks, *they had their Name becauſe they anſwered to the Leſſons, being ſung immediately after them*; for *the refreſhment of the Hearers mind*, ſaith (*e*) *Amalarius*. But, beſides the *Leſſons* and *Hymns*, he methodiz'd the *Pſalms* ſo as to be read agreeably to the *times* and the *Leſſons*; and not in the Order wherein they ſtand: which ſeems to have been peculiar to the *Gallican Church*. The moſt ancient Cuſtome of the *Church*, as (*f*) *Menardus* proves from *Juſtin Martyr*, and others, was *to begin the publick Service with the Leſſons*. And (*g*) St. *Ambroſe*, in one Place, ſeems to mention no more in his Church at *Milan* beſides the *Leſſons* and the *Sermon*, before his expounding the *Creed* to the *Competentes*; But in the ſame *Epiſtle* he ſpeaks of the *Pſalms* that were read in the *Morning Service*: And (*h*) elſewhere *of the People's anſwering to the Pſalms*; and it is generally ſaid by the ancient *Ritualiſts*, that *St.* Ambroſe *brought into the uſe of the Weſtern Church the cuſtome of Singing the Pſalms Verſe by Verſe in turns by both ſides of the Choire*; ſo (*i*) *Iſidore*, (*k*) *Rabanus*, (*l*) *Walafridus Strabo*, and (*m*) *Radulphus Tungrenſis*: And ſo *Paulinus* in his Life ſaith, *he brought up the uſe of* Antiphonæ, *in the Weſtern Church*. And (*n*) *Sigebert* adds, *that he took it from the Greeks*. And (*o*) St. *Auguſtine* ſets down the occaſion of it, *viz. when the People at* Milan *were perſecuted by the* Arians, *and reſolved to abide in the Church. And therefore to keep them well employ'd he thought*

(b) De Eccl. Officiis, l. 1. c. 8.
(c) De Inſtit. Cleric. l. 1. c. 33.
(d) De Officiis, l. 1. c. 15.
(e) Amal. l. 4. c. 3.
(f) *In Sacram.* Gregor. p. 4.
(g) Ambr. Ep. 35. l. 5.
(h) *In Hexaem.* l. 3. c. 5.
(i) De Offic. l. 1. c. 7.
(k) Rab. l. 2. c. 50.
(l) Wal. c. 25.
(m) Rad. c. 12.
(n) Sigeb. Chr. A. D. 387.
(o) Confeſſ. l. 9. c. 6, 7.

thought upon this Cuſtome of the Eaſtern Churches; Which not onely continued there, but from thence ſpread into other Churches, not without oppoſition in ſome Places; as (*p*) St. *Auguſtine* confeſſes, *it met with ſome at* Carthage; But withall he ſaith, *he wrote in Vindication of it.* In the *Eaſtern Church* it was of ancient uſe, if (*q*) *Socrates* ſay true; for he ſaith, *it begun upon a Divine Viſion to* Ignatius, *at the Church of* Antioch. But (*r*) *Theodoret* ſaith, *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* brought it up there; But the words of *Theodorus Mopſeuſtenus* in (*s*) *Nicetas* ſeem to intimate, *that they took this Cuſtome from the* Syriack *Churches*; However *Theodoret* attributes the beginning of *Singing the Pſalms of* David *in that manner in the* Greek *Churches* to them; From whence he ſaith *it ſpread into other Parts.* But we find by (*t*) St. *Baſil*, *it was very hardly received in the Church of* Neocæſarea, *becauſe it was not introduced by* Gregory, *who firſt ſettled the Church there. Neither*, ſaith he, were the *Litanies which they then uſed*, *brought in by him:* And for that Cuſtome of Singing, he ſaith, *it was practiſed in the Churches of* Egypt, Palæſtine *and* Syria, *as far as* Euphrates. But it came later into the Weſtern Church. (*u*) *Card. Bona* ſaith, *That* Damaſus *firſt commanded it to be uſed in all Churches by his Apoſtolical Authority*; But (*w*) *Card. Baronius* ſaith, *It is a plain falſhood which the Pontifical Book affirms of* Damaſus *his appointing the Pſalms to be ſung in all Churches*, and he adds, *that the Epiſtles of St.* Hierome *and* Damaſus *about it are counterfeit.* Yet thoſe are the Authorities which, as appears by (*x*) *Pamelius*, the ancient *Ritualiſts* rely upon. All that *Baronius* will allow to be done in the time of *Damaſus*, was, that *St.* Jerome's *Pſalter was then introduced at* Rome. And yet we are told, (*y*) that to this day, *the old Tranſlation of the Pſalter is uſed in St.* Peter's, and is called, *Pſalterium Romanum* in the *Rule* of St. *Francis*, which he forbids to be uſed in Divine Service; But the ſame is onely uſed in the *Ambroſian Office.* And (*z*) *Card. Bona* obſerves, that St. *Gregory compoſed the* Antiphonæ *at the* Introitus, *and at the* Reſponſoria, *&c.* out of the *old Verſion*, before St. *Jerome*'s time; Of which he gives this reaſon, *That the People at* Rome *were ſo accuſtom'd to it, that they would not learn the*

(p) *Retract. l. 2. c. 11.*
(q) Socr. *l. 4. c. 8.*
(r) Theod. *l. 2. c. 8.*
(s) Nicet. *Teſſ. l. 5. c. 30.*
(t) Baſil. *Ep. 63.*
(u) *Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 4.*
(w) *A. D. 384. n. 20.*
(x) Pamel. *Lit. To. 1. p. 258.*
(y) Gavant. *in Breu. Sect. 5. c. 8. n. 3.*
(z) *Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 3. § 4.*

the New Teſtament of St. Jerome; And the ſame Au-
(a) *l.* 1. *c.* 12. thour (*a*) obſerves likewiſe, *That the old* Italick *Verſion was not onely uſed in* Rome, *but in all the Suburbicary Churches, and other Churches,* Gaul *onely excepted.* And from thence St. *Jerome's Tranſlation* was called *Verſio Gallicana*, becauſe it was immediately received into the uſe of the *Gallican Churches.* So that I ſee not how *Baronius* can make good his own Aſſertion, *That St.* Jerome's *Tranſlation of the Pſalter was introduced by* Damaſus. But the uſe of *Alleluja* by St. *Jerome's* means,
(b) *Regiſt. l.* 7. *Ep.* 63. as (*b*) St. *Gregory* ſaith, *was brought from the Church of Jeruſalem.* Which *Baronius* thinks *is rather to be underſtood of ſome particular manner of uſing it.* But how he can juſtifie the ancient uſe of the Singing Pſalms at *Rome*, either before or after *Damaſus* his time till *Celeſtine* was Pope, I cannot imagine, if the *Pontifical Book* ſay true, for that expreſly affirms, *that* Celeſtine *appointed* David's *Pſalms to be ſung* Antiphonatim *before the Sacrifice, and that it was not done before, but onely the Epiſtles of St.* Paul *and the holy Goſpel were read.* Which words are repeated by *Alcuinus, Amalarius, Rabanus Maurus, Walafridus Strabo, Berno Augienſis,* and ſeveral other Ritualiſts and Hiſtorians, as may be ſeen
(c) *Liturg. To.* 1. *p.* 554. in (*c*) *Pamelius* his Collection, and (*d*) *Caſſander's*, be-
(d) *Liturg. c.* 18, 21. ſides the Authours themſelves; But (*e*) *Baronius* ſaith,
(e) Bar. *A.D.* 60. *n.* 33. *the uſe of Singing the Pſalms was from the beginning in the* Roman *Church*; which we are to take upon his Word, for he brings no proof of it. It is true, that
(f) Aug. *Epiſt.* 119. *c.* 18. (*f*) St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *That we have the Precept and Example of* Chriſt *and his Apoſtles, for ſinging in our Aſſemblies.* But he ſpeaks not of *David's Pſalms*, nor of the *Church of Rome.* And he ſaith, *The Cuſtoms of Churches were very different about this matter. In the Churches of Africa,* he ſaith, *They confined themſelves to the Prophetical Hymns*, for which they were upbraided by the *Donatiſts*, as too grave and formal; But he allows *Singing* to be one of the *Solemn Parts* of *Divine Service*, with which he joins *Reading the Leſſons, Preaching and Prayer*; *either aloud by the Biſhop, or in common, by the*
(g) *Apolog. p.* 60. *Deacon's giving notice.* (*g*) *Juſtin Martyr* mentions the *Hymns of the Church*, without declaring whether they
(h) *Epiſt. l.* 10. *ep.* 97. were compoſed or inſpired; And ſo do (*h*) *Pliny* and

(*i*) *Ter-*

(*i*) *Tertullian* in ſome Places. But in his (*k*) Apology he ſaith, *both were uſed.* (*l*) *Euſebius* mentions *the Hymns compoſed by Chriſtians which proved the Divinity of Chriſt*; And (*m*) the great eſteem the *Hymns of Nepos* were in; and (*n*) *the complaint againſt* Paulus Samoſatenus *for laying aſide the Hymns made to the Honour of Chriſt.* The Council of (*o*) *Laodicea firſt reſtrained the uſe of Private Hymns in the Churches Service*, the *Greek Canoniſts* underſtand this Canon of *Apocryphal Pſalms*, ſuch as *Salomon's Pſalter* publiſhed by *La Cerda* out of the *Auſpurg MS.* which he highly magnifies, and almoſt believes to be genuine; But if this Canon be extended to all humane Compoſitions; it was never received in the Weſtern Church, wherein the Hymns of St. *Hilary*, St. *Ambroſe*, *Prudentius*, and others have been generally uſed. And the *Ambroſian Hymns* were received into the *Service* of the *Gallican Church*, as appears by the ſecond Council at (*p*) *Tours*; And (*q*) *Caſſander* obſerves, *that not onely thoſe made by St.* Ambroſe, *but others in imitation of him, were called by his name*; Which (*r*) *Walafridus Strabo* confirms; But among thoſe the *Te Deum* is not reckon'd by *Caſſander*, neither is it of the *Ambroſian Compoſition*, *for thoſe Hymns ended their Sentence every fourth Verſe*, as he obſerves. *Te Deum* is commonly ſaid to have been made by St. *Ambroſe*, and St. *Auguſtine*, at his Baptiſm, and to prove it, the Ritualiſts quote the *Chronicle* of *Datius*, Biſhop of *Milan.* But (*s*) *Gavantus* obſerves, *that the Learned Men of* Milan *deny that there is any ſuch thing as a Chronicle of* Datius *among them.* (*t*) *Mabillon* ſent to them to enquire particularly about it, and they return'd Anſwer, *That they had no ſuch thing*, *But that there was ſuch a Title put upon a Book written by other Authours.* In an old Collection of *Hymns*, and an old Latine and French Pſalter mention'd by (*u*) Archbiſhop *Uſher*, this *Hymn* is attributed to St. *Nicetius.* And there were two of that name in the *Gallican Church*; The former of which, might probably be the Authour of it. The one was Biſhop of *Triers*, and ſubſcribed to the Council of *Auvergn*, *Anno Dom.* 535. highly commended for his Eloquence and Sanctity by (*w*) *Gregorius Turonenſis*, (*x*) *Fortunatus* and others; And the other of great

(i) Tertull. *de Virg. Velat.* c. 17. *ad Uxor.* l. 2. c. 8.
(k) *Apolog.* c. 39.
(l) Euſeb. l. 5. c. 28.
(m) l. 7. 24.
(n) l. 7. c. 30.
(o) *Laod. Cn.* c. 59.
(p) *Concil. Turon.* 2. c. 23.
(q) Caſſ. *Præf. ad Hymn. Eccl.*
(r) Walafr. c. 25.
(s) Gav. *in Bre.* § 8. c. 19.
(t) *Analect. Vol.* 1. *p.* 5.
(u) Uſſer. *de Sym.* p. 3.
(w) Greg. l. 10. c. 29.
(x) Fort. l. 3. *car.* 9.

 ſame

fame too and Biſhop of *Lyons*, who ſubſcribed to the Council there *Anno Dom.* 567. But againſt this latter there is a ſtrong Objection from the mention of this *Hymn* in the *Rule* of St. *Benedict*, c. 11. who died, according to *Baronius*, *Anno Dom.* 543. It is likewiſe mention'd in the *Rule* of (*y*) *Cæſarius*, drawn up by *Tetradius*, c. 21. who died about the ſame time; And in the *Rule* of (*z*) *Aurelianus*, who was preſent in the Council of *Lyons*, *Anno Dom.* 549. in the time of *Sacerdos*, Predeceſſour to *Nicetius*. But I ſee no reaſon againſt the former *Nicetius*, ſince (*a*) *Menardus* confidently affirms *there is no mention of this Hymn in any Writers before.* And therefore we may look on this Hymn, as owing its Original to the *Gallican Church.*

(y) *Cod. Regul. Part.* 2. *p.* 93.

(z) *Ib. p.* 112.

(a) *Not. in Sacr. Greg. p.* 351.

(b) Caſſ. *Juſtif. Monach. l.* 2. *c.* 8.

Beſides, (*b*) *Caſſian* takes notice *that in the* Gallican *Churches*, Gloria Patri, *&c. was ſaid by the People at the end of every Pſalm.* But *Walafridus Strabo* obſerves, *That at* Rome *they uſed it rarely at the end of the Pſalms*; *but more frequently after the* Reſponſoria. From hence the three Cardinals, (*c*) *Bellarmine*, (*d*) *Baronius* and (*e*) *Bona* all conclude *thoſe Ritualiſts miſtaken who make* Damaſus *the Authour of adding the* Gloria Patri, *&c. to the end of every Pſalm: And that the Epiſtle under the name of St.* Jerome *to him about it is notoriouſly falſe*, and withall they ſay, *that the other Ritualiſts are miſtaken who attribute it to the Council of* Nice; Becauſe then there would not have been ſuch difference in the uſe of it in ſeveral Churches. In the *Æthiopick Euchariſtical Office* of the 318 *Fathers* at the Council of *Nice*, beſtow'd on me by my worthy Friend, Doctour *Caſtle*, this *Hymn* it ſelf is not uſed; But the Office conſiſts chiefly of a Lofty and Divine Paraphraſe upon it. In the *Liturgy* of *Dioſcorus* it is uſed in the middle of the Prayers. It is evident from (*f*) St. *Baſil*'s Diſcourſe concerning it, that the *Hymn* it ſelf was of ancient uſe in the *Eaſtern Church*; but he doth not ſay in what part of the Churches Service it was uſed; But (*g*) *Caſſian* ſaith, *over all the Eaſt, it was uſed onely to conclude the* Antiphona. By which he underſtands a *Hymn* between the *Pſalms*; *Walafridus Strabo* obſerves great diverſity in the uſe of it in the *Weſtern Churches*; *Some put it*, he ſaith, *into all Offices*; *Some at the end of*

(c) Bellar. *de Abſſ. l.* 2. *c.* 16.
(d) Bar. *A. D.* 325. *n.* 175.
(e) Bon. *de Pſalmod. c.* 16. *n.* 6.

(f) *Ad* Amphil. *c.* 7. *c.* 27.

(g) Caſſian. *l.* 2. *c.* 28.

every

every Pſalm; *Some at every breaking off the longer Pſalms*; *Some after the* Reſponſals; But the uſe in general was univerſally approved, onely the *Greeks* found fault with the *Latines* for putting in the middle, *Sicut erat in principio*, but the uſe thereof was required in all the *Gallican Churches* in the time of (*h*) *Cæſarius*, Archbiſhop of *Arles* (as (*i*) Uniformity was required by other Councils.) *Cardinal Bona*, following *Baronius*, makes that Council much elder which required the uſe of this *Hymn*, and ſoon after the Council of *Nice*; But that cannot be, if the Subſcriptions in *Sirmondus* be true; and he obſerves that miſtake in *Baronius* to have riſen from miſunderſtanding a Paſſage of *Ado Viennenſis*. So that the *Morning Service* of the *Gallican Churches* conſiſted chiefly in *Leſſons*, *Hymns* and *Pſalms* of *St.* Jerome's *tranſlation*, with *Gloria Patri* at the end of every *Pſalm*. The Latine Tongue being yet the common Language of the *Roman* Provinces.

(h) *Concil. Vaſ.* 2. c. 5.
(i) *Concil. Agath.* c. 30. *Venet.* c. 15. *Epaon.* c. 17. *Gerund.* c. 1. *Brac.* 2. c. 12. *Tolet.* 4. c. 2.

But are we to ſuppoſe, that they met together for the Worſhip of God without any Prayers? I anſwer, that they had then two ſorts of *Prayers* in their Aſſemblies.

(1.) Private *Prayers* of each particular *Perſon* by himſelf.

(2.) A concluding *Collect*, which was the *Common Prayer*, wherein they all joined.

(1.) That they had ſuch *private Prayers* in their *Aſſemblies* I prove from (*k*) *Caſſian*, who reproves the Cuſtome of ſome in the *Gallican Churches*, *who fell to their private Devotions on their Knees, before the Pſalm was well ended. But*, he ſaith, *the* Egyptian *Monks uſed to ſpend ſome time in Prayer to themſelves ſtanding, and then fall down for a ſhort ſpace in a way of Adoration, and preſently riſe up again, continuing their Devotions ſtanding.* All which is capable of no other ſenſe; but that between the *Pſalms* a time was allow'd in the *Gallican Churches* as well as *Egyptian Monaſteries*, for private Devotions in the publick Aſſemblies. (*l*) *Gregor. Turonenſis* ſaith, *That in the* Gallican *Churches the Deacon did Silentium indicere*; and the Prieſt did it by the (*m*) *Mozarabick Liturgy*, which *Eugenius Robleſius* underſtands onely of *making the People attentive*; Which I grant was part of the Deacon's Office and Deſign in

(k) *De Inſtit. Mon. l.* 2. c. 7.
(l) Greg. *l.* 7. c. 8.
(m) Eug. Robleſ. *de Officio Mozarab.* c. 28.

commanding Silence, as appears by ſeveral paſſages in the ancient *Liturgies* both *Greek* and *Latine*. But there was a farther meaning in it, and that the People were for a time there to attend to their own *private Prayers*, appears not improbable to me on theſe Conſiderations. (1.) *Gregory Turonenſis* ſaith, in the Place before mentioned, *That the King took that time to ſpeak to the People, who immediately break forth into a Prayer for the King*; Not that any *Collect* was then read for him, for that was not the proper time for it; but it being a time of *ſecret Prayers*, they were ſo moved with what the King ſaid, that they all pray'd for him. (2.) Among the Heathens, when they were bidden *favere Linguis*, yet then (*n*) *Briſſonius* ſaith, *They made their private Prayers*; And as the *Deacons* commanding Silence ſeems to be much of the ſame Nature, it is not probable that the Chriſtians ſhould fall ſhort of their Devotions. (3.) The great Argument to me, is the ſmall number of *Collects* in the Ancient *Churches*; For the Chriſtians ſpent a great deal of time in the *publick Service*, on the Lord's-days, and the *Stationary days*; But all the other Offices could not take up that time, there being no long *Extemporary Prayers*, nor ſuch a multitude of tedious *Ceremonies* in all Parts, as the *Roman Breviary* and *Miſſal* introduced, and the *Collects* of greateſt Antiquity, being very few and ſhort, it ſeems moſt probable, that a competent part of the time was ſpent in private Devotions. A remainder whereof is ſtill preſerved in the Office of *Ordination* of *Prieſts* in our Church, whereby *ſilence is commanded to be kept for a time, for the Peoples ſecret Prayers.* And the ſame Cuſtome was obſerved at the *Bidding of Prayers*, which was a direction for the People what to pray for in their (*o*) *private Devotions*; After which follow'd the *Lord's-prayer* as the concluding *Collect*. But either that or another was ſtill uſed after theſe *ſilent Prayers*, and that is the true ancient Reaſon of the Name: For (*p*) *Micrologus* ſaith, *The name* Collecta *was, becauſe the Prieſt therein did, Omnium Preces colligere*, or, as (*q*) *Walafridus Strabo* ſaith, *Neceſſarias omnium Petitiones compendiosâ brevitate colligere.* This was diſtinct from the Prayer made *ad Collectam*, before the People went to the *Stationary*

(n) *De Formulis, p.* 9, 10.

(o) *Vid.* Matt. Parker. *Concion. in obit.* Buceri.

(p) Mircr. *l.* 3.

(q) Walafr. *c.* 22.

tionary Churches; Of which *Onuphrius Panvinius* and *Fronto* in his *Calendarium Romanum* have ſaid enough. But as to the *Gallican Churches*, the (*r*) Council of *Agde* ſhews that after the other Offices were performed in the Morning and Evening Service, the People were to be diſmiſſed by the Biſhop *Collectâ Oratione*, *i. e.* With a concluding *Collect*.

(r) *Con. Agath. c.* 30.

(2.) As to the *Communion Service* (*s*) *Gennadius* ſaith, *That* Muſæus *compoſed a large Volume of the Sacraments, with ſeveral Offices according to the Seaſons, with a diverſity of Leſſons, and Pſalms, and Anthems, and Prayers and Thanksgivings.* This Book is called, *Liber Sacramentorum*, and ſo is *Gregory's*, ſaith (*t*) *Menardus* in ſeveral *MSS.* and the *old Miſſal* publiſhed by *Illyricus* is called *Ordo Sacramentorum*; Which was the Name given to the Books of *Liturgick Offices*, which were called *Sacramenta*, both by St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Auguſtine*, as *Menardus* ſhews. (*u*) *Cardinal Bona* confeſſes, *That there is undoubted Evidence, that the old* Gallican *Liturgy, differ'd from the* Roman; And (*w*) *Charles the Great*, not onely ſaith, *That there was ſuch a difference in the Celebration of the Divine Offices*; *But that the* Gallican *Churches were very unwilling to change theirs for the* Roman, Matthias Flacius Illyricus (not *Flavius*, as *Le Cointe* pretends to correct his Name) having found an ancient *MS. Miſſal*, and diſcerning ſeveral different Prayers in it from the *Roman Miſſal*, thought this to have been the ancient *Gallican Miſſal*, wherein he is followed by (*x*) *Le Cointe*, who hath printed it at large in his *Annals*; with an *Epitome* of it publiſhed by *Menardus* out of an ancient Copy. But (*y*) he ſhews that *Illyricus* his Copy could not be of that *Antiquity* he pretends, *viz. Before the time of* Gregory *the Great:* There being ſeveral things in it not of that Age; Which were not in the *old Miſſal* of 986. and were in another of later date; To which *Le Cointe* returns no Anſwer; But becauſe this differs from the *Roman Miſſal*, he concludes it muſt be the *Gallican*; Whereas, upon peruſing it, it will appear rather to be a *Supplement* to the *Roman Miſſal* for the Devotion of thoſe that celebrate it, conſiſting chiefly of *private Prayers* to be uſed by them before *Celebration*, and during the *Singing* of the *Several Hymns:*

(s) Gennad. *in* Muſæo.

(t) *Not. in Sacr.* Greg. *p.* 1, 2.

(u) *Rer. Liturg. l.* 1. *c.* 12.

(w) Car. *de Imag. l.* 1. *c.* 6.

(x) *Annal. Eccl. Franc. To.* 2. *A. D.* 601.

(y) Menard. *App. ad lib. Sacr. p.* 266.

Hymns: For the common parts of the Office, as the *Introitus*, *Epiſtola*, *Graduale*, *Evangelium*, *Offertorium*, *Secreta*, *Præfatio*, *Communio*, & *Poſt-communio*, are onely referr'd to, and not ſet down; Whereas if this had been the *Gallican Miſſal*, all thoſe parts would have been ſet down rather more diſtinctly than others.

(z) *Rer. Liturg. l.* 1. *c.* 12. (z) *Card. Bona* thinks it *not to have been before the end of the tenth Century, about which time ſeveral ſuch private Miſſals were made.* But he concludes, that certainly this was not the *old* Gallican *Miſſal: What it was*, he thinks *hard to determine*, and I think ſo too; If ſuch Authours as *Hilduinus* muſt be relied on. It is true, he mentions *the old Miſſals which contained the* Gallican *Liturgy from the firſt reception of the Chriſtian Faith, till the* Roman *Miſſal was received*; But he is an Authour of no Authority, and quotes theſe *Miſſals* for a thing notoriouſly falſe, *viz. the Martyrdom of* Dionyſius Areopagita *in* Gaul. And he pretends, that *Innocentius*, *Gelaſius* and *Gregory*, *all endeavour'd to alter the* Gallican *Liturgy*, which continued in uſe till *Pepin*'s time: So that from *Hilduinus* no certain Note can be taken. It is much more material which (*a*) *Berno Augienſis* ſaith, *That in the* Archives *of their Monaſtery, he found an old Miſſal wherein the Offices were very differently ordered from what they were in the* Roman. And he mentions one remarkable particular of the *Roman Miſſal*, which is the

(a) *De Rebus ad Miſſam ſpect. c.* 2.

(1.) Difference I ſhall obſerve in the *Communion Service*, viz. *That the Creed was not ſaid nor ſung at* Rome *after the Goſpel*, of which he ſaith, They gave this Reaſon, *becauſe the* Roman *Church was never infected with Hereſie*; which, he ſaith, *the Emperour* Henry *I. was ſo little ſatisfied with, that he never ceaſed, till they had introduced it at* Rome; which, ſaith (*b*) *Baronius*, was done *Anno Dom.* 1014. but he ſeems not pleaſed *that the former Cuſtome was broken.* Before that time, none that ſpeak of the *Cuſtoms* of the *Roman Miſſal* ever mention the *Creed*, as may be ſeen in *Alcuinus*, *Amalarius*, *Rabanus*, and others. And this cannot be underſtood barely of the *Conſtantinopolitane* or *Nicene Creed*, as (*c*) *Menardus* well proves, *becauſe then* Berno *would have ſpoken more diſtinctly.* And the *Athanaſian Creed*,

(b) Bar. *A. D.* 1014. *n.* 5.

(c) *Not. in Greg. Sacr. p.* 370.

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as far as we can trace it, was firſt uſed in the *Gallican Churches*, and that uſe firſt mention'd by *Abbo Floriacenſis* in ſome *Fragments* ſent by *Nicolaus Faber* to (*d*) *Baronius*. But whoſoever conſiders the univerſal Silence about that *Creed* before, and compares it with the *Profeſſion* of Faith in the firſt *Canon* of the Fourth Council of *Toledo*, which then took ſo many of the *Gallican Offices* into the *Service* of the *Spaniſh Churches* will ſee Reaſon to believe that this Creed was originally of a *Gallican Compoſition*, and thence was carried into *Spain* upon the Converſion of the *Goths* from *Arianiſm*, wherein ſeveral Expreſſions are taken out of St. *Auguſtine's* Works. *Ruffinus* ſhews, *That thoſe that were to be baptized did at* Rome *repeat the Creed*; but that is another thing from its uſe in the *Liturgy*, which both *Baronius* and (*e*) *Bona* confeſs was ſo lately introduced at *Rome*. So that here we have one conſiderable difference of the *Roman Offices* from thoſe of other Churches; For (*f*) *Iſidore* ſaith, *That the* Nicene *Creed was then uſed in the* Gothick *Churches in the time of Sacrifice*; As the *Church Service* was then called; For that it had no Relation to that which is called *the Sacrifice of the Maſs*, appears by *Concil. Aurel.* 3. *can.* 29. Where we find the name of *Sacrifice* applied to the *Evening Service*, *Sacrificia Matutina Miſſarum, ſive Veſpertina*; And ſo (*g*) *Caſſian* uſes *Sacrificia Veſpertina* in alluſion to the Cuſtome of Sacrificing among the *Jews*. And (*h*) *Honoratus*, in the Life of St. *Hilarius* of *Arles*, calls it *Sacrificium Veſpertinæ Laudis*. And *Miſſa* was then uſed for the *publick Service*, as (*i*) *Caſſander* and others ſhew. In the Rule of St. *Benedict*, *Miſſæ* are to be taken for the concluding *Collects* at the *Canonical Hours*. (*k*) *Caſſian* uſeth *Miſſa* for any *publick meeting at Prayers*, thence he ſpeaks of *Miſſa Nocturna* and *Miſſa Orationum*, and *Miſſa Canonica*, for the *Nocturnal Office* among the Monks; And in the *Concil. Agath.* c. 30. We reade of *Miſſæ Veſpertinæ*. But afterwards the name was appropriated to the moſt ſolemn part of publick Worſhip, viz. *the Communion Service*. In which the *Creed* was appointed by the third *Council of* Toledo, *c.* 2. in all the Churches of *Spain* and *Gallæcia*; or, as ſome Copies have it, *of Gallia*; Which

(d) Bar. *A. D.* 1001. *n.* 3.

(e) *Rer. Liturg. l.* 2. *c.* 8.

(f) *De Eccl Offic. c.* 16.

(g) Caſſian. *de Inſt. Monach. l.* 3. *c.* 3.

(h) *Vit.* Hilarii *Ariel. c.* 21.

(i) *Liturg. c.* 17.

(k) Caſſian. *de Inſt. l.* 2. *c.* 13. *l.* 3. *c.* 5.

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is confirmed by an Edict of *Reccaredus* to that purpoſe; which extended to that Part of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, then under the *Gothick Power*; Where a (*l*) Council met under *Reccaredus*, about the ſame time. In which *Gloria Patri* was decreed to be uſed at the end of *every Pſalm*; Which was obſerved by the other *Gallican Churches* in *Caſſian's* time. It ſeems very probable, that the *Spaniſh Churches* did follow the Cuſtoms of the *Gallican* in other parts of the *Divine Offices* as well as this; Which appears by the Paſſage in the Epiſtle of *Carolus Calvus* produced by (*m*) *Card. Bona*, where ſpeaking of the ancient *Gallican Offices* before the Introduction of the *Roman*; he ſaith, *He had ſeen and heard how different they were by the Prieſts of the Church of* Toledo, *who had celebrated the Offices of their Church before him.* Which had ſignified nothing to this matter, unleſs the *Gothick* and *Gallican Offices* had then agreed. I do not ſay that the old *Gallican Service* can be gather'd from all the Parts of the *Mozarabick Liturgy*, as it was ſettled by (*n*) *Card. Ximenes*, in a Chapel of the Church of *Toledo*; or as it is performed on certain days at *Salamanca*, becauſe many Alterations might be in thoſe Offices as well as others in ſo long time; And ſuch no doubt there were, as (*o*) *Mariana* confeſſeth, *by the length of time*; although it did bear the Name of *Leander* and *Iſidore.* For (*p*) *Julianus Toletanus* is ſaid to have review'd the whole Office, and to have alter'd and added many things, and *Johannes Cæſarauguſtanus* and *Conantius*, and after them *Petrus Ilerdenſis*, and *Salvus Abbaildenſis*, beſides ſuch whoſe Names are not preſerved; But ſo far as we can trace the ancient Cuſtoms of the *Gothick Miſſal* we may probably infer what the Cuſtoms of the *Gallican Churches* at that time were, and thereby ſhew the difference between them and the *Roman Offices.* As beſides this of the *Creed.*

(l) *Concil. Narbon. 1. c. 2.*

(m) *Rer. Liturg. l. 1. c. 12.*

(n) *Gomeſ. de vit.* Ximen. *l. 2.*

(o) *Marian. de Rebus Hiſp. l. 6. c. 5.*

(p) *Ildephonſ. de Script. Eccleſ. & in Append.*

(2.) The *Prophetical Leſſons* were always to be read by the Rules of the *Mozarabick Liturgy:* and accordingly three Books were laid upon the Altar in the *Gallican Churches*, as (*q*) *Gregorius Turonenſis* obſerves, *That of the Prophets, and of the Epiſtles, and of the Goſpels.* But nothing but the *Epiſtle* and *Goſpel* were read at *Rome*,

(q) *Greg. Turonen. l. 4. c. 16. & 8. c. 7.*

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as is ſhew'd already; Which manifeſts that the Book under St. *Jerome*'s Name, called the *Lectionarius* or *Comes* muſt be counterfeit; Becauſe therein Leſſons out of the *Prophets* are ſet down: And the Authorities of *Berno Augienſis*, *Micrologus* and *Radulphus Tungrenſis*, which are the beſt (r) *Pamelius* could find, are not great enough againſt ſo plain Evidence to the contrary, to prove this *Lectionarius* to have been made by St. *Jerome*. And he confeſſes that *Amalarius* ſeveral times onely mentions the *Auctor Lectionarii* without St. *Jerome*'s name, who lived a good while before them. But in this the *Roman* Church had its peculiar Rites; for, in the Church of *Milan*, firſt a Leſſon out of the *Prophets* was read before the *Epiſtle*, as appears by (s) *Sulpicius Severus*. And in the *Greek Church*, St. (t) *Baſil* ſaith, *That Leſſons out of the Old, as well as the New Teſtament were read.* By the (u) Council of *Laodicea*, *all the Canonical Books were appointed to be read.* *Zonaras* obſerves, on the 16. Canon of that Council, *That before this Council there were nothing but Prayers before the Conſecration:* But therein he was certainly miſtaken; For (w) *Juſtin Martyr* ſhews, *That the Leſſons were read long before, and that out of the Prophets as well as Apoſtles.* But *Balſamon* and *Ariſtenus* reſtrain this Canon onely to *Saturdays*; And it enjoins *the reading of the Goſpels* then, which was not accuſtomed before, There being no Religious Aſſemblies in thoſe Parts on that day: But by the ſame Canon we find, *That where the Goſpels were read, other Scriptures were appointed to be read too.* It is obſerved by (x) *Dominicus Macer*, that *at the Leſſons of the Old Teſtament the* Greeks *do ſit; But ſtand at thoſe out of the New.* (y) *Sozomen* reckons it as a peculiar Cuſtome of *Alexandria*, *That the Biſhop did not riſe up at the Goſpels:* And *Nicephorus* **Calliſtus* ſaith, It was contrary to the Practice of all other Churches.

(r) *To. 2. Liturg. in Præfat.*

(s) *Sever. Sulpic. vit. Martini, l. 3.*

(t) *Baſil. Hom. 13. & 21.*

(u) *Concil. Laod. c. 59.*

(w) *Apolog. 2.*

(x) *Hiero-lexic. v. Leſſio.*

(y) *Soz. l. 7. c. 19.*

* *Niceph. l. 12. c. 34.*

(3.) After the *Goſpel*, the *Sermon* follow'd in other *Churches*; But in the old *Roman Offices*, there is no mention at all of any *Sermon* to the *People*. (z) *Card. Bona* ſaith, *That it hath been the uninterrupted practice of the Church from the Apoſtles times to our own, for the Sermon to follow after the Goſpel:* And he doth ſufficiently

(z) *Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 7. n. 6.*

ently prove the *Antiquity* of it from the Teſtimonies of *Juſtin Martyr* and *Tertullian*, and the general practice of it in *other Churches*, eſpecially the *Gallican*; But he offers no proof, that it was obſerved in the Church of *Rome*. But (*a*) *Sozomen* obſerves it as the peculiar Cuſtome of that Church, *That there was no Preaching in it; neither by the Biſhop, nor by any one elſe. Valeſius* ſeems to wonder at it; But he ſaith, *If it had not been true*, Caſſiodore, *who certainly knew the Cuſtoms of that Church, would never have repeated it.* In the *Sacramentary* of *Gregory*, The *Offertory* immediately follows after the *Goſpel*; And *Micrologus* ſaith, *Finito Evangelio, ſtatim eſt offerendum*, c. 10. And to the ſame purpoſe in the *Ordo Romanus:* But in the *Ordo* of the *Weſtern Churches*, publiſhed by (*b*) *Caſſander* with the other, There *the Biſhop is to be attended on after the Goſpel, in order to his Preaching*; But if he will not, *Then the Creed is to be ſung:* And according to this Cuſtome the (*c*) *Gemma Animæ* is to be underſtood when it ſaith, *That after the Goſpel, the Biſhop preaches to the People.* It is true, That in the Church of *Rome*, *Leo* did make ſome *Sermons* on ſolemn Occaſions; *But he was the firſt that did it*, ſaith (*d*) *Queſnel*, if *Sozomen* may be believed. It is poſſible, That upon ſome extraordinary Occaſions, the Biſhops of *Rome* might ſpeak to the People before his time, as *Liberius* is ſaid, by St. (*e*) *Ambroſe*, to have done at St. *Peter's*; But this ſignifies nothing to the conſtant Office of Preaching which was not uſed in the Church of *Rome* by any Biſhop before *Leo*, nor by many after, as it was in other Churches. In the *Gallican Churches*, as (*f*) *Chriſtianus Lupus* obſerves, The Biſhops called their Office *Prædicationis Officium*; as appears by the *Profeſſion* both of *Biſhops* and *Archbiſhops*, among (*g*) *Sirmondus* his *Formulæ* publiſhed out of ancient Copies. And in the *Royal Confirmation* they were charged *to be diligent in Preaching.* The ſame Authour tells us, *That* Charles *the Great was ſo ſtrict in requiring it, That he made the Penalty of the neglect of it to be no leſs than Depoſition.* Which is warranted by the *Apoſtolical Canon* 58. The Council in *Trullo*, c. 19. *charges the Biſhops to preach conſtantly. But eſpecially on the Lord's-days*; The want whereof was extremely

(a) Soz. *l.* 7. *c.* 9.

(b) *Liturg.* p. 92. 103.

(c) *Gem. Animæ, l.* 1. *c.* 25.

(d) *De vit. & geſtis Leonis,* p. 257.

(e) Ambroſ. *de virg. veland. l.* 3.

(f) *In Can. Trull.*

(g) *Tom.* 2. *Concil. Gall. Form.* 12, 13.

tremely lamented afterwards in the *Greek* Church by (*h*) *Barlaam*, and (*i*) *Gregorius Protoſyncellus*. And the neglect of it in the *Armenian Churches* hath brought the *Epiſcopal Order into ſo great Contempt*, as (*k*) *Clemens Galanus* reports, (who was a long time among them) that he ſaith, *They uſe their Biſhops for little elſe but to give Orders*; But the onely Men in eſteem are their *Vartabret* (whom he renders *Magiſtri, their Preachers*;) Whom the People regard far beyond their *Biſhops, becauſe*, they ſay, *they repreſent* Chriſt *himſelf, as he was* Rabbi, *or the Teacher of his Church*. But to return to the Weſtern Churches. In the Church of *Milan*, (*l*) St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *He heard* St. *Ambroſe every Lord's-day*; And, he ſaith, (*m*) *He accounted it the proper Office of a Biſhop to preach*; Which he performed, as in other Churches (*n*) *after the Goſpel*, before the *Diſmiſſion* of the *Catechumeni*; But by the *Mozarabick Liturgy*, the *Sermon* was after their *diſmiſſion*.

(h) Barlaam, *Epiſt.* 1.
(i) Greg. *Apol. ad* Marc. Epheſ.
(k) *Concil. Eccl. Armena.* &c. c. 28. *p.* 455.
(l) *Confeſſ. l.* 6. c. 3.
(m) *De Officiis*, l. 1. c. 1.
(n) *Ep.* 33.

(4.) The *Gallican Churches* had peculiar Offices after the Sermon; So (*o*) *Walafridus Strabo* ſaith, *That ſome of thoſe Prayers were ſtill in uſe among many*. And (*p*) *Micrologus*, *That the Prayer*, Veni Sanctificator, *&c. was taken out of the* Gallican *Ordo*. But, to make this more clear, we are to conſider, that there were ſome parts of the *Communion Service* wherein all the *Ancient Offices* agreed; as in the *Surſum Corda*, and *Habemus ad Dominum* uſed in the *Eaſtern*, as well as *Weſtern Churches*; and there are as plain Teſtimonies of their uſe in the *African* and *Gallican Churches* as the *Roman*; before the *Roman Offices* came to be impoſed on other Churches. The *Gratias agamus Domino Deo noſtro*, and *Verè dignum & juſtum eſt æquum & ſalutare, nos tibi ſemper & ubique gratias agere*, are mention'd by St. *Cyril*, St. *Chryſoſtome*, St. *Auguſtine*, and other ancient Writers: This latter part in the *Mozarabick Liturgy* is called *Inlatio*. The *Triſagion* was generally uſed; I do not mean that which was ſaid to have come by Revelation in the time of *Proclus* at *Conſtantinople*; But that which the *Greeks* call Ἐπινίκιον, and is called *Triſagium* in the *Ambroſian Miſſal*, and was uſed with a more ample Paraphraſe in the *Eaſtern Churches*. All theſe parts are retained in the excellent Office of our *Church*;

(o) Walafr. 22.
(p) Microl. c. 11.

not from the Church of *Rome* (as our Diſſenters weakly imagine) but from the conſent of *all the ancient Churches* in the uſe of them; Which it hath follow'd likewiſe in the putting them into a Language understood by the People (as (*q*) *Caſſander* fully ſhews.) And in the uſe of the *Hymn*, *Gloria in excelſis*, which, with the Addition to the Scripture words, was uſed in the *Eaſtern Churches*, as appears by the (*r*) *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, and a Paſſage in (*s*) *Athanaſius* his Works, and ſeveral *Greek MSS.* of it; this was called *Hymnus Angelicus* from the beginning of it, and *Hymnus Matutinus* from the ancient time of uſing it, as appears not onely from other *MSS.* but from the famous *Alexandrian Copy* of the *LXX.* where it is ſet down in large Letters, and called by the name of *the Morning Hymn.* Its uſe in the *Gallican Church* is atteſted by the *ancient MS.* in the beginning of this Diſcourſe; And (*t*) *Alcuinus* makes St. *Hilary* of *Poictou* to have been the Inlarger of it. The *Prayer for the Church Militant*; For *Kings and Princes*; And all *Ranks and Orders of Men*; The *Commemoration* of Saints *departed*; The *Reading the Words of Inſtitution*; And uſing the *Lord's-prayer*; Were in all the *ancient Liturgies* as *parts* of the *Communion Service:* And therefore are not to be look'd on as appropriated to the *Canon* of the *Maſs* in the Church of *Rome.*

(q) *Liturg.* c. 28, 36.

(r) *Conſtit. Apoſt.* l. 7. c. 47.

(s) Athanaſ. p. 1057.

(t) Alcuin. c. 42.

Wherein then did the Difference conſiſt between the *Roman* and *Gallican Churches* at that time, as to *this Service?*

In Anſwer to this Queſtion, I ſhall go through the other parts of it, and ſhew the difference.

(1.) The *Gallican Office* began with a *peculiar Confeſſion* of *Sins* made by the *Prieſt*; Which was called *Apologia.* A form whereof (*u*) *Cardinal Bona* hath publiſhed out of a very *ancient MS.* in the *Queen of* Sweden's *Library*; And which he proves to have been the *old Gallican Office.* It is true, that ſeveral Forms of ſuch *Confeſſions*, are in the (*w*) *Sacramentary* of *Gregory*; But all different from *the Gallican Form.* In the old *Miſſal* of *Rataldus*, Abbat of *Corbey*, publiſhed by (*x*) *Menardus*, inſtead of the *Apology*, we reade that Form, *Suſcipe Confeſſionem meam, unica Spes Salutis*

(u) *Rer. Liturg.* l. 2. c. 1.

(w) *Sacr. Greg.* p. 242.

(x) *Sacr. Greg.* p. 262.

lutis meæ, Domine Deus meus, &c. And then follows a particular enumeration of *Sins*, and a general *Confeſſion* of them. And a different Form is produced by (*y*) *Menardus*, out of another ancient *Miſſal*, *which* he calls the *Codex Tilianus*, and ſeems moſt agreeable to the *old Gallican* mention'd by *Bona*; And, There is a great variety of *Forms* of *Confeſſion* and *Supplication* in the *old Miſſal* publiſhed by *Illyricus*. But, I obſerve; That the Form preſcribed in the *Roman Miſſal* is in none of them: viz. *Confiteor Deo Omnipotenti*, *B.* Mariæ *ſemper Virgini*, *B.* Michaeli *Archangelo*, &c. *& omnibus Sanctis*, &c. *Ideo precor B.* Mariam, *&c. Omnes Sanctos*, &c.--- *Orare pro me ad Dominum noſtrum*: For all the ancient Forms of *Confeſſion* were onely *to God himſelf*; And ſo they continued for 1000 years after *Chriſt*; About which time *Menardus* ſaith, *The ſeveral ancient Miſſals before mention'd do bear Date.* The Common Ritualiſts attribute the preſent Form to *Pontianus*, or *Damaſus*, but *without any Authority*, ſaith (*z*) *Card. Bona.* The firſt mention I can find of *Confeſſion to Saints*, is that which he ſets down out of the *Codex Chiſii*; Which being in the (*a*) *Lombard Character*, he gheſſes to have been before the end of the tenth Century, and with this (*b*) *Micrologus* agrees; The Authour whereof lived towards the end of the eleventh Century. So that this part of the *Roman Miſſal* was neither in the *Gregorian* nor *Gallican Offices*, being of a much later Original.

(y) Greg. Sarr. p. 269.

(z) *Rer. Liturg.* l. 2. c. 2.

(a) *Id.* l. 1. c. 12.

(b) Microl. c. 23.

(2.) The *Gallican Office* had *peculiar Prefaces*, and *Collects* different from the *Roman*. By the *Prefaces* are underſtood that part of the *Service* which immediately goes before *the Conſecration*, and is called in the *Gallican Office*, *Conteſtatio*, in the *Gothick*, *Illatio*, ſhewing not onely the general *Fitneſs for us at all times, to give thanks to God*; But the *particular Reaſon of it, with reſpect to the Day.* Of which kind of *Prefaces*, the *Roman Church* allow'd but nine, which were attributed to Pope *Gelaſius*; But (*c*) *Card. Bona* ſaith, *That number is to be found onely in the Miſſals, after Anno Dom.* 1200. For before, there were many more, as appears by *Gregory's Sacramentary*; But how they came to be left out afterwards in the *Roman Miſſal* is a Myſtery, of which none

(c) *Rer. Lit.* l. 2. c. 10. n. 3.

none of the Ritualiſts give any tolerable account. However this is enough to ſhew their Ignorance, when they ſo confidently attributed the proper *Prefaces* to *Gelaſius*; As though *Gregory* would have ſlighted ſo much the *Decree* of his *Predeceſſours*, as to have appointed ſo many more, if *Gelaſius* had limited the number to Nine. But however it was in the *Roman Church*, the *Gallican Church* had *peculiar Prefaces* for all ſolemn Occaſions. Of which (*d*) *Card. Bona* hath produced three remarkable Inſtances, two out of the former ancient *MS.* of Nine hundred Years old, which formerly belong'd to *Petavius*, a Senatour of *Paris*; And the third out of a Copy of the *Palatine Library*, tranſlated to the *Vatican*, of the ſame Age. From theſe excellent Monuments of Antiquity compared together we may in great meaſure underſtand the *true Order* and *Method* of the *Communion Service* of that time, both in the *Gallican* and *Britiſh Churches*, eſpecially on *Saint's-days*; For no other *Offices* are preſerved, or at leaſt made known to the World. And on thoſe *Occaſions* the *Service* began with particular *Collects* for the *Day*; Then follow'd the *Commemoration* out of the *Diptychs*; Then another *Collect*, *Poſt nomina*; After which the *Collect*, *ad Pacem*; Then the particular *Prefaces* relating to the *Saint* whoſe memory was celebrated; with a larger account of his good Actions than is uſed in any of the *Gregorian Prefaces*, expreſſed in a devout and pathetical manner; Which ended in the *Triſagion*; And was continued by another *Collect* to the *Conſecration*; After which follow'd a *devout Prayer for benefit by the Holy Sacrament*; And after another *Collect* for the occaſion follow'd the *Lord's-prayer*, with a *Concluſion for the Day:* And the whole Service was concluded with a *Benediction* of the *People*, a *Collect* after the *Euchariſt*, and a ſhort *Thanksgiving*. This is a juſt and true Account from theſe authentick Offices of the *Publick Service* then uſed in the *Britiſh Churches* following the *Gallican* from the time of St. *German*, whoſe particular *Office* is one of thoſe preſerved by *Card. Bona*; And in the *peculiar Preface* his great Zeal is mention'd *in Preaching and going up and down doing good in* Gaul, Italy *and* Britain, *for thirty years together.*

(d) *Rer. Liturg. l.* 1. *c.* 12. *n.* 6.

(3.) As

(3.) As to the *Canon* of the *Maſs*, as it is called in the *Church* of *Rome*, or the *Prayer of Conſecration* uſed in the *Church* of *Rome*, and magnified *as Apoſtolical*, St. (e) *Gregory* affirms, as plainly as he well could, *That it was firſt compoſed by a private Perſon*, and was not of Apoſtolical Tradition. Who that *Scholar* was, it is now impoſſible to know, and not at all material, ſince it is apparent that it was received into the *publick Uſe* of the *Church*. Some ſmall additions, they ſay, were made to it by ſeveral *Popes*, till *Gregory*'s time, who, according to the Ritualiſts, ſhut up this *Canon*. But I ſee no reaſon to believe that *Conſecration* of the *Euchariſt*, was at that time performed in other Churches by the words of this *Canon*. For, ſetting aſide the *Eaſtern Churches*, which had *Forms* of their own; The *African Churches* did not follow *the Roman Form*. For although (f) *Optatus* mentions *illud legitimum in Sacramentorum myſterio*; which implies, that there was *a certain Form* to be obſerved; yet this doth not at all prove, that it was *the Roman Canon*: And it evidently appears that it was not, by the Teſtimonies of (g) *Marius Victorinus*, and (h) *Fulgentius*, two *African* Writers, who both mention ſome *Prayers* uſed in the *Euchariſt*, which are not in the *Roman Canon*, and thoſe not *Prefatory*; but ſuch as do relate to the main parts of the *Canon*. It is true, the Writer about the Sacraments, under St. *Ambroſe*'s name (for (i) *Card. Bona* will not allow him to be St. *Ambroſe*) doth produce ſeveral Expreſſions in the Form of *Conſecration* which agree with the *Roman Canon*; But then he adds a very conſiderable Paſſage, which I hardly believe, thoſe who are moſt zealous for the *Roman Canon* will ſay, was ever part of it. (k) *Fac nobis hanc oblationem aſcriptam, rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod eſt figura corporis & ſanguinis Domini noſtri* Jeſu Chriſti. And in the *Gallican Church*, the Form of *Conſecration*, as appears by the *Offite* of Saint *German*, was nothing elſe but repeating *the Words of Inſtitution*, after the Concluſion of the *Triſagion*, and *Gloria in Excelſis*. After which follow'd *a Prayer, for God's Holy Word and Spirit to deſcend upon the Oblation they made, That it might be a ſpiritual Sacrifice well pleaſing to God; And that God, by the Blood of* Chriſt, *would with*

(e) Greg. Epiſt. l. 7. ep. 63.

(f) Opt. l. 2.

(g) Victor. adverſ. Arium, l. 1.

(h) Fulgent. in Ep. 1. ad 1 Cor. c. 14.

(i) Rer. Liturg. l. 1. c. 7. n. 4.

(k) De Sacram. l. 4. c. 5.

with his own Right Hand defend thoſe his Sacraments; And then follow'd the *Lord's Prayer* and other *Collects*. This *Prayer* after *Conſecration*, *Card. Bona* knows not what to make of, as ſeeming wholly inconſiſtent with *Tranſubſtantiation*, for if that Doctrine had been then believed, and by *Conſecration* the Elements turn'd into the Body of *Chriſt*; To what purpoſe doth the *Church* then pray *for the Word and Spirit to deſcend upon the Elements*, when they are actually united already? But (*l*) he makes a very hard ſhift to interpret theſe Words, not of a deſcent on *the Elements*, but *on the Hearts of the Communicants*: But the Words are, *Deſcendat ſuper hæc quæ tibi offerimus Verbum tuum Sanctum*, Which are ſo plain and evident concerning *the Elements*, that nothing but mere force, can make any Man to underſtand them of *the Receivers*. Beſides, that *Office* concludes with a particular Prayer for the Benefit of thoſe that had partaked of the *Body of Chriſt*, wherein this Expreſſion is remarkable, *Chriſte, Domine, qui & tuo veſci corpore, & tuum corpus efficivis fideles, fac nobis in remiſſionem Peccatorum eſſe quod ſumpſimus*, i. e. *O Chriſt, our Lord, who wouldeſt have thy People eat thy Body, and become thy Body, grant that we may be that which we have taken for the Remiſſion of our Sins.* And it is certain, the meaning of this Prayer was not that Chriſtians might *become the Natural Body of* Chriſt; And therefore it was not then believed, That the Faithfull did in the *Euchariſt* take *the Natural Body of* Chriſt; But that which was *the Body of* Chriſt *in ſuch a myſtical ſenſe as the Church is.* But *Tranſubſtantiation* was no part of the *Faith* of the *Church* at that time, and therefore it is no wonder to meet with Expreſſions ſo diſagreeing to it in their ſolemn Devotions. And it is well obſerved by (*m*) *Card. Bona*, that the Cuſtome of *Elevation* of the *Hoſt*, in Order to *Adoration*, is found in none of the ancient *Sacramentaries*, nor in the *Ordo Romanus*, nor in the *Old Ritualiſts*, ſuch as *Alcuinus Amalarius*, *Walafridus*, *Micrologus* and others. The ſame had been ingenuouſly confeſſed before by (*n*) *Menardus*, in the ſame Words: And although there may be *Elevation*, where there is no belief of *Tranſubſtantiation*, yet, ſince the Cuſtome of *Elevation* was lately intro-

(l) *Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 13. l. 1. c. 12.*

(m) *Rer. Liturg. l. 1. c. 13. n. 2.*

(n) *Not. in Sacr. Greg. p. 374.*

introduced into the *Weſtern Churches*, and in order to *Adoration* of the Body of *Chriſt* then preſent by *Tranſubſtantiation*; it ſeems very probable, that Doctrine was not then received by the Church, the Conſequences whereof were not certainly in uſe: For there was as much Reaſon for the *Elevation* and *Adoration* at that time as ever could be afterwards. But my Buſineſs is now onely to ſhew wherein the *Gallican* and *Britiſh Churches* differ'd from the *Roman*, and not wherein they agreed.

(4.) The laſt difference was as to the *Church Muſick*, wherein the *Romans* were thought ſo far to excell other *Weſtern Churches*, That the goodneſs of their *Muſick* proved the great occaſion of introducing their *Offices*: For (o) *Charles* the Great ſaith, *That his Father* Pepin *brought the* Roman *way of Singing into the* Gallican *Churches, and their Offices along with it.* And although he ſaith, *many Churches ſtood out then, yet by his means they were brought to it.* And he cauſed ſome of the beſt Maſters of *Muſick* in *Rome* to be brought into *France*, and there ſettled for the Inſtruction of the (p) *French Churches*: By which means the *old* Gallican *Service* was ſo ſoon forgotten, That in (q) *Carolus Calvus* his time, he was forced to ſend as far as *Toledo*, to have ſome to perform the *Old Offices* before him; So great a Power had the *Roman Muſick*, and the *Prince's Authority* in changing the ancient Service of the *Gallican Churches*. But thus much may ſuffice to have cleared the ancient Service of theſe *Weſtern Churches*, and to have ſhew'd their difference from the *Roman Offices*.

(o) *De Imag. l. 1.*

(p) Fichet *Gloſ. v. Cantus Gallicanus.*

(q) Carol. Calv. *Epiſt. ad Cler. Reven.*

From which Diſcourſe it will appear, that our *Church* of *England* hath omitted none of thoſe *Offices* wherein all the *Ancient Churches* agreed; And that where the *Britiſh* or *Gallican* and *Roman* differ'd, our *Church* hath not follow'd the *Roman*, but the other; And therefore our *Diſſenters* do unreaſonably charge us with taking our Offices from the *Church* of *Rome*.

CHAP. V.

Of the *Declenſion* of the *Britiſh* Churches.

BRitain *never totally ſubdued by the* Romans.

That, the Occaſion of the Miſeries of the Britains *in the* Province, *by the Incurſions from beyond the Wall.*

Of the Picts, *and* Scots *their mortal Enemies.*

The true Original *of the* Picts *from* Scandinavia.

That Name not given to the Old Britains, *but to the* New Colonies.

The Scotiſh Antiquities *enquired into.*

An Account of them from John Fordon *compared with that given by* Hector Boethius *and* Buchanan.

Of Hector's *Authours*, Veremundus, Cornelius Hibernicus *and their ancient* Annals.

An Account of the Antiquities *of* Ireland, *and of the Authority of their Traditions and* Annals, *compared with the* Britiſh Antiquities *publiſhed by* Geffrey *of* Monmouth *in point of Credibility.*

A true Account of the Fabulous Antiquities of the Northern Nations. Of the firſt coming of the Scots *into* Britain.

The firſt Cauſe of the Declenſion and Ruine of the Britiſh *Churches was, the laying them open to the fury of the* Scots *and* Picts.

Of Maximus *his withdrawing the* Roman *Forces; And the Emperour's ſending numbers of* Picts *to draw them back.*

The miſerable Condition of the Britains *thus forſaken; And ſupplies ſent them for a time, and then taken away.*

Of the Walls *then built for their Security, and the* Roman Legions *then placed.*

Of the great degeneracy of manners among the Britains.

Of Inteſtine Diviſions, and calling in of Foreign Aſſiſtence.

The Saxons *firſt coming hither.*

Who they were, and whence they came.

Bede's

Bede's *Account examin'd, and reconciled with the Circumſtances of thoſe times.*

His fixing the time of their coming juſtified.

Of the Reaſons of Vortigern's *calling in the* Saxons.

And the Diſſatisfaction of the Britains *upon their coming, and* Vortigern's *League with them.*

Of the Valour of Vortimer *and* Aurelius Ambroſius *againſt the* Saxons.

The different Account of the Battels between the Britains *and* Saxons *among our Hiſtorians.*

The ſad condition of the Britiſh *Churches at that time.*

The imperfect Account given by the Britiſh Hiſtory.

Of King Arthur's *Story and Succeſs.*

Of Perſons of greateſt Reputation then in the Britiſh *Churches, and particularly of St.* David.

Of the Britains *paſſing over to* Aremorica.

The beginning of that Colony *ſtated.*

Gildas *there writes his Epiſtle; The Scope and Deſign of it.*

The Independency *of the* Britiſh *Churches proved from their carriage towards* Auguſtine *the Monk.*

The Particulars of that Story cleared; And the whole concluded.

BEing now to give an Account of the fatal Declenſion of the *Britiſh* Churches, it will be neceſſary to look back on the time when their Miſeries firſt began. For which we are to conſider, That the *Romans* having never made an entire Conqueſt of the whole *Iſland*; but contenting themſelves with the better part, and excluding the reſt by a Wall; They ſtill left a backdoor open for the poor *Provincial Britains* to be diſturbed, as often as the *Roman* Garriſons neglected their Duty or were overpowred by their Enemies. Who were now very much increaſed in thoſe remoter parts of *Britain*; Which being abandon'd by the *Romans*, they became an eaſie Prey to the *Scots* and *Picts*; Who, from different parts, took Poſſeſſion of thoſe Coaſts which lay neareſt to the Place from whence they came. Thus, the *Scots* coming from *Ireland*, entred upon the *Southern* and *Weſtern* Parts, as the *Picts* from *Scandinavia* had be-

fore done on the *Northern.* Our Learned (*a*) Antiquary was of Opinion, *That the* Picts *were no other than the ancient* Britains, partly ſettled in thoſe Parts, before the *Roman* Invaſion, and partly retiring thither out of Impatience of the *Roman* Yoke, who by degrees grew up into a conſiderable number of People. It is not to be queſtion'd, that there was a Stock of *Old Britains* in thoſe *Northern* Parts, as appears by the Army under *Galgacus*, and the Actions againſt *Urbicus*, *Agricola*, *Marcellus* and *Severus*; But their continual Wars with the *Roman Legions*, who were placed about the Wall, on purpoſe to take all Advantages againſt them, muſt needs exhauſt them by degrees, and leſſen them ſo much as to leave room enough for new Recruits to come in and take up part of their Countrey. And although for their own Security, the Parts near the Wall might be well ſupplied on that ſide, yet when ſo much Bloud retired to the Heart as was neceſſary to ſupport Life, a great deal muſt be called off from the extreme parts for a freſh ſupply of it, and thoſe parts muſt needs be left deſtitute of natural heat, and Strength enough to maintain themſelves. For during the War, which continued for ſeveral Ages, the very Life of the *Britiſh Nation*, beyond the Wall, was in perpetual danger; And not onely the Duty and Service, but the many Diſeaſes and Accidents of War, could not, in ſo long a tract of time, but very much impair the *Britiſh* Strength, and leave the remoter Parts, if not wholly void of Inhabitants, yet not in a Condition to withſtand a foreign Invaſion. I grant that *Tacitus*, *Dio*, *Herodian*, *Vopiſcus*, &c. take no notice of any other Enemies the *Romans* had at that time in thoſe Parts beſides the *Britains*; But then, I think, the Argument may be thus turned upon *Camden*, What makes the latter Writers ſo expreſly and diſtinctly mention the *Picts*, if they were no other than the *Old Britains*, ſo often ſpoken of by *Roman Hiſtorians?* I do not underſtand, why their continuing an *old Cuſtome* ſhould now give them *a new Name?* The *Britains*, however rude, were no more *Picts* then, than they were at *Cæſar*'s coming. What makes the *Roman* Writers ſo of a ſudden alter their Style, and leave off a Name ſo famous among

(*a*) Camd. *Brit.* p. 82.

among the *Romans*, for the name of *Picts*, which was not heard of before? The firſt mention we find of them is in (*b*) *Eumenius* his *Panegyrick* to *Conſtantius*, where he takes notice of the different State of the *Britains*, when *Cæſar* ſubdued them, from what they were in *Conſtantius* his time: *Then*, ſaith he, *they were a rude, half naked People, and ſo eaſily vanquiſhed*; *But now the Britains were exerciſed by the Arms of the* Picts *and the* Iriſh. Nothing can be plainer, than that *Eumenius* here diſtinguiſhes the *Picts* from the *Britains*, and ſuppoſes them to be *Enemies* to each other. Neither can we reaſonably think this a Name then taken up to diſtinguiſh the *barbarous Britains* from the *Provincial*: For that diſtinction had now been of a very long ſtanding, and if it had been applied to that purpoſe, we ſhould have met with it in *Tacitus*, or *Dio*, or *Herodian*, or *Zoſimus*, who ſpeak of the *Extra-provincial Britains*, under no other Name but of *Britains*. (*c*) *Dio* is ſo exact as to ſet down the Names of diſtinction then uſed for thoſe *Britains*, and he ſaith, *they were of two ſorts*, the *Mæatæ*, and the *Caledonii*; If the name of *Picts* had then comprehended them all, no doubt he would have mention'd it on that occaſion. (*d*) *Zonaras* likewiſe calls them all then by the name of *Britains*. But it is ſaid, *That the* (*e*) *Panegyriſt himſelf calls the* Caledonians, Picts, *who were certainly* Britains. His words are, *Non dico* Caledonum, *alioruṁque* Pictorum, *Silvas & Paludes*: where *H. Valeſius* obſerves, it ought to be read, *Non* Dicaledonum *alioruṁque* Pictorum; For (*f*) *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſaith, *the* Picts *were divided into the* Dicaledones *and the* Vecturiones. It is ingeniouſly conjectured by Mr. *Camden*, that theſe Names were taken from the Situation of the People, the firſt from *Deheu* and *Caledones*, or the *Caledonians* on the *Right-hand*, and the other from *Chwithic*, which ſignifies the *Left-hand* in the *Britiſh Language*; But Archbiſhop (*g*) *Uſher* obſerves, that he is miſtaken, in ſuppoſing *the Right-hand among the* Britains *to be the Weſt*, *and the Left-hand the Eaſt*; for he plainly proves, *that by the one is underſtood the South, and the other the North.* And (*h*) *Bede* ſhews, that the Northern and Southern *Picts* were divided from each other

(b) *Paneg.* Conſt. n. 11.

(c) Xiphil. *in* Sever.

(d) Zonar. *in* Sever.

(e) Eumen. n. 7.

(f) Am. Marcel. l. 27. c. 8.

(g) De *Primord.* p. 1021.

(h) Bed. *Hiſt.* Eccl. l. 3. c. 4.

other by a Ridge of *Mountains*; which (*i*) *John Fordon* ſaith, was *Mount Grampius*, which parted the *Scots* and the *Picts*. For the *Scots* came into that part of the *Picts Countrey* which lay next to *Ireland*; from whence they came thither under the conduct of *Reuda*, as (*k*) *Bede* ſaith. Who, as ſome think, was *the Chief of the Six Sons of the King of* Ulſter, *who, as* Giraldus Cambrenſis *ſaith, with no ſmall Fleet, came into the Northern Parts of* Britain, *and there ſettled themſelves*; from whom that Countrey was called *Scotia*. Which, if it happen'd in the time of *Conſtantius*, as Archbiſhop (*l*) *Uſher* proves from the Anonymous Life of St. *Patrick*, it agrees very well with what (*m*) *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſaith, *That in the latter end of his Reign, the* Scots *and the* Picts *were both joined againſt the* Britains. The *Scots*, as (*n*) *Gildas* and (*o*) *Bede* ſay, *coming from the Weſt, and the* Picts *from the North*; And ſo *Fabius Ethelwerd* ſaith, *the* Picts *came from the North, and the* Scots *from the Weſt*; *who took poſſeſſion of the Southweſt parts of* Caledonia *beyond* Glota, *and* Bodotria, *or* Dumbritton, *and* Edenborough Frith. And ſo, the *Mons Grampius*, or the *Dorſum Britannicum*, as ſome call it, parted the *Picts* and the *Scots*; the *Old Britains* ſtill living between the Wall and the *two Friths*; For *Bede* expreſly ſaith, *That both the* Scots *and the* Picts *lived beyond them*; and he likewiſe adds, *That upon the remove of the* Roman *Legion they took in all the Countrey as far as* Severus *his Wall*; where the *Britains dwelt before*. I confeſs, the *Roman Province* had different *Bounds* at ſeveral times, it ſometimes extending as far as *Antoninus* his Wall, or *Graham's Dike* between the *two Friths*; Sometimes again it was brought within the Compaſs of *Hadrian* and *Severus his Wall*, id eſt, *between the Tine and the Eſk*; And *Bede* thinks that the laſt Wall made by the *Romans* was where *Severus* his Wall ſtood. If ſo, that whole Countrey between the two Walls muſt be then abandon'd for 100 Miles; Which (*p*) ſome object againſt as an improbable thing, *The Wall being ſo much longer, and conſequently more indefenſible by the* Britains. But, in probability, the *Britains* were then willing to let their Enemies have the more room to prevent being diſturbed by them; And this was the main Security

(i) *Scotichron. l.* 2. *c.* 7.

(k) *Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 1.

(l) De *Primord. p.* 547.

(m) Am. Marcel. *l.* 20.

(n) Gild. *Epiſt.*

(o) Bed. *l.* 1. *c.* 12.

(p) Uſſer. *de Prim. p.* 1027.

rity they always had, the *Lineæ Valli* relating to this *Wall* from *Hadrian's* time; And although sometimes in a bravery the *Roman* Souldiers would march to *Antoninus* his Wall, and drive the *Britains* before them, yet generally the *Roman Province* was bounded by *Severus* his *Wall*, and therefore *Gallio Ravennas* might at last chuse rather to make up and fortifie this for the *Britains*, when the *Roman Souldiers* left them to defend themselves.

But, as to the several Inhabitants beyond the *Wall*, it will be necessary, in order to the following History, to set down a more particular Account in this Place of the different *Original* of them; which hath been so perplexed by the partial Conjectures of the *Scottish* and *Irish Antiquaries*, that it is no easie matter to find out the plain Truth amongst them. But I shall endeavour to trace the Footsteps of it by the best Light which ancient or modern Authours afford. And I am so far from any pique or partiality in this matter, that I shall be glad to receive any better information from learned and ingenuous Men. For it will appear by this enquiry that the *Antiquities* of both Nations do yet stand much in need of being cleared to the satisfaction of inquisitive Men. But to the business.

It is certain that in the time of *Tacitus*, the Northern Parts of this Island were well inhabited, as appears by the following Account from him: The *Brigantes*, who extended as far as the *Tine*, were, as (q) he saith, subdued by *Petilius Cerealis*; The *Silures*, by *Julius Frontinus*; The *Ordovices*, the other People of *Wales*, by *Julius Agricola* in his first entry upon this Province. But in his third year he went as far as the *Frith* of *Taus*: By which Sir *H. Savil* saith, *Some understand the Tweed*; For that it cannot be understood of the *Taus*, which parts the Northern and the Southern parts of *Scotland*, seems evident from *Tacitus*, who saith, *That the* Romans *had leisure to build Castles there*: But this *Taus* is a great way beyond *the two Friths*; And *Tacitus*, in the fourth year of *Agricola*, makes the *Roman* Power to reach no farther than to *Glota* and *Bodotria*, where he thought *the* Romans *might have conveniently fixed the Bounds of their Empire that way*. But, I confess,

(q) Tacit. *Agric.* c. 17, 18.

feſs, *Tacitus* his words may bear another meaning, viz. *That although the* Romans *had made Excurſions as far as the* Taus, *and ſet up ſome Forts there*; *Yet when* Agricola *went about to ſettle the Province, he reduced it within the compaſs of the two* Friths; *There being the moſt convenient Place for the Garriſon to be fixed*; *There being ſo ſmall a Neck of Land between the Armes of the two Seas, which was then very well fortified.* But the boundleſs Ambition of the *Romans*, in the fifth year of *Agricola*, carried them beyond theſe Limits; And then he ſubdued Nations before that time unknown; And furniſhed with Forces that part of *Britain* which lieth againſt *Ireland*; Not out of fear of any Invaſion from thence; But rather in hopes of ſubduing that Countrey by their means. Which ſhews that *Ireland* was then *well peopled*; and thought by *Agricola* very fit for the *Roman Army* to conquer; Becauſe it lay ſo convenient for uniting the parts of the Empire together; And it would help much towards the total ſubduing of *Britain*, if there were no appearance of Liberty left within their view. And *Tacitus* inſinuates that *Agricola* had it in his Deſign, if he had been ſuffer'd to continue longer after his Victory over *Galgacus*: Which *Domitian*'s incurable Jealouſie of Great Men would not permit. However, in order to it, *Agricola* had taken an account of the Ports, and condition of the People, whom he found not unlike the *Britains*; And he kept with him till Occaſion ſerved, one of the *Princes* of that Countrey, who was driven from thence by a domeſtick Sedition. But in the mean time, in his ſixth year, he applied himſelf to the Conqueſt of the ſeveral Nations beyond *Bodotria*, among whom a general Inſurrection was apprehended, and all Paſſages by Land were ſuppoſed to be beſet; And therefore *Agricola* ſet out a Fleet for diſcovery of the Countrey; the ſight whereof ſtruck great Terrour into the *Britains*. And then he ſaith, *the* Caledonians *armed themſelves and ſet upon the* Romans *with all the Force they could make*; and falling upon the *ninth Legion* unexpectedly, had like to have totally defeated them, if the reſt of the Army had not come in to their timely reſcue. By which good ſucceſs, the *Roman Army*, being much

much incouraged, cried out to march into *Caledonia*; That they might at laſt come to the utmoſt Bounds of *Britain*. But the *Britains* attributed this not to the Valour of the *Romans*, but to the ill Conduct of their *General*; And therefore reſolved to fight it out, and to that end they diſpoſed of their Wives and Children in Places of Safety, and by frequent Meetings and ſolemn Sacrifices they entred into a ſtrict Confederacy, to ſtand it out to the utmoſt againſt the *Romans*. And in this Caſe of common danger, all the Cities were united together, and raiſed an Army of 30000 Men, under the Command of *Galgacus*, who, in his brave Oration, ſo much commended by *Lipſius*, tells his Souldiers, *they were the laſt of the* Britains, *there being no Nation beyond them*; And he calls them, *the moſt noble of the* Britains, *who had never beheld the Slavery of others*; Upon this the fatal Battel was fought at the Foot of *Mons Grampius*, where 10000 Britains *were killed*, and *the reſt diſperſed*; After which *Agricola* was recalled. This is the Subſtance of *Tacitus* his Relation, wherein we may obſerve; (1.) That theſe *Britains* were not merely ſuch as were driven thither by the ſtreſs of War, but ſuch as had *long inhabited there*, and had ſo little Communication with the other *Britains*, *that they had never ſeen the Condition of Slavery which the* Romans *had brought them to.* (2.) That they were not inconſiderable for their Numbers or Valour, who were able to oppoſe the whole *Roman Army*, and make their *Victory* ſo doubtfull. (3.) That theſe had a diſtinct Name from the reſt, being in general called the *Caledonian Britains*: And *Tacitus* thinks they had a different *Original* from the *Silures*, and other *Britains*. Thoſe who adjoined to *Gaul*, he concludes came at firſt from thence, and had ſeveral *Colonies* follow'd them afterwards, as appears by their Names, Cuſtomes and Language; the *Silures* he deduced from *Spain*, which he proves from their Complexion and Situation; And ſo probably enough, he thinks them a *Colony of the old Iberi*; ſome whereof went into *Ireland*, and peopled ſome part of it: But, beſides theſe two, he makes a third Race of Men in *Britain*, whom he fetches out of *Germany*, and theſe were the *Caledonian Britains*; But

(r) Tacit. *de Mor. Germ. c.* 1. c. 43, 44. (*r*) he takes *Germany* in a very large Senſe, ſo as to extend as far as the *Sarmatæ*; And to comprehend under it, *the Northern Nations of the* Cimbri, *and the* Gothones, *and the* Sueones; From whom it ſeems very probable, that the *Caledonian Britains* deſcended; As the Southern *Britains* came from the *Celtæ*; Whoſe Language and Religion were kept up among them. But the *Caledonians* came from the *European Scythians*, to whoſe Coaſts they lay much nearer than to thoſe of the *Celtæ*, and their larger Proportions, which *Tacitus* obſerves agree very well with this Suppoſition.

And theſe, if I miſtake not, were the *Original Picts*, but not called by that Name, till *new Colonies* came over to people the Countrey, after the terrible Devaſtation of it by the Continuance of the *Roman Wars*. (s) Claud *de quarto Conſul.* Honorii. For (*s*) *Claudian* makes *Thule* the Countrey of the *Picts*; (t) Ola. Rudbeck, *Atlantic. c.* 19. And after all the Diſputes which have been about it, (*t*) *Olaus Rudbeck* hath made it very probable, that *Scandinavia* is meant by it; Which he proves, not onely from the Teſtimony of *Procopius*, who affirms it; but from the exact Agreement of the Relations of *Pytheas*, *Iſidorus*, and others with that, and neither with (u) Bed. *l.* 1. *c.* 1. *Iſeland*, nor any other Place. Beſides, (*u*) *Bede* ſaith, *The common Tradition was, that the* Picts *came out of* Scythia; Which is affirmed by *Matt. Weſtminſter*, and many others: But they do not mean the *Aſian*, but the *European Scythia*; Which comprehended under it all the moſt Northern Nations, *Ab extremo Aquilone*, ſaith (w) Plin. *l.* 6. *c.* 13. (*w*) *Pliny*; And elſewhere he ſaith, (x) *That the* Getæ, (x) *l.* 4. *c.* 12. *the* Daci *and* Sarmatæ, and even the *Germans* were called *Scythians*: (y) Herod. *l.* 4. (*y*) *Herodotus* mentions the *Northern Scythians* to whom *there was no acceſs by thoſe who dwelt near the* Palus Mæotis *without the help of ſeven Languages*; And when *Darius* fought with them, *they retired Northwards towards their own Countrey*. (z) Ptol. *Tab.* 8. *Europæ.* (*z*) *Ptolemy* places the *Royal Scythians* near the *Hyperborean Mountains*; Which could never be found in the vaſt Plains of *Poland* and *Muſcovy*; There being no Mountains there anſwering to their Deſcription as (*a*) *Heberſteinius* and (*b*) *Matthias à Micou* confeſs; And therefore (*c*) *Olaus Rudbeck* hath undertaken to prove, not without great ſhew of Reaſon, *That theſe Mountains were*

(a) *Rer. Muſcov. p.* 61.
(b) *Sarm. Europ. l.* 2. *c.* 3, 4.
(c) *Atlantic. c.* 9.

no

no other than the Ridge of Mountains in Sweden, *where the ſeat of the ancient* Scythians *was*; *And that* Ptolemy *was extremely miſtaken in the Situation of the Northern Nations, removing them ſeveral Degrees more Eaſtward than they ought to have been, and ſo very much ſtraitning* Scandinavia. Which (*d*) *Jornandes* calls *the Work-houſe of Nations*; and the ſame *Jornandes* affirms from *Joſephus*, *That the* Sueones *were the true* Scythians, whom (*e*) *Xenophon* takes to be *the Governing People of* Europe *in his time*; As the *Perſians* were in *Aſia* and the *Carthaginians* in *Africa*. And the old *Greek* (*f*) Geographers (as is ſaid before) knew of but two Nations in *Europe* beſides themſelves, viz. the *Scythæ* towards the North, and the *Celtæ* towards the Weſt. Theſe *European Scythians* did make frequent Expeditions by Sea, as appears by the *old Gothick Hiſtories*; And (*g*) *Olaus Rudbeck* obſerves from them, *That it was a Cuſtome for them to go abroad by Sea, under the Conduct of one of their Princes, to ſee for Booty*; And (*h*) *Tacitus* ſaith particularly of the *Sueones*, *that they were well provided of Shipping*; And therefore there can be no improbability that theſe Northern Nations ſhould people that part of *Britain* which lay neareſt to them. And (*i*) *Sueno*, the firſt Hiſtorian of *Denmark*, ſaith, *That* Helghi, *the Son of* Haldan, *the Son of* Skiold, *the firſt Monarch there, was ſo powerfull at Sea, that he was called* Rex Maris, *the King of the Sea*. And (*k*) *Saxo Grammaticus* ſaith, *That, having ſubdued the King of the* Sclavi, *he ſailed into divers Paſſages of the Sea*. (*l*) *Andreas Velleius* gives this Reaſon why the *Northern Nations* were ſo ſoon and ſo much given *to Expeditions by Sea*, becauſe their Kings having many Children, *they thought them beſt employ'd abroad, in ſeeking other Countries and getting Spoils at Sea*. And upon the old boaſt of the *Scythians* concerning their *Antiquity* and *Nobility* might be grounded that Saying of *Galgacus*, *That the* Caledonian Britains *were the moſt noble of any of them*.

(d) *De Rebus Get. l. 1. c. 4.*
(e) *Mem. l. 2. p. 581. ed. H. St.*
(f) *v. Strabo, l. 1. & 11.*
(g) *Atlantic. c. 4.*
(h) *Germ. c. 44.*
(i) *Sueno. Opuſc. c. 1.*
(k) *Hiſt. Dan. l. 2.*
(l) *v. Nic. Sceph. in Sax. Gram.*

Among theſe *Scythians* (*m*) *Pliny* reckons the *Agathyrſi*; Who had their Name, ſaith (*n*) *Olaus Rudbeck*, from *Aggathyr*, one of the *Gothick* Names for *Neptune*: From *Agga*, ſignifying *Power at Sea*; and *Tyr*, *Power*

(m) *L. 4. c. 12.*
(n) *Atlantic. c. 30.*

at Land; *Theſe* Agathyrſi, ſaith he, *were a ſort of People who lived near the Sea, in the* Sinus Codanus, *and were wont to prey upon the Spoils of the Sea.* *Jornandes* places them in *Scandia*, and calls them *Agantzyrios.* They were remarkable in Antiquity for Painting their Bodies, as not onely appears from *Virgil's*

Pictique Agathyrſi,

(o) Solin. c. 15. But from what (*o*) *Solinus* ſaith of them, *That their Bodies were painted* Colore cæruleo, *juſt as the old* Picts *were.* (*p*) *Tacitus* obſerves of the *Arii*, a fierce Northern People, *That they had* Tincta Corpora, i. e. *were Picts.* And the ſame (*q*) *Virgil* ſaith of the *Geloni*, who were next Neighbours to the *Agathyrſi*: So that (*r*) *Hector Boethius* his Conjecture is not at all improbable, who deduces the *Picti* from the *Agathyrſi*, *i. e.* from the *Maritime Inhabitants of the Baltick Sea*; or, as he expreſſes it, *from thoſe who came firſt out of* Sarmatia *into the* Cimbrick Cherſoneſe, *and from thence into* Scotland.

(p) De Moribus Germ.

(q) Georg. 2.

(r) Hiſt. Scot. f. 4.

This being to me the moſt probable Account of the *Original* of the *Picts*, I now come to that of the *Scots.* And, to doe right to all Pretenders, I ſhall impartially ſet down the ſeveral Claims of the *Scotiſh* and *Iriſh Antiquaries*, and in paſſing make ſome Remarks upon them.

(s) Apparat. ad Hiſt. Scotic. l. 3. c. 2. I begin with the *Scotiſh* Pretences, (*s*) *Dempſter* hath given a large Catalogue of the *Scotiſh Antiquaries* (whom he never ſaw) ſuch as *Marcerius*, the firſt Writer of their Hiſtory, whom he places *Anno Dom.* 53. From him, (*t*) he ſaith, *Veremundus took his Materials*, (whom *Hector Boethius* profeſſes to follow) and *Cornelius Hibernicus*, another of *Hector's* great Authours, who is ſaid by him to have lived *Anno Dom.* 1160. about 80 years after *Veremundus*, according to *Dempſter's* computation. *Leſly* (or *Robert Turner*, as ſome think) mentions ſome *ancient Annals*, which *Hector* takes no notice of in particular, but *Dempſter* doth, as thoſe of *Paſlet* and *Scone*, and other Monaſteries. It would tend very much to the clearing of the *Scotiſh Antiquities* if ſome of theſe ancient *Annals* or *Lieger Books* were printed by ſome of their Learned Men, who have never been wanting in that Nation ſince *Hector's* time.

(t) Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 12. n. 881.

time. And it hath rendred their Credit the more ſuſpicious, becauſe they have been ſo long kept up, when all the old *Annals* which have been found among us have either been carefully publiſhed, or our Writers have on all Occaſions appealed to their Authority, and made uſe of their own Words to juſtifie their Aſſertions. Whether this hath been done by *Hector*, *Buchanan* or *Leſly*, as to theſe *Annals*, I leave the Reader to determine.

I omit *Dempſter*'s other ancient Authours, who were never heard of by any beſides himſelf; But it is ſomewhat ſtrange, that even ſuch as *Veremundus* and *Cornelius* ſhould never fall into any hands (that I can find) but thoſe of *Hector Boethius*; And that he ſhould never ſo much as mention *John Fordon*'s *Scoti-chronicon*. *Pits* confounds this Authour with *John de Fordam*, Confeſſour to our King *John*, and ſo places him *Anno Dom.* 1210. Wherein he is follow'd by the Learned (*u*) *Ger. Voſſius*. He was *Abbat of* Ford *in* Devonſhire, ſaith *Leland*, and he mentions no Hiſtorical Writings of his. But it is certain that *John Fordon*, who wrote the *Scoti-chronicon*, lived after this time, by the Authours he quotes (ſuch as the (*w*) *Poly-chronicon* of *Ranulphus Higden*, the *Polycraticon* of *Roger* of *Cheſter*, who both lived in the fourteenth Century.) And (*x*) *Maculloch*, who tranſcribed and inlarged it, lived, ſaith *Dempſter*, *Anno Dom.* 1482. For it appears by the Preface, *Debitor ſum fateor*, &c. That *John Fordon* (who is there called a *Preſbyter*, and no *Monk*) *finiſhed no more than five Books of the* Scoti-chronicon; But left the Materials to make up the reſt; And that *Fordon*'s own Work was but lately done, before *Maculloch* undertook to finiſh and inlarge it, who profeſſes himſelf *a Diſciple of* Fordon's; And diſtinguiſhes his own *Additions* from *Fordon*'s Copy, by putting in the Margin *Scriptor & Autor*. But (*y*) *Dempſter* makes *Maculloch*, *Scoti-chronicon*, and *Fordon*, three ſeveral Authours, which is a Sign he never ſaw them. Mr. (*z*) *Camden* takes notice *how much the later* Scotiſh *Hiſtorians are beholding to* Fordon's *diligence*. And therefore out of him I ſhall give a ſhort Account of the *Scotiſh Antiquities*; And then ſhew how far *Major*, *Hector Boethius* and *Buchanan* differ from him: For *Leſly* doth

(u) *De Hiſt. Lat. l.* 2. *c.* 56.

(w) *Scoti-chron. l.* 3. *c.* 8. *l.* 1. *c.* 38.

(x) *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 12. *n.* 911.

(y) *Apper. ad Hiſt. Scot. l.* 1. *c.* 2.

(z) *Brit. p.* 912.

doth very faithfully contract *Hector* where *Buchanan* was aſhamed to follow him; as will appear by what follows.

(a) *Scoti-chron. l.* 1. *c.* 9. There was, ſaith (*a*) *Fordon*, "One *Gaithelos*, Son of "*Neolus*, one of the Kings of *Greece*, who, having "diſpleaſed his Father, was baniſhed his Countrey, "and went into *Egypt*, where he was married to *Sco-* "*ta*, the King's Daughter. But he quotes another "Chronicle, which ſaith, that he was ſent to the aſſi- "ſtence of the King of *Egypt*, againſt the *Ethiopians*; "Who gave him his onely Daughter *Scota* to Wife; "And the *Legend* of St. *Brendan* to the ſame purpoſe; "And another *Chronicle*, which makes him to be "Grandchild to *Nimrod*, who was driven into *Egypt*, "and there married this *Scota*. However they differ in leſſer Circumſtances, they agree in the main Point; For *Scota* he muſt have, or elſe the Name of *Scotia*
c. 12. would be quite loſt. "After the deſtruction of *Phara-* "*oh* in the Red Sea, *Gaithelos* is choſen King; But, "Diſcontents ariſing, he and his Wife *Scota*, with "their Company, put to Sea, and made Weſtward; "But, after many Difficulties, they landed in *Spain*, "where, after the Conqueſt of the Inhabitants, he built
c. 14. "the City *Brigantia*; But, being wearied out with "continual Wars, he ſent ſome of his Company to "Sea to find out an *Iſland* without Inhabitants; upon "diſcovery whereof they returned to *Gaithelos*; Who
c. 16. "ſoon after died, and charged his Children and Friends
c. 17. "to go thither; And accordingly his Sons, *Iber* and
c. 18. "*Imec*, went to take Poſſeſſion of this *Iſland*, which "from him was called *Ibernia*, and from his Mother "*Scotia*; *Which Name was after given to part of* Bri- *tain*; *Becauſe the Inhabitants of the other Iſland ſettled there* (ſaith *Maculloch*, in his Additions to *Fordon*) *as appears by the affinity of their Language and Cuſtoms,*
c. 21. *which*, ſaith he, *continues to this day.* "In *Spain* ſome "of that Race abode, ſaith *Fordon*, out of an *old* "*Chronicle*, 240 years; Then aroſe a King, whom
c. 22. "he calls *Micelius*, who had three Sons, *Hermonius*, "*Partholonus* and *Hibertus*, whom he ſent into *Ire-* "*land* with a great Army; The eldeſt returned to "*Spain*; But the other two continued there. After-

"wards

" wards *Simon Brek* with his Company made a third c. 27.
" deſcent into *Ireland*, who ſprang from *Hermonius*,
" and carried along with him the *Marble Chair* in
" which their Kings were wont to ſit, and which *Ga-*
" *thelus* brought out of *Egypt*, as ſome think; but o- c. 29.
" thers ſay, *Simon* drew it up from the bottom of the
" Sea with an Anchor in a great Tempeſt, and therefore
" was preſerved as a pretious Relict; And he took it as
" a Preſage of his Kingdom, which was to continue
" wherever that Stone was; as the Southſayers ſaid.
" From *Ireland*, *Ethachius Rothay*, a Deſcendent from
" *Simon Brek*, took poſſeſſion of the Iſland *Rothſay*; c. 30.
" And many *Scots* aſſociated with the *Picts* in the Nor-
" thern parts of *Britain*; But being hardly uſed, and c. 33.
" having no Head, *Fergus*, the Son of *Fercard*, or *Fe-*
" *rard*, being deſcended of the Royal Family, went
" over, and took upon him the Government of them. c. 37.
" Which, he ſaith, was before *Chriſt* 330 years, in the
" time of *Alexander* the Great; who carried the *Fatal*
" *Chair* into *Scotland*, and was crowned in it. Some l. 2. c. 12.
" time after him ſucceeded *Rether*, whom *Bede* calls
" *Reuda*, who endeavour'd to inlarge the Borders of
" the *Scots* in thoſe Parts, and fixed himſelf in that
" which from him was called *Retherdale*, but ſince *Ry-*
" *diſdale*; And this he makes the *Second coming* of the c. 13.
" *Scots* out of *Ireland*. After this, he tells how the
" Kings of the *Britains*, of the *Scots*, and the *Picts* lived
" very lovingly together till *Julius Cæſar* diſturbed them c. 14.
" all, who, he ſaith, went to the very Borders of *Scot-*
" *land*; And there ſent Letters to the Kings, both of
" the *Scots* and *Picts*, who both returned Anſwers in
" *Latin*, although but the Chapter before he ſaith, *The*
" *very* Britains *had never heard of the Name of the* Romans.
" But it happen'd, That *Cæſar*, hearing of the Revolt
" of the *Gauls*, made a ſpeedy return out of thoſe
" Parts. Then he relates the bloudy Wars of the *Scots* c. 28.
" and *Picts* againſt the *Britains*; and how *Fulgentius*, 29.
" Head of the *Britains*, joined with the *Picts* and *Scots*
" againſt *Severus*, and killed him at *York*: And ſo pro- c. 36.
" ceeds in the Story of *Carauſius* and *Maximus*, and 37.
" their Wars with the *Scots* and *Picts*, till he comes to 38.
" *Fergus* II. With whom he begins his *Third Book*; And

" between

" between the two *Fergusſes* he reckons *Forty five Kings*;
" But he confeſſes he cannot diſtinguiſh the times of
l. 3. c. 2. " their Reign; as he can do thoſe from *Fergus* II. And he gives this conſiderable Reaſon for it, *Nam ad plenum Scripta non reperimus*, *i. e.* He could not find any full Account of them in any *ancient Annals* or Records. And therefore it ought to be conſidered from whence *Hector*, *Buchanan* and *Leſly* ſhould be able to give ſuch a particular Account of the Reigns of thoſe Kings which were wholly unknown to *Fordon*. This is the ſhort Account of what *Fordon* delivers about theſe *Remoter Antiquities* of the *Scots*.

(b) De Geſtis Scot. l. 1. c. 9. (*b*) *Joh. Major* confeſſeth, *That the* Scots *were derived from the* Iriſh, *which*, he ſaith, *is plain by the Language*; For in his time, half the Nation ſpake *Iriſh*, and before that time, more. And ſo he tells the Story of their coming from *Spain*, of the City *Braganza*, of *Iberus* and his Mother *Scota*, and then repeats the Tradition of *Gathelus*, as *Fordon* relates it; But very honeſtly ſaith, *That he looks on that part of it*, *about coming out of* Greece *and* Egypt *as a Fiction*; And very probably conjectures it was done, *becauſe the* Britains *derived themſelves from the* Trojans. Which was ſubtily done of the *Scots* to claim Kindred rather with the *Conquering Greeks*, than the ſubdued and baniſhed *Trojans*. All that *Major* aſſerts is, *That the* Iriſh *came out of* Spain, *and the* Scots *out of* Ireland: And the Story of *Simon Brek* he rejects as a Fable: And he makes the firſt ſettling of the *Scots* in *Britain*, to be that
c. 11. under *Reuda*; But he mentions their *Annals* for *Fergus*, the Son of *Ferchard*, before *Reuda*; and *Rether* and *Ryddeſdale*, as it is in *Fordon*. But he makes the Kingdoms of the *Picts*, *Scots* and *Britains* to be diſtinct in *Cæſar*'s time; And that they all joined againſt him: And ſo relates *Fordon*'s Story to the time of *Fergus* II. But between the two *Fergusſes* he makes but 15 *Kings*, and 700 *Years*.

(c) *Hiſt. Scot.* l. 1. (*c*) *Hector Boethius*, before he begins the Tradition of *Gathelus*, very ingenuouſly confeſſes, *that their Nation follow'd the Cuſtome of other Nations*, *therein making themſelves the Offspring of the* Greeks *and* Egyptians; And ſo he tells all the Story from *Gathelus*, as

Fordon

Fordon has done, onely here and there making *Additions* and Embelliſhments of his own; As when he derives the *Brigantes* from *Brigantia* in *Spain*; When he ſets down the Deliberation about the *Form* of *Government* upon *Fergus* his coming to *Scotland*; And the Speeches of *Fergus* and the King of the *Picts*; The Death of *Coilus* King of the *Britains*; The entring the *fundamental Contract* of the *Scots*, with the Poſterity of *Fergus* in *Marble Tables* in the way of *Hieroglyphicks*; The *Agrarian Law*, and *Partition* made by *Seven*, and the *Diviſion* of the *Tribes*; The bringing the *Silures*, *Ordovices*, *Camelodunum*, as well as the *Brigantes*, within the Compaſs of *Scotland*; Theſe are the proper Inventions of *Hector*, unleſs he had them from his Spaniard *Veremundus*, which no one could tell but himſelf; Thence *Leland* and (*d*) *Lluyd* charge him with innumerable Falſhoods. (*e*) *Dempſter* confeſſes, that *Buchanan frequently chaſtiſes him*; But he would have it rather on the *Account of Religion* than *Learning*: But it is plain, that he owns his Miſtakes and (*f*) *Vanity*, onely he charges *Lluyd* with as great on behalf of the *Britains*.

(d) *Mona Deſcrip. ad fin.*
(e) *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 2. n. 175.*
(f) Buch. *Hiſt. l. 2. ad fin.*

In the Second Book *Hector* inlarges more. For (*g*) *Fordon* paſſeth on from *Fergus* to *Rether*, or *Bede's Reuda*, having nothing to ſay; But *Hector* acquaints us with the Conteſt about the Regency upon *Fergus* his Death, and the Law then made concerning it, the attempt of *Reſignation* of *Feritharis*, to *Ferlegus*, the Son of *Fergus*, and his Impriſonment upon it; The Death of *Feritharis* after fifteen years Reign; The Flight of *Ferlegus* into *Britain*, with the Choice of *Main*, his younger Brother, to be King; His good Government and Annual Progreſs for Juſtice through all Places of his Dominions; His appointing Circles of *great Stones* for *Temples*, and one in the middle for the Altar; And the Monthly Worſhip of the New Moon; And ſeveral *Egyptian Sacrifices* (which one would have thought had been more proper for *Gathelus* himſelf) with the Succeſſion of his Son *Dornadil*, his making the *Laws of Hunting*, which were ſtill obſerved there; And of his Brother *Nothatus*, his Son *Reuther* being an Infant: Who came in by the *Law* of *Regency*, ſaith *Hector*; *By*

(g) *Scotichr. l. 2. c. 12.*

the Power of the People ſaith *Buchanan*; but in truth by neither. For all this *Succeſſion* ſeems to have been the product of *Hector*'s fruitfull Invention, which *Buchanan* follows without *Authority*; as he doth in all the reſt of the *Succeſſion* of that Race of Kings from *Reuther* to *Fergus* II.

To make way for *Bede*'s Account of *Reuda*'s coming into thoſe Parts of *Britain*, This *Reuther* is forced back into *Ireland*; from whence he is ſaid to return with new Supplies after twelve years; From whom the *Scots* were then called *Dalreudini*: But this return of *Reuther*, *Hector* places in the year before *Chriſt* 204. And after him *Reutha*, his Kinſman; In whoſe time, *Hector* relates an Embaſſy from *Ptolemy Philadelphus* to him; And the Account of *Scotland* which he began in a large *Volume* for his ſatisfaction, which was after finiſhed by *Ptolemy* the *Coſmographer*. This *Buchanan* had the Wit to leave out (and even (*h*) *Dempſter* himſelf, though he mentions him for a Writer of their Hiſtory) and ſo he doth the Voyage of the *two* Spaniſh *Philoſophers* in the time of *Joſina*, and their Preaching againſt the *Egyptian* Worſhip in *Scotland*; (but *Leſly* hath it.) And if *Buchanan* had believed it, he would have ſet it down, as well as *Joſina*'s *bringing Phyſick* and *Chirurgery* into ſo much requeſt, That there was not a Noble Man that could not practiſe the latter. And yet *Hector* declares immediately after the Story of the *Philoſophers*, that hitherto he had followed *Veremundus*, *John Campbell* and *Cornelius Hibernicus*, the moſt approved Authours of their Hiſtory. It would have been ſome ſatisfaction to the World, if any other Perſon had ſeen theſe *Authours* beſides; *Fordon* never mentions them; And yet he uſed great diligence to ſearch their Antiquities; And, if (*i*) *Dempſter* may be believed, had the Sight of their moſt ancient *MSS*. *Buchanan* paſſes them over; *Dempſter* names them, on the authority of *Hector*: What became of theſe great Authours after *Hector*'s time? Did he deſtroy them, as ſome ſay *Polydore Virgil* did ſome of ours after he had uſed them? But this were Madneſs, to quote their *Authority*, and deſtroy the *Authours*; For theſe were his *Vouchers*; which ought moſt carefully to have been preſer-

(h) *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 16. *n.* 1065.

(i) *Appar. ad Hiſt. Scot. l.* 1. *c.* 6.

preſerved. And in truth *Hector* himſelf gives no very conſiſtent Account of his *Authours*: For in his *Epiſtle* to *James* 5. he mentions *Veremundus*, Archdeacon of St. *Andrew's*, who deduced the *Scotiſh Hiſtory* from the *Original* to *Malcolm* III. And *Turgott*, Biſhop of St. *Andrew's*, and *John Campbell*, which were brought from the *Iſland Iona*; To whom he adds an *Anonymous Authour*, and the imperfect *Hiſtory* of *William Elphinſton*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*. But, ſaith he, *if any ask* ſuch a material Queſtion, *How came theſe Authours to be ſeen no where elſe?* He anſwers, *That* Edw. *I. deſtroy'd all their Monuments of Antiquity; So that had not thoſe been preſerved in the Iſland* Iona *with the Cheſt of Books which* Fergus *II. brought from the ſacking of* Rome, *in the time of* Alaric, *They had been able to give no account of their Antiquities.* From whence it is evident that *Hector* never ſaw or heard of any ancient Authours of their Hiſtory, but ſuch as were conveyed to him from the *Iſland Iona*. But in his (*k*) Seventh Book, where he gives a more particular account of thoſe Books which were brought to him from thence, he onely mentions ſome broken *Fragments* of *Latin Authours*; But whoſe they were, where Written, whence they came, he knew not; And, as to their own *Hiſtories*, he names indeed *Veremundus* and *Elphinſton*, and no more. The latter he ſaid before was *imperfect*, and lately done; So that the whole Credit of *Hector's Antiquities* reſts entirely upon *Veremundus*; For here he never takes notice of *Campbell* or *Cornelius Hibernicus*; But he ſaith, *Edw.* I. *had deſtroy'd all their Antiquities, but ſuch as were preſerved in the Iſland* Iona *or* Hy. And is this now a good Foundation to build a Hiſtory upon? For is it not very ſtrange, that no one Copy of *Veremundus* ſhould be heard of ſince that time; When there were ſeveral of *Fordon*, not onely there, but in our *Libraries*, ſome with the Inlargements and ſome without? But if our King *Edw.* I. *deſtroy'd all their ancient Hiſtories*, how came *Turgott's* to be preſerved? He was Biſhop of St. *Andrew's* in the time of *Malcolm* III. *and Queen* Margaret, *whoſe Lives he wrote; And whoſe Hiſtory*, *Hector* ſaith, *he had.* So that not onely *Turgott's Hiſtory* of the *Church* of *Durham* is preſerved in

(k) *L.* 7. *p.* 118.

the *Cotton Library*, with his own Name written in an ancient Character (the ſame that is printed under the Name of *Simeon Dunelmenſis*, with ſome Alterations, as (*l*) Mr. *Selden* hath ſhewed; But if *Hoveden* be ſo much to blame, as (*m*) *Leland* ſaith, *for concealing what he borrow'd from* Simeon Dunelmenſis, *Simeon* himſelf is at leaſt as much to blame for aſſuming to himſelf the proper work of *Turgott.*) But it ſeems *Hector* had ſeen what he wrote in relation to the *Scotiſh Hiſtory:* And *Bale* and *Pits* ſay, *he wrote of the Kings of* Scotland. But *Dempſter* ſaith, *he wrote onely the Annals of his own time, i. e.* I ſuppoſe, *the Lives of* Malcolm *and* Margaret: If ſo, *Hector* mentions him to little purpoſe, with reſpect to the *Scotiſh Antiquities.* But however, from the forementioned Authours, *Hector* pretends to give an Account of the *Inſtitution* of the *Great Council* by *Finannus*, of the Order of the *Druids*, and their *Chief Seat* in the *Iſland Mona*, (which he would have to be the *Iſle of Man*, to the great regret of *Humphrey Lluyd*, who hath written a Book on purpoſe to diſprove him and *Polydore Virgil* about it.) Of the Tyranny and violent Death of King *Durſtus*; Of the choice of *Euenus* his Kinſman to ſucceed him, and his firſt requiring an *Oath of Allegeance*; Of the Diſturbances by *Gillus* his natural Son, and his flying into *Ireland:* And his Death by *Cadallus*; And *Euenus* his ſetting up *Edecus*, the Grandchild of *Durſtus*; with which he ends his Second Book.

(l) *Præfat. ad* 10 *Script.*
(m) Leland. *de Script. in* Simeon.

In his Third Book he gives an Account of the Troubles from *Ireland* by *Bredius*, a Kinſman of *Gillus*; Of *Caſſibellan*'s Meſſage to *Ederus* for Aſſiſtence againſt *Julius Cæſar:* And the Speech of *Androgeus* before the *Council:* and *Ederus* his Anſwer, and ſending 10000 Men under the Command of *Cadallanus*, Son to *Cadallus*; Who, with the *Britiſh* Forces, quite overthrew *Cæſar*, by the help of *Tenantius*, Duke of the *Cambri* and *Corinei*; for which, as we may eaſily conceive, there was wonderfull rejoicing in *Scotland:* And great Friendſhip upon it, between the *Britains*, the *Picts* and the *Scots.* But next Summer they hear the ſad News of *Cæſar*'s coming again; And then the *Britains* refuſed the *Scots* aſſiſtence (and it is eaſie to imagine what muſt

muſt follow) *the poor* Britains *were miſerably beaten*; And *Caſſibellan* yields himſelf to *Cæſar*, and *Cæſar* marches towards *Scotland*; but before he enters it, he ſends a more Eloquent Letter to them than that in *Fordon*; And the *Scots* and *Picts* returned a reſolute Anſwer. But it ſeems *Cæſar* had ſo much good Nature in him as to ſend a *Second Meſſage* to the *Scots*, which was deliver'd with great Eloquence; but it did not work upon them; For, ſaith *Hector*, *had it not been for the Law of Nations*, *they had torn the Meſſengers to pieces.* But it happen'd luckily, that while *Cæſar* was making Preparations to enter *Scotland*, he received Letters from *Labienus* of the Revolt of the *Gauls*; upon which *Cæſar* returns, having ſcarce ſo much as frighted the *Picts* and the *Scots*. And here again *Hector* vouches the Authority of *Veremundus* and *Campbell*; But notwithſtanding, *Buchanan* very wiſely leaves all this out, which *Leſly*, believing *Veremundus*, or rather *Hector* before *Cæſar*, keeps in. But here *Hector* becomes very nice and critical, rejecting the *vulgar Annals* (which it ſeems were not deſtroy'd by *Edw.* I.) which ſay, *that* Cæſar *went as far as the* Caledonian *Wood, and beſieged* Camelodunum, *and left there his Pretorian Houſe* which he uſed to travell with, called *Julis Hoff.* But for his part, he would write nothing that might be found fault with, and therefore he follows *Veremundus* again, *That this was the Temple of Victory*, *built by* Veſpaſian, *not far from* Camelodunum; *Onely the Inſcription was defaced by* Edw. *I.* *Buchanan* in the Life of King *Donald* ſaith, *This was the Temple of the God* Terminus: *being near the* Roman *Wall.* It was a round Building, made of ſquare Stones, and open onely at the top 24 Cubits in height, 13 in breadth, as (*n*) *Camden* deſcribes it. (*o*) *Nennius* ſaith, It was built by *Carauſius*, in token of his *Triumph.* But this looks no more like a *Triumphal Arch*, than *Cæſar's travelling Palace*: And therefore *Buchanan's* opinion ſeems moſt probable, ſince *Hector* ſaith, *That there was within it a Stone of great magnitude*, which was the Repreſentation of the God *Terminus*, eſpecially, if the *hole in the top* were over the *Stone*, as it was in the *Capitol* at *Rome.* Then follow the wicked Life and tragical End of *Evenus* III. the good Reign of *Metellanus*, and

(n) *Brit. p.* 700.
(o) Nenn. *c.* 19.

and his Friendſhip with *Auguſtus*, which he goes about to prove from *Strabo*: But he had better kept to *Veremundus*. After him ſucceeded *Caratacus*, born at *Caractonium*, a City of the *Silures*, ſaith *Hector*, and that he might be ſure to confound all, he ſaith, his Siſter *Voada* was married to *Arviragus*, King of the *Britains*; But he divorced her, and married *Geuiſſa*, a Noble *Roman*; upon which *Caratacus* joined the *Britains* againſt the *Romans*, and was at laſt beaten by them, and betrayed by *Cartumandua*, his Mother-in-law, who, after his Father's death, was married to *Venuſius*, and was by *Oſtorius* carried in *Triumph* to *Rome*, from whence, he ſaith, he returned to *Scotland*, and remained to his death a Friend to the *Romans*; After *Caractacus*, *Corbred* his Brother was choſen King; who joined with *Voada* againſt the *Romans*; And partaking of her misfortune returned into *Scotland*, and there died. His Sons being under Age, *Dardanus* ſucceeded; Who deſigning to deſtroy the right Heirs of the Crown, was himſelf taken off: And thereby Way was made for *Galdus* the true Heir to ſucceed; Who was the ſame, ſaith *Hector*, with *Tacitus* his *Galgacus*; and, he confeſſes, was beaten by *Petilius Cerealis*. This King, *Buchanan* thinks, was the firſt of their Kings who fought with the *Romans*. What becomes then of the Credit of *Hector*, and *Veremundus*, from whom we have ſuch ample Narrations of their engaging with the *Romans* ſo long before? From hence it is plain that *Veremundus* his *Authority* ſignified nothing with him; And yet he follows *Hector* where he profeſſes to rely upon his Authority. For *Buchanan* evidently abridges *Hector* as to the *Scotiſh* Affairs, leaving out what he found inconſiſtent with the *Roman Hiſtory*.

Hector begins his Fifth Book with the ſhort Reign and dolefull End of *Luctacus*, *Galdus* his Son; who was ſucceeded by *Mogallus*, his Siſters Son; who continued for ſome time a brave Prince, but at laſt degenerating, was killed by his Subjects. After him *Conarus* his Son, who was confined for ill management, and the Government committed to *Argadus*; Upon his death the Kingdom fell to *Ethodius*, Nephew to *Mogallus*, who was ſtrangled in his Bed by an *Iriſh Harper*: And

ſo

ſo was *Satrael* that ſucceeded him, by thoſe of his Bed-chamber. Theſe are ſad Stories, if they were true, but the comfort is, there appears yet no better Authority than that of *Hector* for them. For *Fordon* hath nothing of all this; And *Buchanan* and *Leſly* take them upon *Hector*'s Credit. They ſerved *Buchanan*'s purpoſe well enough, as appears by his Book *De jure Regni apud* Scotos; And therefore he was willing to let them ſtand in Hiſtory, being none of his Invention, and knowing what uſe was to be made of them. *Donaldus*, Brother to *Ethodius*, was choſen in his room, and here *Hector* falls in with *Fordon* about *Fulgentius*, one of the Royal *Britiſh* Race, who revolted from the *Romans*, which *Fordon* had from *Geffrey* of *Monmouth*, who calls him *Fulgentius*, and ſaith, he was driven with the *Britains* into *Albany*: But after, in a Fight with *Severus* at *York*, they were both killed. But in this *Hector* was aſhamed to follow them; allowing *Severus* to die a natural death, and *Fulgentius* to ſurvive him. As to *Donald*'s embracing Chriſtianity, he follows *Fordon*, but never quotes him; And here he never mentions *Veremundus*; As though ſo conſiderable a Point of Hiſtory needed no Authority but his own. He concludes this Book with a brief Account of *Ethodius*, Son to the former, who for his ill Government was confined by his Nobles and killed by his Guards.

In the Sixth Book he begins with a *Convention* of the *Eſtates* for the choice of a new King. And they ſet up his Son *Athirco*, who gave great hopes at firſt, but falling into Debauchery, his Nobles combined againſt him, and finding no way to eſcape, he killed himſelf. *Nathalacus*, Head of the Conſpiracy, ſucceeds, who was for a time Popular, afterwards Cruel, to that degree, as raiſed a general hatred of him, which ended in a Deſign to deſtroy him; Wherein they were prevented by one of his greateſt Confidents, who ſtabbed him. Then *Findocus*, eldeſt Son to *Athirco*, recover'd the Crown, who proved an excellent Prince, but was at laſt murthered by two Villains, his Brother *Carantius* being privy to it: The Murtherers were executed, but *Carantius* fled, and was afterwards a great Souldier under *Probus*, *Carus* and *Dioclefian*. This

Caran-

Carantius is the ſame whom the *Roman* Writers call *Carauſius*, as *Hector* afterwards confeſſes, who ſet up for himſelf in *Britain*; But, ſaith he, he purpoſely diſguiſed himſelf abroad. *Geffrey* of *Monmouth* makes him a *Britain*, and calls him *Caraſſius*. (p) *Fordon* tells the main of the Story of *Carauſius* well enough; onely inlarging on the Leagues he made with the *Scots* and *Picts*; And *Gothorius*, Nephew to *Fulgentius*, who ruled over the Northern *Britains*. But whence had *Hector* this Information, That he was *Carantius*, Son to *Athirco*, and Brother to *Findocus*? *Buchanan* is not aſhamed to relate the Story of *Carantius* as far as to his paſſing into the *Roman Army*, and there ſtops. But afterwards he ſpeaks of *Carauſius* his Actions in *Britain*, without any farther mention of *Carantius*; Which ſhews that *Buchanan* took, and left what he pleaſed out of *Hector*'s Hiſtory without being obliged by any Authority he produced to carry it on as he found it there.

(p) *Scoti-chron. l. 2. c. 44.*

After the Death of *Findocus*, his Brother *Donald* ſucceeded, who was ſoon killed by *Donald* of the *Iſles*, who uſurped the Kingdom, and was at laſt killed by a Conſpiracy whereof *Crathlintus*, Son to *Findocus* was the chief; Who immediately took poſſeſſion of the Crown: After him ſucceeded *Fincormachus*; both theſe died peaceably. Then aroſe a mighty Conteſt about the *Regency* between the three Nephews of *Crathlintus*; At firſt *Romachus* prevailed, but Governing cruelly, he was taken off: Then follow'd *Anguſianus*, who was killed in Battel by the *Picts*; After him *Fethelmachus*, killed in his Bed by his Harper; And laſt of all *Eugenius*, killed in Battel by the *Romans*: And ſoon after, by the Inſtigation of the *Picts* their mortal Enemies, the *Scots* were univerſally baniſhed out of *Britain* by order of *Maximus* the *Roman General*; whither they returned not till about forty years after, under *Fergus* II. And in this, as to the main part of this laſt Tragedy, *Fordon* agrees with *Hector*, *viz.* That it was occaſion'd by the *Romans* joining with the *Picts* againſt the *Scots*, in the time of *Eugenius*, who were not onely beaten by them, but driven out of *Britain* into *Ireland*, and *Norway*, and other Countries.

This

This is the Subſtance of what theſe *Scotiſh Antiquaries* deliver concerning their remoteſt *Antiquities* to the time of *Fergus* II.

But ſeveral Arguments are of late produced to juſtifie the *Hiſtory* of *Scotland*, as it is delivered by *Hector Boethius* out of *Veremundus* and his other Authours; which muſt be briefly conſidered, before I proceed to the *Iriſh Antiquities*. And it is alledged, that the *Scotiſh Antiquities*, as delivered by him (for it is concerning *Hector's* Authority which I diſpute) *have been received with great Applauſe for many hundreds of years, by all Hiſtorians, Antiquaries and Criticks of other Nations, who had any occaſion to mention their Affairs.* It will go a great way with me, if it be made appear, that there was any ſuch account received among *Learned Antiquaries* in any part of the World before *Hector's* time. But I cannot find any one Antiquary, no not in *Scotland*, before his time, who gives the ſame Account that *Hector* doth. *The Tradition of the* Scots *peopling that part of the Iſland long before* Fergus *II.* I grant was a much *elder Tradition*, and is embraced by *Fordon*, and probably by others before him. But *Fordon* doth not own the *Succeſſion* of the ſame number of Kings, and in ſuch a manner as *Hector* delivers them. From whence then came *Hector* to know ſo much more than *Fordon* in thoſe matters? I yield *that there were ſome ancient* Chronica *before* Fordon, *which he often quotes.* But ſtill the Argument is the ſtronger againſt *Hector*. For if *Fordon* had all thoſe *Helps*, and yet knew nothing of thoſe particulars, it is a vehement Preſumption againſt *Hector*, that he took too much Liberty in thoſe many particulars, which *Fordon* paſſed over, as having nothing to ſay about them. *The more Copies they have of* Fordon *in their Monaſteries*, the more eaſily they may be convinced, how little *Hector* and he agree about the *firſt Succeſſion* between the two *Fergusſes*. And *if* Fordon *did agree with all their Annals*, as is now pleaded, *Hector Boethius* could not, becauſe they differ ſo much from each other; as will appear to any one that compares them. Why do we not reade in *Fordon* the Authorities of *Veremundus* and *Cornelius Hibernicus*, who were certainly before his time, if ever? For we are told,

that he was Archdeacon of St. Andrew's, *A. D.* 1076. *and dedicated his Book to* Malcolm Canmore; which was long enough before *Fordon's* time. But it is ſaid, *that he is cited in a particular part of* Fordon's *Book; which could not be copied from* Boethius. It had been a much clearer Evidence, if that Place had been produced; for then we might have conſider'd, whether it was a Paſſage of *Fordon*, or of one of thoſe ſeveral Writers who it ſeems wrote *Additions* and *Continuations* to him; ſuch, as beſides *Maculloch*, *Arelat* and *Walter Bowmaker* are ſaid to have been, *who continued the Hiſtories to the Reign of* James *II.* And yet I would be glad to ſee any Teſtimony of *Veremundus* of that Antiquity. As to the Teſtimony of *Chambers*, who ſaith, *he had theſe principal Authours*, Veremund, *a Spaniard*, Turgott, Swinton, Campbell, *&c.* till ſome farther Proof be produced, I have reaſon to ſuppoſe, it was the ſame Caſe as to him with that of Sir *R. Baker*, which immediately follows; For we are told, *that he likewiſe quotes this* Veremund *among the Authours out of whom he compiled his Hiſtory, and likewiſe* Campbell *and* Turgott. And if we have no more ground to believe that *Chambers* had them, than Sir *R. Baker*, the matter muſt remain in as much obſcurity as before. For no one imagines that Sir *R. Baker* had all thoſe Authours by him which he there mentions; but he ſets down the Names of thoſe whoſe Authorities he relied upon, although he found them quoted by others. And he is not the onely perſon in the World who hath cited the Authority of Books which he never ſaw; The ſame is to be ſaid of *Hollinſhed*. But if ſuch kind of Proofs muſt paſs for *evident Demonſtrations, that the Scots had ſuch Hiſtorians as* Veremundus *and the others before-mentioned*; I wonder the ſame Learned Authour ſhould ſhrink ſo much the *Faith of Hiſtory* as to allow that deſpicable thing, called *Moral Certainty, to be a ſufficient Probation for it*; For ſcarce any Hiſtory can be mention'd, but may have ſuch kind of *evident Demonſtrations* to prove it. Well, *but* Balæus, *a Learned Engliſh-man, and* Geſner, *and other famous Strangers, quote* Veremundus. But ſo do not *Boſton* of *Bury*, nor *Leland*, who had written of the *Britiſh* and other Writers

ters before the time of *Hector Boethius.* And thoſe were Men who ſearched all our Libraries for the ancient Books in them, and have digeſted them with great Care; and *if* Veremundus *with other MSS. were brought into* England *by* Edw. *I.* as is now ſuggeſted, it could hardly have eſcaped the diligence of thoſe Men. But thoſe who lived after *Hector Boethius* publiſhed his Hiſtory, took his word for *Veremundus*, and entred him into their Catalogues; as *Voſſius* hath done many whom he never ſaw. *But* Eraſmus *ſaith that* Hector *was a Perſon who could not lie.* That was more than *Eraſmus* could know, unleſs he had been by when he wrote his Hiſtory and compared it with the Authours he pretended to follow. As to *Paulus Jovius*, he was a fit Second to *Boethius*; but I am ſure *Eraſmus* would not have ſaid of him, *that he could not lie.* For *Hector's pretending to have his Books from the Iſland* Iona, I have given an Account of it already, and ſhew'd how inconſiſtent his own relation thereof is. But all this while, *Where is the great Applauſe of theſe* Scotiſh *Antiquities for many hundreds of years by all Hiſtorians, Antiquaries and Criticks of foreign Nations?* When not ſo much as one is produced, who lived before *Hector Boethius*, and, I think, that was not *many hundred years* ſince.

But whatever becomes of *Veremundus*, we are told; *That the Black-book of* Scoon, *containing the* Scotiſh *Hiſtories from the beginning, was among Preſident* Spotſwood's *Books, and given to* Lambert, *and by him to Collonel* Fairfax. All this, I am afraid, is a great miſtake for a *Black-book* of *Fordon's*, which was brought out of *Scotland* and preſented to the late King by a Gentleman of that Name, as ſome yet living can atteſt. But no ſuch thing as the *Black-book of Scoon* was ever heard of here; and if any ſuch could be found, we ſhould be ſo far from ſuppreſſing any thing that tended to the *Glory* of the *Scotiſh Nation*, that ſome here would be very glad to publiſh it, with all other ancient Annals which themſelves would think fit to be printed; whether it be the *Black-book* of *Paſlay*, *Pluſcardin*, or any others. We do not deny that they had any ancient Annals or Regiſters in their Monaſteries; but we deſire to be better acquainted with them; and it is no

good Argument, they can tell us where to find them, that they are ſo carefull to let us know how they came to loſe them.

But, after all this Fencing, it is poſitively ſaid, *that the ſureſt foundation of all Hiſtory is the common belief and conſent of the Natives.* But what if the Natives of ſeveral Countries differ from each other? It may be reaſonable to believe neither, but it is not poſſible to believe both. What if they had for a long time no certain way of conveying their Hiſtories from one Age to another? It is poſſible *Oral Tradition* may preſerve ſome general ſtrokes of the ancient Hiſtory of a Countrey; but it is hardly credible, that ſo many particulars as *Boethius* hath in the firſt Race of Kings could be kept ſo diſtinctly by the force of Tradition. *The caſe of the old World* is vaſtly different from any other People ſince the ſhortning of Mens Lives; and whatever Nation wanted Records, could never make out the Credibility of their Hiſtory to other People. We do not deny *the Annals of the* Jewiſh *or* Roman *Prieſts*; but we think *Annals* and *Oral Tradition* are two things; when *Annals* are produced, we muſt weigh and conſider them, and compare the *Annals* of ſeveral Nations together, that we may better judge which are to be relied upon.

And yet we are told again, *that when Hiſtories are already formed out of ancient Records, there is no farther need to produce them; for Papers may be loſt by accident, but the Hiſtories taken out of them are to be believed, although the Records cannot be found; as it is in reſpect of the Hiſtories of* Rome *and* Greece, *whoſe Authority remains, although the Teſtimonies on which they relied are not extant.*

So that at laſt *Geffrey* of *Monmouth* muſt be believed as to the *Britiſh Antiquities*, as well as *Hector Boethius* as to the *Scotiſh*. For *Geffrey* doth no more pretend to invent his Hiſtory than *Hector:* and *Hunibaldus* is as good an Authour as either of them; and *Keting* as good as *Hunibaldus*. For they all equally pretend to derive their Hiſtories from *ancient Records* and the *Tradition* of the *Natives*; and all theſe having formed their Hiſtories out of theſe ſubſtantial Grounds, we are to ſearch no farther; but to believe them all however improbable

probable in themſelves and contradictious to one another.

The caſe is very different as to the Learned *Greek* and *Roman Hiſtories*, from thoſe of the modern barbarous Nations; which were plainly made in imitation of them, as will appear afterwards. And as to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, there is a conſiderable difference to be made between the *Hiſtories* that related to the times before they had written Annals and after. Can any Man imagine that there is as great reaſon to believe the firſt Accounts of *Greece* as thoſe that were written after the *Peloponneſian War?* Or, that the *firſt beginnings* of the *Roman Monarchy* by *Romulus* are delivered with as much certainty as the *Carthaginian War?* The moſt judicious Writers among the *Greeks* and *Romans* did make allowance for the *Obſcurity* of *Ancient times*, when many things were utterly loſt, and others very imperfectly delivered: What Reproach then is it to any modern Nations to ſuppoſe their *Hiſtories* to have had the ſame Fate the *Greeks* and *Romans* had? Onely in this reſpect they are liable to greater Diſpute, becauſe they pretend to give an exact Account of thoſe times before they had any *Annals* or written *Records*; and in this Caſe, the more exact and particular, the more ſuſpicious. And we have more certain Rules of trying their ancient Hiſtories, than the *Greeks* and *Romans* had; becauſe we have the Accounts of ſeveral *Nations* to compare together; and undoubted *Teſtimonies* of other Writers to examine them by. And if they be not found faulty by ſome of theſe ways, we are contented to let them paſs.

But as to the *Scotiſh Antiquities*, we not onely object the Want of ſufficient *Antiquity* in their written *Records*, but their Inconſiſtency with approved Writers, in the moſt ancient Account they give of the firſt ſettling of the *Scots* ſo early in *Britain*. And which yet adds more to the ſuſpicion, the *Iriſh*, from whom they deſcend, give a far more different Account of their firſt coming than themſelves do; as will appear by what follows.

For, The *Iriſh Antiquaries* will by no means allow the Account given by *Hector Boethius*; And ſay, *He had*

had not regard to Truth in the Writing of it; Particularly, as to *Simon Brek*'s coming out of *Spain*, and bringing *the fatal Chair* with him, which they ſay are both falſe, and the main ground they inſiſt upon is, That they are contrary to the Relation of the (*q*) *Old Iriſh Antiquaries* who deſerve far more Credit.

(q) Cambrenſis *everſus per* Grat. Lucian. c.8.p.61.

I ſhall therefore ſet down the Account they give, and conſider the Credit they deſerve.

(r) Proſpect of *Ireland* by *P.W.* p. 6. The beſt Account we have from (*r*) them is this; (1.) *That* Ireland *was firſt planted after the Floud, by one* Ciocal, *with a Fleet, wherein every Veſſel had fifty Men and fifty Women*; *And this*, *Keting* ſaith, *happen'd about* 100 *years after the Deluge*. But ſince ſuch remote *Antiquities* are very tender things, I ſhall not with a Beſom ſweep them all away at once, but gently take them in Pieces, and lay them open as I paſs along. Now I deſire to know what Foundation there is for our believing a thing ſo unlikely, as the *Peopling* of *Ireland* in this manner, with ſuch a Fleet, ſo ſoon after the Floud? It was a long time after this before the *Phœnicians* had any skill in Shipping; to whom the *Romans* attributed the Invention of it. And certainly the Expedition of the *Argonautæ* had not made ſuch a noiſe among the *Greeks* ſo long after the *Floud* (but twenty years before the Deſtruction of *Troy*, as (*s*) *Scaliger* ſaith, which happen'd in the time of the *Judges*) if the Skill in Shipping had been ſo great within 100 years after it? Yet, if that Expedition were ſuch as (*t*) *Olaus Rudbeck* deſcribes it, it was far more conſiderable than is commonly thought. For he ſaith, They not onely entred the *Euxine Sea*, but he proves from *Orpheus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, that they ſailed up the *Tanais*, from whence *Hornius* in his Map ſaith, They went into the *Mare Cronium*, and ſo came round Europe, paſſing between *Britain* and *Ireland*, and returning home by the Straits. But *Rudbeck* finds a Paſſage for them from the *Tanais* to the *Volga*, and ſo to the Lake of *Fronoe*, the Head of the *Volga*, and then by *Rivers* into the *Baltick Sea*, and ſo about the *Scythian* Promontory to *Ierne* (*Ireland*) and *Peuceſſa* (*Britain*) and to *Auſonia* (*Italy*) and *Trinacria* (*Sicily*) and ſo home to *Iolcos*. If this were a mere Poetical Fancy, yet

(s) *Animad. in* Euſeb. *Chron.* p. 46.

(t) *Atlant.* c. 26.

yet it was extraordinary, ſince it agrees with the exact Deſcription of the *Northern Countries*, ſaith *Rudbeck* far more than *Ptolemy* doth. I will ſuppoſe this *Orpheus*, who wrote the *Argonauticks*, to be neither the *Old Orpheus*, nor *Onomacritus*, but *Orpheus* of *Crotona*, to whom *Suidas* attributes the *Argonauticks*, who lived in the time of *Piſiſtratus*; yet it is very much for him then to deſcribe theſe Parts of the World, as he doth; and to mention *Ireland* as a Countrey then known to the *Greeks*. And *Feſtus Avienus*, deſcribing the Voyage of *Himilco* the *Carthaginian* (ſpoken of by (*u*) *Pliny*) (u) *L.* 2. *c.* 67. ſpeaks of *Ireland* as then eſteemed *Sacred* in theſe remarkable Verſes:

Aſt hinc duobus, in ſacram, ſic Inſulam
Dixere priſci ſolibus curſus rati eſt
Hæc inter Undas multum ceſpitem jacit
Eámque latè Gens Hibernorum *colit*
Propinqua rurſus Inſula Albionum *patet.*

Nothing can be plainer, than that he here ſpeaks of *Ireland* and *Britain*, as then known by *Himilco*; For *Feſtus Avienus* ſaith, *He took this Deſcription from the* Phœnician *Annals, in which this Voyage was inſerted.* And it is very ſtrange to me that (*w*) *Olaus Rudbeck* ſhould here change the *Hiberni* into *Hyperborei*, eſpecially when he allows *Albion* to ſtand for *Britain*. But theſe are undoubted *Teſtimonies* of the ancient Peopling of *Ireland*; and of far greater Authority than thoſe domeſtick Annals now ſo much extolled. But muſt we follow *Keting*, becauſe he follows the old Annals in this Tradition of the firſt Peopling of *Ireland*? And why not then *in the Story of* Seth *and three Daughters of* Cain *viewing* Ireland? And of *the three Fiſhermen of* Spain *being Wind-driven thither the year before the Flood*? And of *Keaſar* the *Daughter of* Bajoth, *Son of* Noah, *coming thither with three Men and fifty Women, to ſave themſelves from the Flood*? Are not all theſe fine Stories in the ſame *Iriſh Annals*? But Keting *rejects them*; And what then? Doth this make for or againſt the *Authority* of theſe *Annals*, that even *Keting* looks on theſe as *Poetical Fictions*? But he ſaith, *The beſt* Iriſh *Antiquaries did* (w) *Atlantic. p.* 475.

did of Old look on theſe as fabulous. Poſſibly the two former they might; But do they indeed reject the Story of *Keaſar* and her *Companions?* (x) *Giraldus Cambrenſis* quotes the moſt *ancient Hiſtories* of *Ireland* for this Tradition; and they confirm it by *the Names of the Place where ſhe landed, and where ſhe was buried.* And (y) *Gratianus Lucius* confeſſes, that *he had the ſight of their ancient Annals*; and he ſuſpects that he made away many of them. If ſo, *Keting* had fewer advantages than *Giraldus* for the *Old* Iriſh *Antiquities.* But if theſe *Old Annals* be of ſo little Authority in this Story, What Credit do they deſerve in this early Plantation after the Floud? But to proceed in the *Iriſh* Account, It is ſaid,

(x) *Topogr. Hib. Diſt.* 3. *n.* 1.

(y) Cambrenſis *everſ.* p. 40.

(2.) *That* Bartholanus *and his three Sons, about three hundred years after the Floud, landing in* Ireland *with a thouſand fighting Men, had many doughty Battels with the Poſterity of* Ciocal; *And at the end of three hundred years they were all conſumed by a Peſtilence.*

(z) Nenn. *c.* 6.
(a) *Diſt.* 3. *c.* 2.

This Story, I confeſs, is in (z) *Nennius*, and (a) *Giraldus Cambrenſis*; But it is a very obvious Queſtion, if they all died, How their memory came to be preſerved, and even the memory of that Peſtilence which deſtroy'd them all? But to this *Giraldus* gives a very ſubſtantial Anſwer out of the ancient *Annals*, viz. *That onely one* Ruanus *eſcaped, who lived to St.* Patrick's *days, and was baptized by him:* (in a good old Age certainly, for he muſt be born within ſix hundred years after the Floud; And it was above four hundred and thirty years after *Chriſt* before St. *Patrick* was deſigned for *Ireland.*) This *Ruanus*, ſay the *Iriſh* in *Giraldus*, was the true Relatour of the *ancient Hiſtory of* Ireland *to St.* Patrick, and who can queſtion the Teſtimony of ſuch an authentick and truly ancient Witneſs? A late (b) *Iriſh* Antiquary ſaith, he continued ſo long by a *Pythagorean* Tranſmigration; but it was much he could retain theſe things in his Memory under all his Tranſmutations.

(b) *Ogyg. Inſula,* p. 4.

But as to this *Bartholanus* (who is called by *Nennius Bartholomeus*, but by *Geffrey, Partholomeus*, by *Fordon, Partholomus*) we reade in the (c) *Britiſh* Hiſtory, *That when* Gurguintus *returned from* Dacia, *he found* 30 *Ships near the* Orcades *full of Men and Women, and, ſending to enquire*

(c) *De Orig. & Geſtis Briton. l.* 1. *c.* 20.

enquire who they were, their Commander, (c) Bartholomeus, *ſaid, They were driven out of* Spain *to ſeek a Countrey to live in, and beg'd ſome part of* Britain, *for they had been a year and a half at Sea; But he ſent them into* Ireland, *then void of Inhabitants, which they planted, and there continued to this day.* It ſeems there was a *Tradition* in *Nennius* his time, *Anno Domini* 830. *That* Ireland *was peopled from* Spain; *And that one* Bartholonus, *or* Bartholomeus, *was the Leader of them*; But *Geffrey* would not let them go thither without leave from the *Britains*; But *Nennius* hath nothing of it, and that part *concerning being a year and a half at Sea*, *Nennius* applies to *Nimech*, as he calls him, but the *Iriſh*, *Nimead*; and he ſaith, *after his abode in* Ireland, *he returned to* Spain. Then, *Nennius* ſaith, *Three Sons of a* Spaniard *came with thirty Veſſels, and thirty Women in each of them, who ſaw a Towre of Glaſs in the middle of the Sea, and Men upon it, who would give no Anſwer, wherefore they reſolved to aſſault it with all their Veſſels, except one, which was ſhipwreck'd, having thirty Men, and as many Women, in it, all the reſt were ſunk in the Attempt of the Caſtle, and from thoſe thirty Men and thity Women,* ſaith *Nennius*, *all* Ireland *was peopled.* Here we ſee how far *Geffrey* differs from *Nennius*; and alters the old *Traditions* as he thought fit. But *Nennius* goes on, and ſaith, *That more ſtill came from* Spain, *and the laſt was one whom he calls* Clamhochor, *and his Company.* But the Interpolatour of *Nennius* (whether *Samuel Beulanus* or another) there obſerves, *That there is no certain Account of the Original of the* Scots; So the *Iriſh* were then called. But yet *Nennius* relates, from the *Iriſh Antiquaries*, the Story of the Noble *Scythian*, who was Son-in-law to *Pharaoh*, and his Expulſion out of *Egypt*, and coming at laſt to *Spain*, and thence to *Ireland* above a thouſand years after the *Egyptians* were drowned in the Red Sea; And firſt ſettled in *Dalrieta*, which he underſtands of that Region in *Ireland*; But the *Scotiſh Antiquaries* apply it to the *Countrey* which had the ſame Name in *Scotland.* So that here we have very different Accounts, that were given ſo long ſince as the time of *Nennius*; and no way found then, to diſtinguiſh the true from the falſe, or the certain from the uncertain.

(c) De Orig. & Geſtis Britan. l. 1. c. 20.

But of that more afterwards. Now to go on to a farther Account from the *Iriſh* Authours who ſay,

(3.) *That thirty years after,* Nemedus, *another* Scythian, *with his four Sons, arrived in* Ireland *with a good Fleet, and fought with the remainder of the Giants, but by another Peſtilence were driven off, under the Conduct of three Captains,* Simeon Breac, Ibaath, *and* Briotan, *and the two former ſailing to* Greece; Briotan, *with his Adherents, landed in the North of* Britain, *now called* Scotland; *And by theſe, and their Poſterity remaining there, gave the Denomination of* Britain *to the whole Iſland.* And this we are told is affirmed by the *Holy* Cormach, *King of* Munſter *and Biſhop of* Caſhel, *in the* Pſalter *of* Caſhel. And all the Chronologers of *Ireland* agree with him. This *Pſalter* of *Caſhel* is one of the moſt authentick Hiſtories among them, and ſo called becauſe done in *Verſe*; And (*d*) it is ſaid, *That the more remote Antiquities in it were taken from another Book made* 1200 *years ſince, collected out of all the former Chronicles of that Nation and allowed in a ſolemn Convention of the Eſtates at* Tarach, *under* Laogerius, *in the time of St.* Patrick, *who was one of the Committee appointed for the ſuperviſing of it. And this Book was called the* Pſalter *of* Tarach.

(d) Proſpect of *Ireland, p.* 350. *p.* 46.

This I confeſs goes much beyond what can be ſaid for *Geffrey* of *Monmouth*, or *Hector Boethius.* But yet methinks there ſeem to be ſome Reaſons, why theſe *Annals* ſhould not have ſuch a mighty authority with us. For we cannot be certain that there ever were ſuch *Annals*, or that theſe *Annals*, if they were ſo exactly drawn up, are ſtill preſerved. For not onely (*e*) *Gratianus Lucius* complains for the loſs of their *old Annals*; But (*f*) *Jocelin*, in the Life of St. *Patrick*, concludes with ſaying, *that many of their Writings relating to him were burnt by the fury of the Pagans while they governed in* Ireland. By theſe *Pagans* the *Danes* are meant, and *the Slavery under them is* (*g*) *ſaid to be worſe than* Egyptian, Circaſſian, *or any other mention'd in Hiſtory.* And particularly it is ſaid, *That the Clergy were baniſh'd into Bogs, Woods and Caves, where they were fain to lurk ſeveral years like wild Beaſts; And that none were ſuffered to keep School, or to be taught any kind of Learning, not even in their own Houſes:* And which is yet more to the purpoſe,

(e) Cambrenſis *everſ. p.* 40.

(f) *Vita* Patricii, *c.* 196.

(g) Proſpect of *Ireland, p.* 139. *p.* 141.

poſe, *None were ſuffer'd to have any kind of Book*; *But all Books the* Danes *could light upon, were either burnt, or taken away from them.* It is poſſible their *Annals* might eſcape ſuch a Storm as this, but it doth not ſeem altogether probable; Eſpecially conſidering that this firſt *Slavery* under the *Danes* continued *Forty years*, in which, they ſay, *all their famous Monaſteries, Cells, Univerſities, Colleges were deſtroyed, not one being left in the Land.* And it is withall ſaid, *That although other Loſſes might be recover'd, yet their Libraries were never recover'd. Onely ſome few Religious Men preſerved ſome of their Books.* But we have no aſſurance that the *old Annals* were among them. Or if they were then, That they could eſcape the *Second* Daniſh *Invaſion*, which continued for a hundred and fifty years. In which (*h*) *Colganus* ſaith, *The* Iriſh *Antiquities had an irrecoverable Loſs, at leaſt*, he ſaith, *not yet recover'd.* And yet he had *Cormach*'s *Pſalter*, or the *Pſalter of Caſhel*, *Tigernacus* his *Annals*, or the *Annales Cluanenſes*, the *Annales Inſulenſes*, compoſed by one *Magraidin*, in the *Iſland* of *All-ſaints*, in the County of *Longford*, which he deduces to *Anno Domini* 1405. The *Annals* of *Ulſter*, by one *Maguir*, Canon of *Armach*, deduced to his own time, who died *An. Dom.* 1498. And the *Annals* of *Dungall* compoſed by four modern Authours out of all their former Annals; But among all theſe, there is nothing pretending to *Antiquity*, but the *Pſalter* of *Caſhel* and *Tigernacus*; yet the *Pſalter* of *Caſhel* falls ſhort of the time of *Nennius*, for *Cormach*, King of *Munſter*, the ſuppoſed Authour of it, lived after the beginning of the tenth Century, being killed by *Flan mhac Siona* (called *Flannus Siuna* by (*i*) *Gratianus Lucius*) who died *An. Dom.* 914. or as Sir *James* (*k*) *Ware* thinks, *An. Dom.* 916. And for *Tigernacus* his *Annals*, the four *Magiſtri*, as *Colganus* calls them, or the *Annals* of *Dungall* are poſitive, that *Tigernacus ô Braion*, the *Authour* of them, died (*l*) in the eleventh Century, *An. Dom.* 1088. There remains onely the *Pſaltuir Na-Ran*, written by *Aonghais Ceile de*, or by *Ænguſius*, one of the *Culdees*, who lived in the latter end of the eighth Century, as the ſame *Iriſh Antiquary* confeſſes, who withall ſaith, *That all the Works contained therein relate*

(h) *Colg. Sanct. Hibern. Præf. ad Lector.* p. 145. p. 150.

(i) Grat. Lucius Cambr. *everſ.* p. 78.

(k) *Antiq. Hibern.* p. 26.

(l) *Colg. Sanct. Hibern.* p. 108.

p. 8

P. 579. 582. *onely to Matters of Piety and Devotion*, which therefore can ſignifie nothing to our purpoſe. So that nothing appears of the *Iriſh Antiquities* which can pretend to be written before the *Daniſh Invaſion*; And although we are told, *that theſe Annals were taken out of others more ancient*; yet we have barely their Word for it; for thoſe ancient *Annals*, whatever they were, are irrecoverably loſt; So that there can be no compariſon of one with the other. And how can they be ſo certain of the exactneſs uſed in the *Parliament* of *Tarach* to preſerve their *Annals*, if there be no *ancient Annals* to preſerve the Memory of the Proceedings at that time? It was a very extraordinary Care for the Eſtates of the whole Nation to preſerve their *Annals*; if we could be aſſured of it: Which doth much exceed the *Library of Antiquities* which (*m*) *Suffridus Petrus* ſpeaks of, ſet up, as he ſaith, *by* Friſo, *the Founder of the* Friſians, *at* Stavera, *near the Temple of* Stavo, *in which not onely the ancient Records were preſerved from time to time*; *But the Pictures of the ſeveral Princes, with the times of their Reigns, from An.* 313. *before* Chriſt's *coming, to* Charlemagns *time*; *The like whereof*, he ſaith, *no* German *Nation can boaſt of*; But yet methinks the Poſterity of *Gathelus* exceeds that of *Friſo's* in the Care of Preſerving their Antiquities; For the Wiſedom of the whole Nation was concerned in it. But I never read of any who ever ſaw this *Library* of *Antiquities* at *Stavera*, but we muſt believe *Cappidus Staverenſis* and *Occa Scarlenſis*, as to theſe things; And that they ſaw the Records, as *Hector* did *Veremundus*, although none elſe ever did. But as to this *Parliament* of *Tarach*, which was carefull to preſerve the *Iriſh Antiquities*; Whence have we this Information? Are the *Acts* of that *Aſſembly* preſerved? Are any Copies of thoſe *Annals* ſtill in being? *Yes*, we (*n*) are told, *that the keeping of the Original Book was entruſted by the Eſtates to the Prelates, and thoſe Prelates, for its perpetual Preſervation, cauſed ſeveral authentick Copies of it to be fairly engroſſed, whereof ſome are extant to this day, and ſeveral more faithfully tranſcribed out of them; their Names being the Book of* Ardmach, *the* Pſalter *of* Caſhel, *&c.* It ſeems then, theſe are the *Tranſcripts* of the *Original Authentick Book*, allow-

(m) *De Orig. Friſi. l. 3. c. 4.*

(n) Proſpect of *Ireland*, p. 47.

allowed by all the Eſtates of the Kingdom. But the Book of *Ardmach* is a late thing, being the ſame with the *Annals* of *Ulſter* compoſed by a Canon of *Armach*: So that the whole reſts upon the *Pſalter* of *Caſhel*, which muſt be compoſed 500 years after the meeting of that famous Aſſembly. For St. *Patrick* was one of the number, and it was done in the time of *Laogirius*, or *Leogarius*, King of *Ireland*, who died, ſaith (o) *Gratianus Lucius*, *An. Dom.* 458. But King *Cormach* lived in the tenth *Century*; And therefore an account muſt be given, how this *Original Book* or *Authentick Copies* were preſerved for that 500 years and more, in the miſerable Condition that Nation was in, a great part of that time.

(o) Cambr. *everſ. p.* 73.

So that the Difference is not ſo great between the *Authority* of *Geffrey* of *Monmouth* and theſe *Annals*, as is pretended. For I ſee no Reaſon why the Story of *Brutus* ſhould be thought more incredible than that of *Ciocal*, *Bartholanus* and *Nemedus*, with his Son *Briotan* that gave the name to *Britain*; And eſpecially the Story of *Gathelus* himſelf, his Marriage in *Egypt* to *Scota*, coming to *Spain*, and thence his Poſterity to *Ireland*; which ſeems to me to be made in imitation of *Geffrey's Brutus*. For *Brutus* married *Pandraſus* his Daughter, the King of *Greece*, and then was forced to ſeek his Fortune at Sea, and paſſing by *Mauritania*, juſt as *Gathelus* did, the one landed in *Gaul*, and came for *Albion*; And the other in *Spain*, and ſent his Son for *Ireland*. And I wonder to find (p) *Brutus* his Giants in *Albion* of ſo much larger Proportions than the Giants in *Ireland*, who are ſaid *not to exceed the talleſt growth of Men*; For I had thought *Giants* had been *Giants* in all Parts of the World. *Suppoſe ſome Learned Men have queſtion'd, Whether there were ſuch a perſon as Brute*; I ſhould think it no more Hereſie, than to call in queſtion, Whether there were ſuch Perſons as *Ciocal*, *Bartholanus*, *Briotan* or *Gathelus*; If the ſilence of good Authours, the diſtance of time, and want of *Ancient Annals* complained of, makes the *Hiſtory of Brutus* ſo hard to be believed, I onely deſire that theſe *Iriſh Traditions* may be examined by the ſame *Rules*, and then, I believe, the *Iriſh Antiquities* will be reduced to the ſame Form

(p) Proſpect of *Ireland*, *p.* 338. *p.* 7. *p.* 347.

Form with the *Britiſh*; Onely *Geffrey* had not ſo lucky an Invention, as to have his *Hiſtory* confirm'd by *Parliament*. For, if he had but thought of it, he could have made as general an *Aſſembly* of the *Eſtates* at *Lud's Town*, and as ſelect a *Committee* of *Nine*, as ever was at *Tarach*. But all mens Inventions do not lie the ſame way; And in this, I confeſs, *Keting* or his Authours have very much exceeded *Geffrey* and his *Britiſh MS.* And upon the whole matter I cannot ſee that the *Iriſh Chronologers* and *Hiſtorians* have ſo much more probability in their Story of *Briotan* than the *Britiſh Writers* had in the *Tradition* of *Brute*. For it is certain, it was not originally the Invention of *Geffrey*, onely he might uſe ſome art in ſetting it off, as he thought, with greater advantage than the *Britains* had done before him.

But ſtill we are referr'd *to the Authority of the* Iriſh *Monuments in the* Pſalter *of* Caſhel *written* 800 *years ſince by the holy* Cormach, *both King and Biſhop of* Munſter. Let us then, for once, examine one part of the Hiſtory taken from thence, and then leave the Reader to judge, whether it deſerves ſo much more Credit than the *Britiſh Antiquities*; And that ſhall be concerning the *Kingdom* of the *Picts*, becauſe we are told,

(q) Proſpect of *Ireland*, p. 490. (*q*) *This is the way to end the vexatious Queſtions about them, being taken out of the moſt authentick Records of* Ireland, *which are of ſuch irrefragable Authority, That ſome are perſuaded, had they been known to* Camden, *he would never have diſputed the matter.* And ſo I think too. But this irrefragable Authority is that of the *Pſalter of Caſhel*; From whence we are inſtructed in theſe Particulars: (1.) *That the* Picts *ſerved in* Thracia, *under one* Policornus, *a King of that Countrey*; *where their General* Gud *took away the King's Life, to prevent an Attempt on his Daughter.* And did not *Brutus* ſerve King *Pandraſus* with his Army not far off in *Greece?* And methinks *Pandraſus* is as good a Name for a King of *Greece* as *Polycornus* for the King of *Thrace*. But where are either of them to be met with elſewhere? (2.) *That upon this the General and his Army fled the Countrey, roamed up and down at Sea till they came to* Gaul, *and there they founded the City of* Pictavia. This is juſt *Geffrey*. For

p. 491.

Brutus

Brutus came to *Gaul* too, and there fought with *Groſſarius*, King of the *Picts*, and founded the City of *Tours*, which had its Name from *Turonus*, *Brutus* his Nephew. (3.) *That upon the ſame Occaſion they were forced to leave* Gaul, *and to go for* Ireland, (as *Brutus* did for *Albion*) *where they were entertained, to fight with the* Britains; Who it ſeems made very early Invaſions upon *Ireland*, which ſtill agrees with *Geffrey*'s Hiſtory. (4.) The Story of the Advice of *Troſdan, the* Pictiſh *Magician, for the* Iriſh *Army to bath in the Milk of* 150 *White, Crumple-horned Cows, as an effectual Antidote againſt the envenom'd Arrows of the* Britains, and the ſtrange Succeſs upon it, is hardly to be matched in *Geffrey*. (5.) *That the* Picts, *growing inſolent, were forced by* Herimon *to retire to the Northern Parts of* Britain, *Onely with three* Iriſh *Women*, whatever *Bede* ſaith of more; or, how differently ſoever he relates the whole Story of the *Picts*; For what is *Bede*'s, a poor *Monk*'s Authority, to King *Cormach*'s? (6.) *That from* Cathluan, *Son to* Gud, *there was a conſtant Succeſſion of Kings of the* Picts *in that Countrey*. But not more exact than the Succeſſion of *Britiſh* Kings from King *Brutus*. And now I leave the Reader to judge whether *Geffrey* be not hardly dealt with, when ſuch Authours are preferr'd ſo much before him. We now return to the farther Account which the *Iriſh Antiquaries* give of their own *Antiquities*.

(4.) We are then to underſtand, that, beſides the Race deſcended from *Nemedus, there was another called* Clanna Gaoidhel, *or, Poſterity of* Gathelus; concerning whom theſe things are affirmed. (1.) *That he was deſcended from* Niul, *a younger Son to* Feanuſa Farſa, *King of* Scythia, *who, travelling into* Egypt, *had a Countrey there given him by* Pharaoh Cingeris *called* Capacyront (I ſuppoſe in the old *Egyptian* Language) *who was married to* Pharaoh's *daughter called* Scota. Whereas the *Scotiſh Antiquaries* do peremptorily affirm, it was *Gathelus* himſelf was married to her. But we ought not to forget, that *this* Scythian *King had a celebrated School on the Plain of* Sennaar, *and one* Gaodel, *being there employ'd to compoſe or refine the* Iriſh *Language, called from him* Gaodhelc *or* Gaodhlec. This is a Strain be-

p. 11.

p. 324.

p. 332.

yond

yond *Geffrey*, who never thought of bringing the *Britiſh* Language from the Plain of *Sennaar*. (2.) *That* Gaodhel's *Poſterity continued in* Egypt *till the time of his Grandchild* Sruth, *and then being forced thence, they landed in* Creet, *where he died. And his Eldeſt Son* Eibhir Scot *went into* Scythia; *where one of his Deſcendents killed* Refloir, *the King of that Countrey, and was forced with his Company to the* Caſpian *Sea, and landed in an Iſland there* (juſt like *Geffrey's Largecia*, where *Brutus* landed.) *But they went from thence to* Caronia, *another Iſland in the* Pontick, *and from thence to the North end of the* Riphean *Mountains*; (a pretty kind of Compaſs!) And here, inſtead of *Diana's Oracle to Brutus*, an old *Druyd* told them, *they ſhould never fix till they came to the Weſtern Iſland, and ſo they removed to* Gothia, *and in the eighth Generation, they went to* Spain. And doth not this exceed the Story of *Brute*, in the great Probability of it, which their lateſt (r) Antiquary knows not what to make of? It is certain whoever invented it, deſigned to go beyond the Authour of the former. But this is not all; For we are told farther from the ſame Authentick *Iriſh Annals*: (3.) *That* Calamb (called *Milead Eſpain*, or *Mileſius the Spaniard*) *great Grandchild to* Bratha, *who brought them into* Spain, *went back into* Scythia; *and there ſerved as General under* Refloir, *King of the* Scythians; *From whence, upon Suſpicions, he fled into* Egypt, *and there married* Pharaoh's *Daughter called* Scota; *And at laſt returned to* Spain, *and there founded* Braganza: And here the *Scotiſh Antiquities* fall in. But is it not a little improbable to have the ſame Scene acted twice over? Two *Gaodel's*, two *Refloir's*, two *Scota's*, *twice paſſing to and fro after much the ſame manner?* We may well ſay, as our Authour doth, *enough of theſe profound remote Antiquities.* For I ſhall not need now to add any thing *about the eight Sons of this* Mileſius *coming to* Ireland; And how the reſt being killed, the Countrey was divided between *Eibhir* and *Erimthon*; and the former being killed, the latter became the firſt *Monarch* of *Ireland*, from whom deſcended 181 *Monarchs* of this *Mileſian Race*: which muſt depend on the Credit of their *Annals*, of which I have already ſpoken.

(r) *Ogygia Inſul.* p. 8, 9.

p. 331.

p. 12.

p. 333.

But

But, in ſhort, to give the true Account of theſe *Fabulous Antiquities.* We are then to conſider, That when the *Northern Nations* began to have ſome ſmattering of the *Greek* and *Roman Learning*, they were never ſatisfied, till by one means or other, they could deduce their *Original* from ſome of the *Nations* moſt celebrated in ancient Books; Such were the *Trojans*, the *Greeks* and the *Egyptians.* As to the *Trojans*, the *Romans* themſelves had ſhewed the Way to other Nations. For there are conſiderable Arguments to prove that neither *Æneas*, nor *Aſcanius*, ever came into *Italy*; as may be ſeen in (*s*) *Dionyſius Halycarnaſſeus*, (*t*) *Strabo* and *Feſtus*, in the Word *Roma.* *Hellanicus*, in *Dionyſius*, ſaith, *That* Aſcanius (from whom *Brutus* is derived) *never left* Phrygia; *But onely withdrew for a time to* Daſcylites, *near the Lake* (*from him called the* Aſcanian) *and afterwards returned to* Troy. *Strabo* ſaith, *That* Aſcanius *reigned at* Scepſis, *near the Ruins of* Troy, *and that his Poſterity continued there a long time after, with a Royal Title.* *Feſtus* ſhews, *that the old Authours were not agreed where* Æneas *was buried*; *Many were of Opinion, that he lay buried in the City* Berecinthia. And ſome in *Dionyſius* ſay, *he died in* Thrace, others in *Arcadia.* But the *Romans* making it ſo great a part of their Glory to be deſcended from the *Trojans*; Other *Nations* of *Europe*, upon the Diſſolution of the *Roman Empire*, would not ſeem to come behind them in this. So (*u*) *Hunibaldus* gives as formal an Account of the deſcent of the *Franks* from *Antenor*, and as good a *Succeſſion* of their Kings down from him; with the particular Names of Perſons, and the time of their Reigns, as either *Geffrey* doth of the *Britiſh* Kings from *Brutus*; or *Hector* of the *Scots* from *Fergus*; or the *Iriſh Annals* from *Gathelus* or *Heremon.* And that this is no late Invention appears from hence; That *Aimoinus*, *Ado Viennenſis*, *Abbas Urſpergenſis*, *Rorico*, *Gaguinus*, *Æneas Silvius*, and others, agree with *Hunibaldus* in the *Subſtance* of his *Story.* And (*w*) *Vignier* mentions ſeveral *Diplomata* of the ancient Kings of the *Franks*, to prove the *Authentickneſs* of this *Tradition.* And it is leſs to be wonder'd at, that the *Britains* ſhould pretend to be derived from the *Trojans* becauſe of the mixture of the

(s) Dionyſ. *l.* 1. *p.* 39.
(t) *Geogr. l.* 13.
(u) Trithem. *Comp. Hiſt. l.* 1.
(w) *De Origine Francor.*

Romans and them together, while *Britain* continued ſo long a *Roman Province.* From whence I ſuppoſe the firſt *Occaſion* was taken, which continued as a *Tradition* among the *Britains* for a long time before it was brought into ſuch a *Hiſtory* as we find in *Geffrey.* That the *Tradition* it ſelf was elder than his time is certain; For even thoſe who deſpiſed *Geffrey* embraced it, as appears by (x) *Giraldus Cambrenſis*; And in the *Saxon* times this *Tradition* was known, as is evident by the *Saxon Poet*, mention'd by (y) *Abr. Whelock*; But *Nennius* his *MS.* puts it out of diſpute, *That there was then a Tradition about the* Britains *coming from* Brute; but he could not tell what to make of this *Brute*; ſometimes *he was* Brito *the Son of* Yſicion, *the Son of* Alan, *of the Poſterity of* Japhet: And for this he quotes *the* (z) *Tradition of his Anceſtours*; But this being uncapable of much Improvement or Evidence, he then runs to *Brutus* the *Roman*; and ſometimes it is *Brutus* the *Conſul*; But that, not ſuiting ſo well, he then produces the Story of *Æneas*, and *Aſcanius*, and *Silvius*, and the *Prediction* of the *Magician*, *that his Son ſhould kill his Father and Mother*; *ſhe died in Labour, and his Father was killed by him by chance*; *However he was baniſhed from* Italy *into* Greece; *And from thence again baniſhed, and ſo came into* Gaul, *and there built* Tours, *having its Name from one of his Companions*; *And from thence he came for* Britain, *which took its Name from him, and he filled it with his Progeny, which continue to this day.* So that here we have the Foundation of *Geffrey's Hiſtory* laid long before his time; And *Nennius* his Account is mention'd by (a) *William* of *Malmsbury*, under the Name of *Geſta Britonum*; And follow'd by *Henry* of *Huntingdon*, and *Turgott*, or *Simeon Dunelmenſis*; But when *Geffrey's* Book came abroad, it was ſo improved and adorned with Particulars, not elſewhere to be found, that the generality of the *Monkiſh Hiſtorians*, not onely follow'd, but admir'd it, and pitied thoſe that had not ſeen it, (as they ſuppoſed) as (b) *Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis* doth *William* of *Malmsbury*; But there were ſome Croſs-grained Writers who called it an *Impoſture*, as *Gul. Newburgenſis*; or *a Poetical Figment*, as *John Whethamſted.* But theſe were but few in Compari-

(x) *Cambr. Deſcript. l.* 2. *c.* 7.

(y) *Not. in* Bed. *c.* 1. *p.* 25.

(z) Nenn. *c.* 13. *c.* 2, 3.

(a) *De Geſtis Reg. l.* 1. *c.* 1.

(b) *Polychr. l.* 1. *c.* 47, 48.

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ſon with thoſe who were better pleaſed with the Particulars of a Legend than the dryneſs of a true Hiſtory.

But this humour was not peculiar to the *Franks* and *Britains*; For the *Saxons* derived (*c*) themſelves from the *Macedonian* Army of *Alexander*, which had three Captains ſaith (*d*) *Suffridus Petrus*, *Saxo*, *Friſo* and *Bruno*; From whom are deſcended the *Saxons*, *Friſians* and thoſe of *Brunſwick*. And (*e*) *Abbas Stadenſis* adds, *That not onely the* Saxons, *but thoſe of* Pruſſia, Rugia *and* Holſtein *came from them*. (*f*) *Gobelinus Perſona* relates the Particulars as exactly as *Geffrey*, or *Hector*, or the *Iriſh Annals* do; how they were left on the *Caſpian Mountains*, and wandred up and down juſt as *Brutus* and *Gathelus* did, till they ſettled in *Pruſſia*, *Rugen* and *Saxony*. The *Danes*, ſaith (*g*) *Dudo S. Quintin* derived themſelves from the *Danai*; The (*h*) *Pruſſians* from *Pruſias*, King of *Bithynia*, who brought the *Greeks* along with him. Onely the *Scots* and *Iriſh* had the *Wit* to derive themſelves from the *Greeks* and *Egyptians* together.

(c) Witikind. l. 1.

(d) De Orig. Fris. l. 2. c. 5.

(e) A. D. 510.

(f) Cosmodrom. æt. 5. c. 11.

(g) Saxo Gram. l. 1.

(h) Matth. à Mich. l. 2. c. 8. Orig. Pruſſ. n. 7.

We are now to ſit down and conſider, what is to be ſaid to all theſe glorious Pretences? Muſt they be all allowed for good and true Hiſtory? If not, what marks of diſtinction can we ſet between them? They all pretend to ſuch Founders as came afar off, wandred from place to place, conſulted Oracles, built Cities, founded Kingdoms, and drew their Succeſſion from many Ages; So that it ſeems unreaſonable to allow none but our own. And yet theſe *Antiquities* will hardly paſs any where, but with their own Nation; And hardly with thoſe of any Judgment in any of them. But when all this is ſaid, every one will believe as he pleaſes; But it is one thing to believe with the *Will*, and another with the *Underſtanding*.

To return now to the *Iriſh Antiquities*. And it onely remains that we enquire, How the *Iriſh Antiquaries* give an Account of their *Nations* coming into the *Northern Parts* of *Britain*: And here is ſomething which deſerves Conſideration, *viz.* That they (*i*) charge the *Scotiſh Antiquaries with placing the time of* Fergus *I.* 819 *years before he landed in* Britain. *For*, ſay they, *the* Iriſh *Monuments fix on Anno Dom.* 498. *as the time where-*

(i) Proſpect of Ireland, p. 20. p. 357.

in Fergus Mor *the Son of* Erch (whom the *Scotiſh Writers* call the Son of *Ferchard*) *with his five Brothers invaded the North of* Britain. To this purpoſe they produce the Teſtimony of *Tigernacus*, who in his Annals ſaith, Fergus Mor mhac Ercha *cum gente* Dalraida *partem* Britanniæ *tenuit, & ibi mortuus eſt.* This he writes about the beginning of Pope *Symmachus*, which was about ſix years after the death of St. *Patrick*, and very near the end of the fifth Century. Beſides another *Iriſh* Authour who writes of the Kings of *Albany* who were contemporary with the Monarchs of *Ireland*, reckons twenty years between the Battel of *Ocha*, and the going of *the ſix Sons of* Erc into *Albany*: And the *Annals* of *Ulſter* place the Battel of *Ocha A. D.* 483. ſo that *Fergus* his coming into *Scotland* could not be before the beginning of the ſixth Century. (*k*) *Gratianus Lucius* ſaith, that the Battel of *Ocha*, wherein *Oilliol Molt*, the *Iriſh* Monarch, who ſucceeded *Leogarius*, was killed, was *Anno Dom.* 478. Which makes but five years difference. *Farther*, ſay they, *The* Scotiſh *Antiquaries make* Reuda *the ſixth King after* Fergus, Whereas it appears by their *Annals*, (*l*) That their Monarch *Conair* had *three Sons*, called the *three Cairbres*, and the third (*m*) was *Cairbre Riada*; from whom that part of *Britain* was called *Dal Riada*, or *Dal Reuda*; But *Conair* was killed *An. Dom.* 165. and therefore this (*n*) *Reuda* muſt be 300 years before *Fergus*. The *Old MS.* cited by (*o*) *Camden*, makes *Fergus* to be deſcended from *Conair*, with which as (*p*) *Arthbiſhop Uſher* obſerves the *old* Iriſh *Genealogies* agree: But he ſaith, *Conair* reign'd *Anno Dom.* 215. however, long enough before the time of *Fergus*. According to this ſuppoſition, that part of *Scotland* called *Dalrieta*, or *Dalreuda*, (the bounds whereof are deſcribed by the *Learned Primate*) was inhabited long before the coming of *Fergus*; and ſo agrees with what (*q*) *Bede* ſaith, *That the* Scots *came firſt out of* Ireland *under the conduct of* Reuda, *and either by Force or Friendſhip found habitations for themſelves there, which they ſtill enjoy'd, and from their Leader to this time they were called* Dalreudini; *Daal* ſignifying *a ſhare in their Language.* This *Reuda* ſeems to be the ſame with *Cairbre Riada*, the third Son of *Conair*; And if *Fer-*

(k) Cambr. *everſ. p.* 73.

(l) Cambr. *everſ. p.* 69.

(m) Proſpect of *Ireland, p.* 370.

(n) *p.* 90.

(o) *Brit. p.* 707.

(p) Uſſer. *Prim. p.* 611.

p. 612.

(q) Bede, *l.* 1. *c.* 1.

if *Fergus* were deſcended from the ſame *Conair*, it gives a probable Account of *Fergus* his coming afterwards into thoſe Parts; and taking the *Government* upon him. For (r) *Keting* ſaith, *That* Eochac Mumreamhar *of the Progeny of* Cairbre Redhſadac *or* Riada *had two Sons* Earcha *and* Elchon; *And from the former the Families of* Dal Riada *in* Scotland *are deſcended; from the latter thoſe of* Dal Riada *in* Ulſter. Which muſt be underſtood of that part of the *Ulſter Dal-riadans*, which *Fergus* carried with him: For there were the Deſcendents from *Riada* in *Scotland* before, according to the former account. But the whole matter about the Reign of *Fergus* remains ſtill very obſcure. For (1.) It ſeems ſtrange that *Bede* takes no notice at all of him, which in all probability he would have done, as well as of *Reuda*, who was leſs conſiderable. (2.) (s) *Jocelin* in the Life of St. *Patrick* ſaith, *That* Fergus *was one of the twelve Sons of the King of* Dalredia, *and was excluded from his ſhare by his Brethren, of whom* St. *Patrick prophefied, That from him Kings ſhould riſe, who ſhould not onely reign at home, but in a foreign Country; After which*, ſaith he, Fergus *in no long time came to be King in his own Country; And from him ſprang* Earus, *who ſubdued* Albany, *and other Iſlands, and whoſe Poſterity ſtill reigns there*; So that if *Jocelin*'s authority be good, *Fergus* himſelf never came into *Scotland*; But the miſtake aroſe, becauſe he was King in *Dalriada*; Which the *Scots* underſtood of their own, and thought they had Reaſon, becauſe the Poſterity of *Fergus* reigned there. (3.) (t) *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, who had a Sight of the *Iriſh Annals*, never mentions *Fergus*, but onely ſaith, *That in the time of* Nellus *the Monarch of* Ireland, *ſix Sons of* Mured *King of* Ulſter *ſailed into the Northern Parts of* Britain, *and there planted themſelves, from whom the* Scotiſh *Nation is derived.* This *Nellus*, whom the *Iriſh* call *Niall the Great*, was killed, ſaith *Gratianus Lucius*, *Anno Dom.* 403. And if the Sons of the King of *Ulſter* came then over to plant and ſettle in *Scotland*, this muſt be 100 years before the time of *Fergus*, and conſequently he could be none of that Number: And yet the (u) *Iriſh Annaliſts* make the *two* Fergusſes, *the two* Ængusſes, *and the two* Loarns, *to be the ſix Sons of* Mu-

(r) Proſpect of Ireland, p. 93.

(s) Vit. S. Patricii, c. 137.

(t) Topogr. Hib. Diſt. 3. c. 16.

(u) Cambr. everſ. p. 73. Proſpect of Ireland, p. 93.

of Muriedhach, *King of* Ulster, *who came over to settle in* Scotland. But if *Giraldus* his Authority be allow'd, the *Scots* came not to settle in *Britain*, till the beginning of the *fifth Century*; And the *Monarchy* in the Posterity of *Fergus*, according to *Jocelin*, could not be till towards the middle of the *sixth Century*. And if *Edan*, King of the *Scots* in *Bede*'s History, be the same with that *Edan* in *Jocelin*, who descended from *Fergus*, Then the *Scotish Kingdom* did not begin till the *seventh Century*, as appears by (w) *Bede*. But in matters of so much *Obscurity* I determine nothing.

(w) Bede, *l.* 1. *c.* 34.

But it is but Justice to consider on the other side, what the *Scotish Antiquaries* do now plead for themselves, to prove that they inhabited *Scotland* long before this time.

(x) Bede, *l.* 1. *c.* 1.

First, They say, (x) Bede *mentions them as ancient Inhabitants of this Island before the coming of the* Romans; *and describes the Wars between the* Picts, Scots *and* Britains *before that of the* Romans. It is very true, that *Bede*, in the beginning of his *History*, doth set down the *several Nations* which inhabited *Britain*, and he names five, *English*, *Britains*, *Scots*, *Picts* and *Romans*. And among these he reckons the *Britains* first, then the *Picts*, after them the *Scots* from *Ireland* under *Reuda*; and then adds, *That* Ireland *was the true Countrey of the* Scots, *who coming hither made a third Nation in* Britain, *besides the* Britains *and* Picts, *and landed on the North part of the* Frith, *towards* Ireland, *and there settled themselves*. But *Bede* saith nothing at all of the time when the *Scots* came first from *Ireland*, and it is of no force, that he reckons them here before the War with the *Romans*; for, so he doth the *English* as well as the *Scots*: his business being to give an Account of the *present Inhabitants*, and not merely of the *Ancient*, *Hæc in præsenti* 5 *Gentium linguis*, &c. But where doth *Bede* say, *that the* Scots *were in* Britain *before the* Romans *coming hither*? I cannot find so much as an Intimation that way: unless it be in the *Title* of the Chapter, *Of the Situation of* Britain *and* Ireland, *and their ancient Inhabitants*. And doth not *Bede* speak of the *Britains* as the *ancient Inhabitants* of this *Island* and the *Scots* of *Ireland*? But if all mention'd must be *ancient Inhabi-*

tants,

tants, then ſo muſt the *Engliſh* and *Romans* be, as well as the *Picts* and *Scots*.

Well! But doth not (*y*) Bede *afterwards ſay, That* Severus *his Wall was built againſt the unconquer'd Nations beyond it*? I grant it, if he had ſaid, *the* Scots *and* Picts *beyond it*, the Controverſie had been ended. But doth not *Dio* explain *Bede*, who expreſly tells us, *theſe Nations were the* Mæatæ *and the* Caledonii? Why not the *Picts* and the *Scots* if then in *Britain*? The latter *Roman* Writers never forbear calling them by their own Names, when they knew them to be here; as appears by *Eumenius*, *Claudian* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*: but to ſay the *Scots* were called *Mæatæ*, becauſe they came from the *Palus Mæotis*, will hardly go down in this Age. However it is confidently affirmed, *the* Caledonii *were the* Scots. Let this one thing be well proved, and I will yield the *Scots* were in *Britain* long before *Severus* his time; for *Tacitus* mentions the *Caledonians*. But it is to no more purpoſe to quote modern Writers, who call the *Caledonians Scots*, than *Lipſius* his calling *Galgacus* a *Scotiſh* King: for we are not bound to follow any modern Writers in their Improprieties. There is no Queſtion the *Caledonians* were known to *Flaccus* and *Martial* (who certainly lived not in *Auguſtus* his time, unleſs that Name be very improperly given by it ſelf to *Domitian* or *Trajan*.) But do any of theſe *Roman* Authours ever tell us the *Caledonians* were *Scots*? If not, to what end are the *Caledonians* ſo much ſpoken of? As far as we can find by *Tacitus*, or *Dio*, or any others, they were the *Northern Britains*. And if *Tacitus* had known that they came out of *Ireland*, and were a *diſtinct Nation*, he was ſo diligent and judicious a Writer, he would never have omitted the ſetting it down, when he gives ſo punctual an account of the *Original* of the ſeveral ſorts of *Britains*, according to his beſt Judgment and Information; and none could have better; relating ſome things concerning *Ireland*, from *Agricola*'s own Mouth, who was then the *Roman General* againſt the *Caledonians*. And he ſaith, Agricola *had one of the Kings of* Ireland *with him*. Suppoſe we then the *Caledonians* to have been *Scots* come out of *Ireland*; Is it poſſible, that an *Iriſh*

(*y*) L. 1. c. 5.

King

King ſhould not be able to inform *Agricola* who theſe *Caledonians* were? Or, if *Tacitus* had known any ſuch thing, would he have ſaid, *the* Caledonians, *by the habit of their bodies ſeemed to be of* German *Extraction*, when he derives the *Silures* from *Spain?* Had it not been as eaſie for him to have derived the *Caledonians* from *Spain* through *Ireland*, if any ſuch thing had been heard by him, as that the *Caledonians* were of *Ireland*, and came firſt out of *Spain* thither? But nothing can be more plain than that *Tacitus* took the *Caledonians* for *Britains*, and ſo doth *Galgacus*, in his excellent Speech, wherein he calls them, *the Nobleſt of the* Britains, and excites them to recover *the Liberty of the* Britains; and tells them, *they fought the ſame Cauſe with the other* Britains; *and now they were to ſhew what ſort of Men* Caledonia *had reſerved for their common defence.* Was *Tacitus* ſo inconſiderate a Writer to put ſuch words into *Galgacus* his mouth, if he knew or ſuſpected the *Caledonians* to be no *Britains*, but a *different Nation* come out of *Ireland* in the time that *Alexander* took *Babylon?* Had *Tacitus* known any thing of this, he would never have concealed it, when he values himſelf upon his Integrity, in relating what he could find about the Affairs of *Britain.* And therefore *Tacitus* his *Judgment* in this matter is to be much preferr'd before *Scaliger's* Criticiſm about the *Scoto-brigantes*, or the *Scoticæ pruinæ* in *Spartian's* Poet; or any ſuch uncertain Conjectures. And yet the *Scoto-brigantes* might be *Iriſh*; where both *Scoti* and *Brigantes* were, and ſo it proves nothing, as to *Britain*; for *Claudius* conquer'd *Ireland* as much as *Scotland.*

(z) L. 1. c. 12. But it is more plauſibly urged, *That* (z) Bede *ſpeaking of the* Scots *being a tranſmarine Nation, he explains himſelf by ſaying, that he means not that they were out of* Britain, *but beyond the two* Friths; *therefore the* Scots *then inhabited* Britain. This was but a neceſſary Explication, for *Bede*, who uſed theſe words, after he had confeſſed before, *that the* Scots *under* Reuda *did ſettle in* Britain. Therefore when he uſed *Gildas* his words, he thought it neceſſary to reconcile them with his own; and ſo declares that he uſed *tranſmarine* now in another ſenſe. Juſt as if a *Scotiſh* Writer in *Bede's* time

time had ſpoken of the *tranſmarine Saxons*, uſing the words of an Authour who lived before their coming into *Britain*; and then ſhould explain himſelf, *That he did not mean the* German Saxons, *but thoſe who lived in* Britain, *beyond the two* Friths; would this prove, that the *Saxons* lived here before *Cæſar*'s time? And if *this be an Argument clear to a Demonſtration*, ſome mens *Demonſtrations* will hardly amount to the ſtrength of a probable Argument. And I am apt to fear no Mens way of reaſoning more than thoſe who talk moſt of *Demonſtrations*.

What if *St.* Jerome *mentions the* Scoti *from* Porphyrie, *and the* Attacotti *as a* Britiſh *Nation*, what doth this prove as to the *Scots* inhabiting *Britain* ſo long agon? Could there be no *Scots* but in *Britain*, when it is confeſſed they came originally out of *Ireland*? *Sidonius Apollinaris* doth mention the *Scots* and *Picts*, in his *Panegyrick* to (*s*) *Authemius*; but what then? who denies that the *Scots* and *Picts* did then *fight* and were beaten in *Britain*? but could not they be beaten here then unleſs they came into *Britain* before *Julius Cæſar*? Is this clear to a *Demonſtration*? But it is obſervable, that in the Verſe before he calls the *Caledonians Britains* even then.

(s) Sidon. Carm. 7. v. 90.

Victricia Cæſar
Signa Caledonios *tranſvexit ad uſque* Britannos.
Fuderit & quanquam Scotum, *& cum* Saxone Pictum.

Where it is evident he diſtinguiſheth the *Caledonian Britains* from the *Scots* and *Picts*.

But Claudian *mentions the* Scots *as ſettled in* Britain *before his time.* If it be granted; that falls very much ſhort of *Alexander* or *Julius Cæſar*'s time; yet there appears no *Demonſtration* for it. His words are,

(*t*) *Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis* Ierne.

(t) Claud. in 4. Conſul. Honorii, v. 33.

But there is a certain Place in Scotland *called by that Name.* I will not diſpute it; but are we ſure that *Claudian* knew it by that Name? Was that ſo conſiderable to be taken ſuch notice of by the *Roman* Wri-

ters? Was not *Ireland* then called *Ierne* by him? And doth he not mention the *Scots* moving all *Ierne?*

(u) 1° *Conſulat.* Stilicon. *l.* 2. *v.* 251.

(*u*) *Totam cùm* Scotus Iernen
Movit, & inſeſto ſpumavit remige Tethys?

And is not this very *Poetical*, to ſay, *He moved all a certain little part of* Scotland? From whence they might paſs beyond the Wall, without ſo much as *touching the Ocean?* Muſt theſe things paſs for *Demonſtrations* too?

I mention theſe Evidences, which the Weight of the Cauſe is laid upon, to ſhew how far theſe *Antiquities* are ſtill from being cleared, to the ſatisfaction of impartial Men. For I had no *Luddus* my *Kinſman*, nor *Buchanan* my *Enemy*; I ſearch for nothing but *Truth* in ſuch *Enquiries*, it being as much to my ſatisfaction, that the *Scots* came into *Britain* in *Alexander*'s time, as any time after, if it can be as well proved. But it doth not become the ingenuity of Learned Men, when all judicious Perſons in the Nations about us have rejected their *fabulous Antiquities*, to adhere to them without producing better Proofs of them; and that with ſo much violence as if the Intereſt of the Nation, and the Succeſſion of the *Royal Family* were concerned in them: Which hath far ſtronger grounds to ſtand upon than the *Authority* of *Hector Boethius*, or the *Race* of *Kings* between the two *Ferguſſes*, or the certain time when the *Scots* came firſt into *Britain.*

Having thus far given an Account of the *Antiquities* relating to the *Picts* and *Scots*, the *mortal Enemies of the* Britains; I now come to purſue my main Deſign, which relates to the *Antiquities* of the *Britiſh Churches*, whoſe declining State and Condition I am now arrived at.

And the firſt *Occaſion* thereof was, *the laying them open to the fury of their greateſt Enemies, the* Picts *and the* Scots. It is impoſſible for us to ſet down the punctual time when the *Scots* and the *Picts* firſt join'd their Forces together to give diſturbance to the *Britains*, but it is clear that they did ſo towards the middle of the *fourth Century.* For (*x*) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, ſpeaking

(x) Am. Marcell. *l.* 20. *c.* 1.

king of the *Incurſions* they made in the time of *Conſtantius*, when *Julian* was *Cæſar*, *An. Dom.* 360. he ſaith; *That* Julian, *being then at* Paris, *durſt not go over to the aſſiſtence of the* Britains *againſt the* Scots *and the* Picts, *as* Conſtans *had done before.* Which *Expedition* of his happen'd *Anno Dom.* 343. after his ſucceſs over the *Franks*; and he paſſed an Edict, ſtill extant in the (*y*) *Theodoſian Code*, when he was at *Bologn*, in his Paſſage, which bears date that year; And a Coin of his is mention'd by (*z*) *Du Cange* and (*a*) *Spanheim*, wherein the *Effigies* of *Conſtans* is on one Side, and on the Reverſe, *an armed Man on Shipboard, with the Image of Victory, and the Inſcription* of *Bononia Oceanen*; being Coined on purpoſe to preſerve the memory of this Paſſage. And upon his coming over, things were quieted here, but not long after, they began to make new Incurſions, within the Bounds of the *Province*, as is evident from the foregoing Paſſage of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, when *Lupicinus* was ſent over, who arrived at *London*, ſaith he, *in the middle of Winter, to take Counſel how to proceed.* In the time of *Valentinian*, the ſame Hiſtorian (*b*) ſaith, *That there ſeem'd to be a general diſturbance through the whole Empire, by the barbarous Nations who lay near them*; And, among the reſt, he mentions the *Picts* (whom ſome render *Redſhanks*) the *Saxons*, the *Scots*, and the *Attacots*, *who were continually vexing and doing miſchief to the* Britains, ſo that in a little time, *the* (*c*) Britains *were reduced to a miſerable condition by a new Conſpiracy of the* Barbarians, *wherein* Nectaridus *the* Comes Maritimi Tractûs, *or* Roman *Admiral, and* Eallofaudes, *the General, were both killed.* And then *Valentinian* ſent over *Theodoſius*, a famous Captain (Father to the firſt Emperour of that Name) with conſiderable Forces. *For at that time, the* Picts *of both kinds, the* Deucalidones *and* Vecturiones; *the* Attacotti, *a fierce Nation, and the* Scots, *diſperſing themſelves up and down, did abundance of miſchief; But* Theodoſius, *leaving* London, *diſperſed his Forces likewiſe into ſeveral parts, who ſurprized the Enemies, and recover'd their Booty, which they reſtored to the Owners, onely reſerving a ſmall ſhare for the Souldiers; And ſo in a ſhort time, he put the City out of its fears and difficulties, and entred it as*

(*y*) C. Theod. *de extraord. Tit.* 16. *L.* 5.
(*z*) *Hiſt. Byzant.* p. 33.
(*a*) *In Cæſ. Jul.* p. 134.
(*b*) *L.* 26. *c.* 4.
(*c*) *L.* 27. *c.* 8.

it were in Triumph: And then took care to have good Officers placed here; Civilis *for Adminiſtration of Juſtice*; *and* Dulcitius *for Military Affairs.*

Who theſe *Attacotti* were, who joyn'd with the *Picts* and *Scots*; our *Antiquaries* are not agreed; But becauſe of their joining with the other, and yet being diſtinguiſhed from them, it ſeems moſt probable, that they were the *Wild Britains*; For (*d*) St. *Hierome* doth ſay, *they were a* Britiſh *People.* But what the Reaſon of the Name was, is not yet underſtood, and I doubt will not be, unleſs ſome happen to derive it from the *Phœnician Language.* What great miſchief had been done to the *Britains*, by this Combination of their Enemies, appears by the care taken by *Theodoſius*, after his beating them out of the Countrey, to reſtore *the Cities* and *Garriſons*, and to ſettle *the Guards upon the Frontiers*; which being done, That part of the Countrey which he recover'd from them, he obtained leave to have it named a *New Province.* And it was called *Valentia*, from the *Emperour's* Name. This was done *Anno Domini* 368. And the next year *Theodoſius* returned to the Emperour's Court. From that time we reade no more of their *Incurſions* till *Maximus*, in the time of *Gratian*, Son to *Valentinian*, was ſet up by the Souldiery in *Britain*, to be Emperour. Then (*e*) *Proſper*, ſet out by *Pithœus*, ſaith, Maximus *overcame the* Picts *and* Scots, *making new Incurſions.* Which he thought he had done ſo effectually as to fear no diſturbance on that Side; And therefore took away from hence all the *Flower* both of the *Roman* and *Britiſh Souldiery*, to make good his Title againſt *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, and after, againſt *Theodoſius*; So that there was no poſſibility of their return, to ſecure the *Frontiers* from their *Enemies.* And this proved the *fatal Blow* to the *Britains.* For the Empire being ſo divided, and *Maximus* forced to keep his *Army* together, thoſe parts were left open to the Rage and Fury of their Mercileſs Enemies. And if the (*f*) Authour of the *Eulogium* and *Giraldus Cambrenſis* may be believed, Gratian *and* Valentinian *entred into a League with the* Gothick Picts, *and helped them with Shipping to convey them into the Northern parts of* Britain, *on purpoſe to withdraw* Maximus

(d) *c. Jovin. l. 2.*

(e) *Chronic. init.*

(f) *v. Uſſer. Prim. p. 590.*

mus *his Army out of* Gaul: *Who coming thither in great Numbers, and finding the Countrey naked and without defence, ſettled themſelves in thoſe Parts.* Not as though the *Picts* had not come hither before, but they never came over in ſo great Numbers and with ſo much Incouragement as they did now. And it ſeems not improbable, that *Gratian* and *Valentinian* ſhould at that time deal with the *Gothick* Nation to give a diverſion to *Maximus*. For (*g*) *Zoſimus* aſſigns that as one of the great Cauſes of *Gratian*'s Ruine, *that he ſeemed more fond of the barbarous Nations than of the* Romans: And *Maximus* charged *Valentinian*, *with making uſe of the* Hunns *and the* Alani *againſt him*; Which is not denied by (*h*) St. *Ambroſe*, who was ſent by *Valentinian* on an *Embaſſy* to him. Theſe *Hunni* and *Alani* were, as is commonly ſaid, Inhabitants of *Sarmatia Europæa* near to the *Palus Mæotis*. The *Alani did live upon the Tanais*, ſaith (*i*) *Hadrianus Valeſius*; And the *Hunni*, ſaith he, *were a* Scythian *People, between the* Pontus *and the* Caſpian *Sea, upon the Northern Parts of the* Caucaſus, *from whom the* Abares, Turks *and* Hungarians *are deſcended.* But whoſoever obſerves (*k*) *Ammianus Marcellinus* his Deſcription of them, will find that the *Hunni* were the *Aſiatick Tartars*; and the *Alani* the *European*. The *Hunni* in the time of *Valens* paſſed over the *Palus Mæotis* in vaſt Numbers, and after, having killed many of the *Alani*, took the reſt into Confederacy with them, and having conquer'd the *Goths* in thoſe Parts, inlarged their Power as far as the *Danube*: Where they lay ready to come into the *Roman Empire* on any Occaſion. And it is not to be wonder'd if *Gratian* ſhould employ Perſons into *Scandinavia* to draw out greater Forces from thence, thereby to make a *Revulſion*, as to *Maximus* his Deſigns in the Northern Parts of *Britain*. However this were, *Gildas* from this time dates the *miſerable Condition of the* Britains, as being in no Poſture to defend themſelves at Home. (*l*) *Nennius* ſaith, *That Maximianus* (as he calls him) *carried all the Forces out of* Britain, *and killed* Gratian *the Emperour*; *And would not let the* Britiſh *Souldiers return to their Wives, Children* or *Poſſeſſions, but gave them another Countrey inſtead of it*; *In the Weſtern parts of* Gaul, ſaith

(g) Zoſim. *l.* 4. *p.* 760.

(h) St. Ambroſ. *Ep.* 27.

(i) *Rer. Franc. l.* 3. *p.* 98. *l.* 4. *p.* 153.

(k) Am. Marcel *l.* 31. *c.* 2.

(l) Nenn. *c.* 23.

ſaith the *Interpolatour* of *Nennius*. *And theſe*, ſaith *Nennius*, *are the* Aremorican Britains, *who never after returned to their own Countrey. And from hence*, he ſaith, Britain *was ſeized upon by foreign Nations, and its own Natives were driven out; and would ſo continue till God helped them.* But the *Britiſh Hiſtory*, ſet forth by (m) *Geffrey*, hath improved the Story in many Particulars. Firſt, It makes this Maximianus *to marry the Daughter of* Octavius, *and ſo to come to the Kingdom of* Britain; Then, it adds, *That* Conanus *retired into* Albany, *and raiſed an Army, which was overthrown by* Maximianus, *who after five years paſſed into* Gaul, *and fought firſt againſt the* Armoricans, *whoſe Countrey he gave to* Conanus *and his* Britains; *Who, reſolving not to marry any others than* Britiſh *Women, he ſent over Meſſengers to* Dionotus, *King of* Cornwall, *to whom* Maximianus, *had committed the Government of* Britain, *to provide Wives for them*; *And he ſent with* Urſula *his own Daughter Eleven thouſand of the better ſort, and of the common ſixty Thouſand. But theſe were unhappily, by Storms either ſunk or driven into thoſe Places, where* Guanius, *King of the* Hunns, *and* Melga, *King of the* Picts, *who were Confederates with* Gratian, *were joined with their Armies, who cruelly deſtroyed them. After which they came into* Albany, *where they made havock of all Places they came near. Then* Maximianus *ſent* Gratianus Municeps *with two Legions who ſubdued the* Hunns *and* Picts, *and drove them into* Ireland. Here we have many fabulous Particulars put together, but none comparable to the 71000 *Virgins* ſunk or deſtroyed by the *Hunns*. And yet *Geffrey*'s Relation of this *Legend* is magnified by (n) *Baronius*, and approved by (o) *M. Velſerus*, (p) *Aub. Miræus*, and (q) *Ægid. Bucherius*, as moſt agreeable to the Circumſtances of the time. Which is a thing to be wonder'd at; conſidering how little Foundation there is for any one Particular of *Geffrey*'s whole Relation, either as to *Octavius*, then King of *Britain*, or the marrying his Daughter to *Maximus*, or as to *Conanus* going firſt into *Albany*, and thence into *Aremorica*, or the ſettling of the *Britiſh Souldiers* there, at ſo buſie a time, when *Maximus* wanted all the Aſſiſtence he could get; or the ſending to *Dionotus*, or the ſending away

(m) *Hiſt. Brit. l. 2. c. 4.*

(n) Bar. *ad Martyrol. Rom. Octobr. 21.*
(o) *Not. ad* Tab. Penninger.
(p) *Diſquiſ. de SS. Virg. Col.*
(q) *Belg. Rom. l. 12. c. 5.*

away ſuch a Number of *Virgins* at once, without any Fleet to conduct or ſecure their Paſſage. But (r) *Browerus* hath overthrown this *Legend* at once, by proving that *Aremorica* was not in the *Britains* Poſſeſſion till a good time after this; For, as he well obſerves, *Maximus* was kindly received in *Gaul*, and met with no conſiderable Oppoſition there, *Gratian*'s own Souldiers revolting to him, and he paſſed on and ſettled himſelf at *Triers*, (then the Seat of this part of the Empire) as *Gildas* ſaith; And beſides, in the time of *Aetius*, the *Aremorici* enjoy'd their own Countrey (as he proves from *Conſtantius* his Life of St. *German*) about *Anno Dom.* 434. After which time they ſtood up in their own defence, till they were reduced by *Litorius*, which he ſhews from *Sidonius Apollinaris*. And (s) *Rutilius Claudius*, in the beginning of the fifth Century, after *Maximus* his time, mentions the *Aremorici*, as ſtill enjoying their Countrey, where *Exuperantius* was then Governour. Saying, that after the Troubles by the *Goths* they had *Poſtliminium Pacis*; which evidently proves, they were not then kept out of Poſſeſſion.

(r) *Not. in* Ven. Fortun. *l.* 3. *p.* 59.

(s) Rutil. *Itiner. l.* 1. *v.* 250.

Cujus Aremoricas *Pater Exuperantius oras*
Nunc Poſtliminium pacis amare docet
Leges reſtituit libertatemque reducit
Et Servos Famulis non ſinit eſſe ſuis.

And this was written after the Sacking of *Rome* by the *Goths*; So that there is no foundation for this *Legend* in the time of *Maximus*. *Ægid. Bucherius*, although he approves of *Geffrey*, as to the time, and ſome other *Circumſtances*, yet he differs from him in others. For he goes upon theſe Grounds, that *Maximus* landed at the Mouth of the *Rhine*, as *Zoſimus* ſaith, That there they left the Multitude of Women and Virgins which follow'd the Army out of *Britain*; where the *Hunns* which *Bauto* ſent againſt *Maximus* fell upon them and deſtroy'd them. This is no ill-contrived Story; but very different from the *Legend* in *Geffrey*, in all the conſiderable parts of it: And yet after all, *Bucherius* thinks fit to yield up his Faith to the *old Legend*, as it is defended by *Bebius* and *Crombachius*; and ſo it is taken off from the time of *Maximus*.

Joh.

(t) *Scoti-chron. l. 2. c. 63.*

(*t*) *Joh. Fordon*, agrees with *Geffrey* about *Maximus* his giving the Countrey of *Aremorica* to *Conanus* and his *Britains*, *Anno Dom.* 386. but he is ſo far from mentioning the 11000 *Virgins*, That he ſuppoſes *the* Britains *of both ſexes to have ſettled there together.* But he makes a more credible Relation of *Conanus* his going over to *Aremorica*, which is, That *Maximus* miſtruſted he might ſet up for himſelf in his Abſence, having the *legal Title to* Britain, and therefore he removed him and the Chief of the *Britains*, and ſettled them in thoſe Parts of *Gaul.* This is no improbable Story; but yet the *Aremoricans* enjoying their Countrey after this time, is an effectual Confutation of it.

(u) *Scoti-chron. l. 3. c. 1.*

After the death of *Maximus*, more Troubles following in the *Roman* Empire, *the* Picts *and the* Scots, ſaith (*u*) Fordon, *negotiate a mutual Peace and ſtricter Alliance, in order*, ſaith he, *to the recovering their Countrey again. For* Maximus *had made uſe of the* Picts *to drive out the* Scots, *and then put Garriſons among the* Picts *to keep them under. And upon this Agreement*, An. D. 403. *in the ſixth of* Arcadius *and* Honorius, Fergus *the Son of* Erk *the Son of* Ethadius *the Brother of* Eugenius, *who was driven out by* Maximus, *came with his two Brothers* (called there *Loarii* and *Tenegus*, in all probability *Loarn* and *Ængus*, which were the Names, the *Iriſh Annals* give to the Brothers of *Fergus*, as is obſerved before) *and great Supplies of* Scots *from the Iſlands of* Ireland *and* Norwey, *whither they were driven: And the* Picts, *to prevent all Suſpicion of Treachery ſurrendred up their* c. 2. *Forts to* Fergus. *Who now became King of all* Scotland, i. e. *of that Part which is beyond* Drum Albain, *as well as on this other, which*, he ſaith, *it doth not appear how he came to, whether by the Sword or by any other Right, none* (w) *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 11.* *of his Predeceſſours having any Power there.* (*w*) *Bede* ſaith, *The* Romans *had the Right of Dominion to the remoteſt part of the Iſland:* Which is not eaſie to make out, unleſs the *Poſſeſſion* and *Conqueſt* were better proved than appears by *Bede*'s *Hiſtory.* For although he mentions *Claudius* his Conquering the *Orcades*; yet it is hard to prove it by any *Roman* Authours; And if the Poſſeſſion were after loſt, for ſo long a time, it will be as hard to prove the *Romans* ſtill enjoy'd the *Right of Dominion*

Dominion upon ſo ſlender a Title. *But the* Picts *and* Scots *being thus united, their firſt Work*, ſaith *Fordon*, *was to drive out the* Romans *and* Britains *from their Countrey, and then to invade* Britain, *which was then left deſtitute of any defence: And ſo by their Incurſions they either killed the Common People, or made them Slaves.*

Here *Fordon* tranſcribes *Bede's* twelfth Chapter of his firſt Book; the Foundation whereof he took out of *Gildas*, concerning the departure of the *Britiſh Forces* without returning; the Invaſion of the *Scots* and *Picts*; the *Britains* ſending an Addreſs to *Rome* for Aſſiſtence; a *Roman Legion* coming and driving out their Enemies; and perſuading the *Britains* to build a *Wall* for their own Security. But it is obſervable, that *Bede* varies from *Gildas* without Reaſon; For what *Gildas* ſpeaks of their departure with *Maximus*, he applies *to the going of the Remainders of the* Britiſh *Forces under* Conſtantinus *and* Conſtans, *after* Gratianus Municeps *was killed in* Britain *having uſurped the Empire here.* But that *Bede* was herein miſtaken will beſt appear by digeſting the times wherein theſe things happen'd as well as we can. c. 3.

(x) *Zoſimus* ſaith, That *Honorius* VII. and *Theodoſius* II. being *Conſuls*, viz. *A.D.* 407. (nineteen years after the death of *Maximus*, as (y) *Archbiſhop Uſher* obſerves, (z) *Olympiodorus* in *Photius* ſaith, *the year before*, *Oroſius* and *Sozomen* the year after, *viz.* the year when *Arcadius* died;) *the* Britiſh *Souldiers in a Mutiny ſet up one* Marcus *to be Emperour, as a Man of great Power in theſe Parts; But he, not anſwering their expectation, they ſoon took him off, and then ſet up* Gratianus, (*who was a Native of* Britain, for ſo much (a) *Oroſius* his Words imply, when he ſaith, he was *Municeps ejuſdem Inſulæ*) *and made him put on the Royal Purple and Crown, &c. but he not pleaſing them, after four months they take away his life.* (b) Of him *Nennius* ſaith nothing; But he mentions one *Severus* between *Maximus* and *Conſtantius*, whom others omit; But (c) *Geffrey* makes *Gratianus* to aſſume the Royal Authority aſſoon as he heard of the Death of *Maximus*; *But he was ſo tyrannical*, he ſaith, *That the common People roſe up and killed him; and after his death the* Britains, *according to him, ſent to* Rome, *to*

(x) Zoſ. *l.* 6. (y) *Primord. p.* 591. (z) Phot. *Cod.* 80. (a) *Hiſt. l.* 7. *c.* 40. (b) Nenn. *c.* 24. (c) Galfr. *l.* 2. *c.* 4.

beg help againſt the Picts *and* Scots. But *Zoſimus* and *Oroſius* both ſay; *That, upon the Death of* Gratianus, *they ſet up here* Conſtantine, *a mean perſon (for the good Omen of his Name* ſaith *Oroſius) who immediately left* Britain, *and paſſed over into* Gaul, *where he gained the Army to him, and made his Son* Conſtans Cæſar, *and ſent him into* Spain. *Olympiodorus* ſaith, *That he ſent a Meſſage and Excuſe to* Honorius, *for aſſuming the Imperial Dignity, that he was forced to it by the Army; And that* Honorius *allow'd the Excuſe, and for a time admitted him into Partnerſhip with him.* But *Gerontius* a *Britain*, one of the Generals, finding himſelf ſlighted by *Conſtans*, made a *Revolt* among his Souldiers and ſtirr'd up the *barbarous Nations* in *Gaul* againſt *Conſtantine*; Upon which occaſion, ſaith *Zoſimus*, *The* Britiſh *Iſlands, and ſome of the* Celtick *Nations renounced the* Roman *Empire*; *And took up Arms to defend themſelves from the Incurſions of their Enemies: And* Honorius *by his Letters gave them leave to take care of themſelves.* Not long after *Conſtans* is killed by *Gerontius*, and *Conſtantine*, after the Siege of *Arles*, had his Head cut off by (*d*) *Honorius* his Order. But (*e*) *Nennius*, againſt the conſent of all the *Greek* and *Latin Hiſtorians*, both Heathen and Chriſtian, ſaith, *That this* Conſtantine *reigned* 16 *years in* Britain, *and in the ſeventeenth died at* York. However he falls much ſhort of (*f*) *Geffrey*; for, he ſaith, *That* Conſtantine *was Brother to* Aldroenus, *King of the* Aremorican Britains, *to whom* Guithelin, *Metropolitane of* London *was ſent on an Embaſſy to accept the Government, which he put off to* Conſtantine, *who was choſen King at* Silceſter, *and had a* Roman *Wife of* Guithelin's *education, by whom he had three Sons,* Conſtans *a Monk at* Wincheſter, Aurelius Ambroſius, *and* Uther Pendragon, *who were committed to* Guithelin's *care. After* Conſtantine's *Death, who was killed by a* Pict, *there happen'd a great Conteſt about the Succeſſion*; *but by* Vortigern's *means* Conſtans *is taken from the Monaſtery, and ſet on the Throne at* London; *But* Guithelin *was now dead, and* Vortigern *put the* Diadem *on his Head, who governed all things, and ſoon got himſelf rid of him by a Guard of* Picts *he had placed about him, and ſo took the Government upon himſelf.*

(d) Soz. *l.* 9. *c.* 15. Phot. *Cod.* 80.
(e) Nenn. *c.* 25.
(f) Galfr. *l.* 2. *c.* 3, 6.

But

But I ſhall ſet aſide theſe Fictions or Traditions of *Geffrey* and *Nennius*, and conſider now what *Bede* ſaith; He makes *Gratianus Municeps* to be ſet up two years before the ſacking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, King of the *Goths*, which happen'd *Anno Dom.* 410. And he follows *Oroſius*, about *Conſtantine* and his Son *Conſtans*, without ever imagining their continuing to govern, and loſing their Lives in *Britain:* But then he applies the Paſſage in *Gildas*, concerning *the lamentable Condition of the* Britains, *and their help from the* Romans, to the times after the Death of *Conſtantine*; Whereas *Gildas* mentions both upon the Uſurpation of *Maximus*, and his withdrawing the Forces from hence; And therefore this firſt cruel Invaſion of the *Picts* and *Scots* muſt be between the Death of *Maximus*, and the ſetting up of *Gratianus Municeps:* And then the *Britains* ſo earneſtly begging for Aſſiſtence, had *Roman Governours* and *Forces ſent to their Relief.* Some think that (*g*) *Claudius Rutilius* mentions *Victorinus* as *a* Roman *Governour here in that time*, but this is uncertain, when he there ſpeaks of the taking *Tholouſe* by the *Goths*, which was done by *Ataulphus* ſome time after the death of *Alaric*; And therefore could not be before the time of *Gratian* and *Conſtantine*; For *Idatius* ſaith, *that this latter was killed before* Ataulphus *entred* Narbon, which was before the taking of *Tholouſe*.

(g) *Itiner. l. 1. v. 500.*

It is evident from many Paſſages in (*h*) *Claudian*; that *Stilicho*, took particular care of *the Supplies of the* Britains *againſt the* Scots *and* Picts: But *Stilicho* was killed by the Army when *Baſſus* and *Philippus* were *Conſuls*, Anno Dom. 408. before the firſt Siege of *Rome* by the *Goths*; And therefore the *Roman Forces* ſent by him were before the *Uſurpation of* Gratianus *and* Conſtantine: *Stilicho* being killed the ſame year that theſe were ſet up in *Britain*, it is not poſſible he ſhould doe it after their death; And it ſeems not probable that any Supplies ſhould be ſent through *Gaul* while *Conſtantine* remained there, the Army through which they were to paſs in *Gaul* taking part with *Conſtantine* againſt *Honorius.* And withall *Gildas* ſaith, *That the* Roman *Legion, having driven out the* Picts *and* Scots, *returned in Triumph to* Rome: And ſo much is confeſſed

(h) *De laud. Stilich. l. 2. v. 25. De Bello Get. v. 415. In Eutrop. l. 2.*

by *Bede*. But at what time ſhould we ſuppoſe, after the *Uſurpation* of *Conſtantine*, that *a* Roman *Legion ſhould return in ſo much Triumph?* For after *Conſtantine's* Uſurpation the *Roman Empire* began to decline extremely in thoſe parts through which they were to paſs: *Gaul* being upon *Compoſition* (*i*) delivered up to the *Goths* by *Honorius*, and the *Franks* and *Burgundians* making continual impreſſions there. I conclude it therefore moſt probable, that the *firſt Supplies* given to the *Britains* were not after *Conſtantine's Uſurpation*, but between the death of *Maximus*, and the ſetting up of *Gratianus Municeps*.

(i) Jornand. c. 30. Paul. Diac. *l.* 14. Sigeb. *Chron.* *A. D.* 412.

The ſecond time the diſtreſſed *Britains* were forced to ſolicit the *Romans* for *Supplies*, is placed by (*k*) Archbiſhop *Uſher*, An. Dom. 426. when *Gallio Ravennas* was ſent hither, as he ſuppoſes, becauſe the next year *Proſper*, ſaith *Gallio*, *was ſent againſt* Bonifacius *in* Africa. But then he makes the *firſt Supplies* to have been in the *latter end of* Honorius; for which I can ſee no reaſon. For he grants, *That after the Death of* Maximus, *the* Scots *and the* Picts *did waſte* Britain; *and that then* Stilicho *did ſend aſſiſtence to them.* Why then ſhould the *firſt waſting of the Country*, ſpoken of by *Gildas*, and the *Legion* ſent upon it, be that *in the latter end of* Honorius, and not rather that *in the beginning?* For the latter end of *Honorius* his Reign was very perplexed and troubleſome. The *Alani*, *Suevi* and *Vandali* were in *Spain*; The *Franks*, *Burgundians* and *Goths* in *Gaul*; *Jovinus* and *Sebaſtian* there, after *Conſtantine's* death, uſurped the Empire; And although the *Goths*, going into *Spain*, did great Service againſt the other *Barbarians*, yet ſuch were the Straits of the *Roman Empire* in *Gaul*, That *Conſtantius*, who then managed the Affairs of the Empire, was forced to recall them, as both *Proſper* and *Idatius* ſay, *Monaxius* and *Plinta* being *Conſuls* (which was the twenty fourth of *Honorius*,) and *to give them all that part in* Gaul *from the* Garonne *to the Ocean.* The year before *Honorius* his death, he was forced to ſend his Forces under *Caſtinus* into *Spain*, againſt the *Vandals*, as *Proſper* affirms; and that proved the Occaſion of new Troubles in *Africa*, by the difference between *Caſtinus* and *Bonifacius*, who, for his

(k) *Primord.* *p.* 603.

p. 594.

own

own Security, conveyed over the *Vandals* thither. It is not therefore very probable, that the *firſt Supplies of the Britains* ſhould be in the latter end of *Honorius*, eſpecially ſince the Learned *Primate* confeſſeth that *Honorius* did not in his time recover the *Province of* Britain, and he proves it againſt *Sabellicus* from *Procopius*, *Bede*, the *Saxon Annals* and *Ethelwerd.* And the ſingle Teſtimony of *Sigebert*, *That* Honorius, *at the ſame time, ſent aſſiſtence to the* Britains, *that he did to the* Spaniards (when *Proſper*, *Idatius* and *Caſſiodore*, who all mention the latter, ſay not a word of the former) cannot weigh down the *Reaſons* on the other ſide. p. 600.

But as to the *ſecond Supplies* which were ſent upon the mighty *importunity* of the *Britains*; They were in probability in the beginning of the Reign of *Valentinian* III. after that *Aëtius* had ſomewhat recover'd the Credit of the *Roman Empire* in *Gaul*: For after his Succeſs there, both againſt the *Goths* and *Franks* he had liberty enough to ſend over a *Legion* to the Aſſiſtence of the *Britains*, who were again miſerably haraſs'd by the *Scots* and *Picts*. And at this time it was that *Gildas* ſaith, *The* Romans, *upon the ſad Repreſentations the* Britiſh *Embaſſadours made of their pitifull condition, ſent them ſpeedy Supplies, who coming upon their Enemies on a ſudden, like a violent Torrent, drove them all before them, and made them repaſs the Seas:* Which is an Argument, they did not then inhabit in *Britain.* But the *Romans* then plainly told the *Britains, they were not at leiſure to bring over Legions as often as their Enemies invaded them: But they muſt train up their own People to Arms to defend themſelves and their Wives and Children againſt a ſort of Men no ways ſtronger than themſelves. And, to incourage them the more, they built a Wall of Stone from Sea to Sea, and Forts on the Shore, and exerciſed them in Arms, taking their leave of them, and telling them, they muſt expect their return no more.* This is the Subſtance of *Gildas* his Relation, with whom *Bede* agrees; onely inlarging the Deſcription of the *Wall*, *which*, he ſaith, *was eight Foot in breadth and twelve in height, and that it ſtood where the Wall of* Severus *ſtood, being all made of Stone, and not of Turf; as that unſerviceable Wall was, which the* Britains *had before without skill and direction built for themſelves.*

It

It hath been much diſputed among our Learned Antiquaries where this laſt *Wall* ſtood, whether in the place where the former of *Turf* was raiſed by the *Britains* between the *two Friths*, or where *Hadrian's Wall* was firſt built, between the *Tine* and the *Esk*. *Bede* puts a great diſtance between theſe *two Walls*, *and makes the former to have been between the two* Friths, *beginning at a Place called* Peneltun, *two miles from* Abercorney, *and ending to the Weſt*, *near* Alcluyd: *which*, ſaith he, *ſignifies a Rock in the River* Cluyd. *But the latter Wall was from Sea to Sea, in a direct Line, between the Cities there built for Security againſt Incurſions, and it ſtood in the Place of* Severus *his Wall.* (*l*) *Joh. Fordon* diſtinguiſhes between the *old Wall* called *Grimeſdike*, from *Grime*, a *Britain* (whoſe Daughter *Fergus* married, and after his death, ruled over the *Scots* during his Grand-child's Minority: and *which Wall*, he ſaith, *this* Grime *overthrew*, *and ſo recovered the ancient Poſſeſſions due to him as deſcended from* Fulgenius) and *the other Wall built where* Severus *his ſtood*: And he gives very different deſcriptions of them. *The former Wall*, he ſaith, *begins from the Eaſt*, *upon the South-ſide of the* Scotiſh *Shore*, *near a Village called* Karedin, *and then for twenty two miles croſſes the Land*, *leaving* Glaſgow *on the South*; *and ends on the Bank of the River* Clyd, *near* Kirk-patrick. *The other*, he ſaith, *begins on the Eaſt in the Southern Bank of the* Tyne *to* Gaitſheved, *or* Goatſhead, *where* Severus, ſaith he, *a long time before had made a Wall and a Trench over againſt* New-caſtle; *and ſo it is continued to the River* Esk, *called* Scotiſhwath, *for ſixty miles*, *and ends near* Carliſle, *on the Weſt.* But (*m*) *Buchanan* contends, that *Severus* his *Wall* was where *Graham's Dike*, or *Grimeſ-dike* was, *and at leaſt eighty miles diſtant from* Hadrian's *Wall*; which he proves from *the Antiquities there found, and the ſquare Stones taken up*; which do ſufficiently prove an *ancient Stone Wall* to have been there, but not that of *Severus*: And the *Roman Inſcriptions* in (*n*) *Camden* mention *Antoninus*, and not *Severus*. *Joh.* (*o*) *Major* places *Severus* his Wall as *Fordon* doth *between the* Tyne *and the* Esk. But Archbiſhop (*p*) *Uſher* hath endeavoured to clear this matter, by yielding to *Buchanan*, that the *Scotiſh Wall was made*

(l) *Scoti-chron. l.* 3. *c.* 5.

c. 4.

c. 7.

(m) *Hiſt. l.* 4. *Rege* 27. *l.* 5. *R.* 41.

(n) *Brit. p.* 699.

(o) *l.* 1. *c.* 14.

(p) *Primord. p.*605,1024, *&c.*

made of Stone, viz. by the *Romans* under *Gallio Ravennas*, and by proving *that* Bede *was miſtaken as to* Severus *his Wall being made of Turf before*, which was the Reaſon he thought it turned into *Stone* at this time; *it being not likely, that the* Romans *would bring the* Britains *at leaſt eighty miles back, and put them to defend a Wall ſo very much longer than the other*; But I rather think *Severus* his *Wall* was now repaired, and a larger Scope allow'd for the *Picts* and *Scots*; As, beſides what hath been ſaid before, may appear by this one Argument from (q) *Fordon*. He ſaith, *That when the Scots made a new Incurſion, they open'd Paſſages in the Wall, from whence it was called* Thirle-wall, *i. e.* ſaith he, *Murus perforatus*. Now the Learned (r) Primate grants, that a Place called *Thirle-wall* ſtood *on the Borders of* Cumberland *and* Northumberland: *And that* Fordon *ſaith*, Thirle-wall *was built by* Severus *on the* Tyne. And therefore *Bede* ſeems to have been in the right as to *Severus* his *Wall*, but onely miſtaken in thinking it was made of *Turf* before, which was built of Stone by *Severus*, and accounted one of *the great Works of the* Roman *Empire*, which was impoſſible to be built of *Stone* a-new by *one Legion* and the help of the Countrey; But might very well be repaired, and made defenſible againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*.

(q) *Scoti-chron.* l. 3. c. 10.

(r) *Primord.* p. 1028.

We might now think that the *Britains* were left by the *Romans* in a tolerable Condition to defend themſelves; But aſſoon as their *old Enemies* underſtood that their *old Friends* had forſaken them, they came upon them with a greater Force and Violence than ever. And the Spirits of the poor *Britains* were ſo broken by their former Miſeries, that they were not able to withſtand the Aſſaults of their Enemies: But they forſook their Wall and Forts, and fled as far as they could, and diſperſed themſelves, which made them an eaſie Prey to their barbarous Enemies, who now deſtroyed them in a more cruel manner than they had done before; And thoſe who eſcaped were driven from their Habitations, and hardly left in a condition to ſubſiſt, having no Proviſion left, but what they did get by Hunting. This is the ſhort account of what *Gildas* more Tragically inlarges upon. And being thus reduced

ced to the utmoſt Extremities, they reſolve once more to ſend to *Aëtius* their *laſt Groans*; and to let him underſtand how unable they were to ſtand out againſt their Enemies, *Seeing between them and the Sea they were either drowned or butchered.* But all farther aſſiſtence was now denied them; Aëtius *being then*, as (s) *Bede* ſaith, *deeply engaged in the War with* Bleda *and* Attila, *Kings of the* Hunns. This Meſſage was ſent, ſaith *Bede* in the 23*d.* of *Theodoſius*, *Aëtius* being then *third time Conſul* with *Symmachus*. But *Bleda*, according to *Proſper* and *Caſſiodore*, was killed by *Attila* two years before *Aëtius* and *Symmachus* were *Conſuls* (but one year before according to *Marcellinus*) but the year following he makes the terrible Invaſion of *Europe* by *Attila* to be; And ſo *Aëtius* having then a Proſpect of that War, had juſt reaſon to deny Supplies to the *Britains*. And when *Valentinian* was VI. *Conſul*, the year before *Aëtius* and *Symmachus*, it appears by *Valentinian's* Letters to him, that he was then in *Gaul*, for then he directed the famous Conſtitution *De Epiſcoporum Ordinatione* to him there; wherein he interpoſes his *Authority* to ratifie *Leo's* Sentence againſt *Hilary* of *Arles*. But this is ſufficient to ſhew that the *Britains* Complaints were then ſent to *Aëtius*, and not to any *Agitius* or *Æquitius*, as ſome imagine. (t) *Fordon* ſaith, *The* Britains *ſent to* Agitius *and* Litorius; But *Litorius* ſome years before was beaten, and taken Priſoner by the *Goths*, as appears by the *Faſti Conſulares* both of *Proſper* and *Caſſiodore*, and (u) *Paulus Diaconus* out of them.

(s) Bede, *l.* 1. *c.* 13.

(t) *Scoti-chron. l.* 3. *c.* 11.

(u) *Hiſt. Miſcb. l.* 14.

But the Miſeries of the *Britains* were ſtill increaſed *by a Famine which then raged*; which was not peculiar to *Britain*. (w) *Bede* ſaith, *That there was then a Famine at* Conſtantinople, *and a great Plague which follow'd it, which conſumed abundance both of Men and Beaſts.* Which he borrows from *Marcellinus* who makes both *Famine and Plague* to break out the very year *Aëtius* and *Symmachus* were *Conſuls*. Both theſe are mention'd by (x) *Euagrius* in the *Eaſtern Parts*, and therefore are not to be looked on as a peculiar Judgment on the *Britains*.

(w) *L.* 1. *c.* 13.

(x) Euagr. *l.* 2. *c.* 6.

After

After this, as (y) *Gildas* and *Bede* tell us, finding their Caſe almoſt deſperate, the *Britains* were reſolved to ſell their Lives and Liberties as dear as they could, and by making *a fierce Aſſault* upon their Enemies, they began to get the better of them; Which they impute *to their truſting rather to Divine Aſſiſtence than to the help of Men, which they too much relied upon before.* The *Britains*, as appears afterward, did not want *Courage*, but *Exerciſe* in *Arms*; being kept under ſo long by the *Romans*, they durſt not ſo much as pretend to fighting, for fear of being deſtroyed; And now the *Romans*, when they had a mind, could not infuſe new Spirits into them; But their own Miſeries at laſt rouſed and awaken'd them to that degree, that they made their Enemies quiet for ſome time; *And the* Iriſh *Robbers*, ſaith *Gildas*, *returned home, intending to return ſhortly: And the* Picts *in the fartheſt part of the Iſland lay ſtill, onely ſometimes making Excurſions.* This is a conſiderable paſſage in *Gildas*, which ſhews, that even then the *Scots*, whom he calls *Iriſh Robbers*, were not *Inhabitants* of any part of *Britain.* For he calls *Ireland* their *home*, as before he ſaid upon the *ſecond Devaſtation* (as the Margin of *Joſelin*'s *Gildas* hath it) *that they came in their* Curroghs *over the* Scythian *Vale*, ſo he calls *the* Iriſh *Sea*, as *Nennius* calls the *Scots*, *Scytæ.* But if they had then inhabited in *Britain*, there had been no uſe of *Curroghs* to convey them over; and this had been their *proper Home.* (x) *Fordon* ſeems to have been aware of this *Objection*, and therefore ſaith, *The* Scots *and* Picts *took the* Iriſh *in to their Aſſiſtence*; But *Gildas* takes notice of no other *Scots* than thoſe that came out of *Ireland*, and returned back again. (y) *Buchanan* ſaith, *That upon the Succeſs of* Grimo *againſt the* Britains, *many Strangers came in to the* Scots *Aſſiſtence, and had their ſhares allowed them in the conquer'd Lands.* But he takes no notice of *Gildas* or *Bede*'s ſaying, *That thoſe very People who fought with the* Britains *returned home to* Ireland; *And the* Picts *were quiet in the utmoſt parts of the Iſland*; where there is no mention of any third ſort of People called the *Scots* in *Britain.* But (z) *Dempſter* undertakes from this place of *Gildas* to prove, *That the* Scots *and* Iriſh *were then diſtinguiſhed,*

(y) Gild. § 18. Bed. l. 1. c. 14.

(x) Scoti-chron. l. 3. c. 10.

(y) Hiſt. l. 5. f. 41.

(z) Apparat. ad Hiſt. Scot. l. 1. c. 3.

ſtinguiſhed, becauſe Gildas, *after he had mention'd the* Scots *and* Picts, *here names the* Iriſh *Robbers.* It is true, that *Gildas* before doth mention *the Scots* and *Picts*; but in this Place he onely ſpeaks of *the Iriſh* and *the Picts*, which is an Argument on the other ſide. For either *the Scots* had no ſhare in theſe *laſt Incurſions*, or they muſt be comprehended under the Name of *Iriſh*, having then no ſettled *Habitations* elſewhere but in *Ire-*
(a) Gild. § 20. *land.* But there is one Paſſage in (*a*) *Gildas* which ſeems to imply *that it was their Cuſtome to inhabit this Countrey*, but *Solito more* being there uſed, and they being then ſuppoſed out of *Britain*, the word *Inhabit* can onely imply making *a longer ſtay* here, as they were wont to doe when they had Succeſs. For their coming is deſcribed, like that of the *Bucaniers* in the *Weſt-indies*, and their Stay was as they liked their Entertainment.

From this time *Gildas* onely mentions *the Vices* and *the Fears*, and another great Plague among the *Britains*, before he comes to that *pernicious Counſel*, as he calls it, *for ſending for the* Saxons *by* Vortigern.

But before I ſpeak of that, while we are upon this Head of the *Britains* being thus expoſed to their Enemies, it will be needfull to enquire what that *Legionary Aſſiſtence* was which is mention'd in the *Notitia Imperii*, and at what time that was made; For if the Common Opinion be true, that it was made after the time of *Honorius*, then *Britain* could not have been left ſo deſtitute of *Roman Aſſiſtence* as *Gildas* and *Bede* ſay. For by that *Notitia*, here in *Britain*, under the *Dux Britanniarum* (who ſeems to have ſwallow'd up the Power of the *Comes Britanniæ*, whoſe bare Title is ſtill left in the *Notitia*) there was the *Preſect* of the *ſixth Legion* at *York*, of the *Dalmatian Horſe* at *Præſidium*, i. e. *Warwick*, probably firſt built in the time of *Didius Gallus* againſt the *Silures*, and ſo continued its Name after, as being a convenient Station to keep under the *Provincial Britains*; Of the *Caſpian Horſe* at *Dunum*, (*Doncaſter*;) Of the *Cataphractarii* at *Morbium*, (*Moresby* in *Cumberland*;) and ſo of others, at *Alone* (*Jerby* in the ſame County,) at *Dictum* (*Dignawey* in *Carnarvanſhire*,) at *Concangii Kendal* in *Weſtmoreland*,) at *Lavatræ* (*Bowes* in *Richmondſhire*,)

mondſhire,) at *Verteræ* (*Burgh* in *Weſtmoreland,*) at *Brovoniacum* (*Brongham* in the ſame County,) at *Maglona* (*Macleneth* in *Montgomery-ſhire,*) at *Magi* (old *Radnor,*) at *Longovicum* (*Lancheſter* in the Biſhoprick of *Durham,*) at *Derventio* (*Aldby* in *Yorkshire*;) And beſides theſe, there were many *Cohorts* diſpoſed *per lineam Valli*, along the Wall, as at *Segedunum* (*Seton* or *Seghill* in *Northumberland,*) *Pons Ælii* (*Ponteland* in the ſame County,) *Condercum* (*Cheſter* in the *Street,*) *Vindobila* (*Walls-end,*) *Hunnum* (*Severſhale,*) *Cilurnum* (*Silcheſter in Muro,*) *Procolitia* (*Prudlow,*) *Borcovicus* (*Borwick,*) *Vindolana* (*Wincheſter,*) *Æſica* (*Netherby* on the *Esk* in *Cumberland,*) *Magna* (*Cheſter* in the *Wall,*) *Amboglana* (*Ambleſide* in *Weſtmoreland,*) *Petrianæ* (old *Perith* in *Cumberland,*) *Aballaba* (*Appleby* in *Weſtmoreland,*) *Congavata* (near *Caudebec* in *Cumberland,*) *Axellodunum* (*Hexam* in *Northumberland,*) *Gabroſentum* (*Gateſhead* by *Newcaſtle,*) *Tunnocelum* (*Tinmouth,*) *Glanoventa* (a Place upon the *Wensbeck*, ſaith our Learned (*b*) Antiquary, (whoſe Judgment in the other I have follow'd) *ſome miles within the Wall*;) *Alione* (upon the River *Alne* in *Cumberland,*) *Brementuracum* (*Brampton* in the ſame County,) *Olenacum* (*Elenborough* in the ſame,) *Viroſidum* (*Warwick* on the *Eden.*) Now if all the *Military Forces* lay here *ſo near to the Wall*, after the time of *Honorius*, how came the *Britains* to have been in ſuch diſtreſs? But we have no certainty when this *Notitia* was made. If it were, as *Pancirol* conjectures, in the latter end of *Theodoſius* the younger, about *Anno Dom.* 445. Then all theſe *Roman Forces* were certainly *withdrawn*; and any new Supplies denied by *Aetius* in the 23*th.* of *Theodoſius*; Therefore this *Notitia* muſt relate to the *Roman Settlement* here, before the time that *Maximus* carried over the *Roman Legions*, which never returned to that *Station* which they had before. And although the Title ſeems to imply that it extended beyond the times of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; yet it cannot be underſtood of what then was, but of what had been in former times. For that the *Britains* had then no ſuch *Forces* among them is apparent by what hath been ſaid already.

(b) Camd. Brit. p. 669.

I now come to that fatal Counſel of ſending for the *Saxons* to come to their Aſſiſtence. It appears by (c) Gild. § 19, 20, 21, 23. (*c*) *Gildas*, That the *Britains* could come to no Settlement among themſelves. "For, ſaith he, *They a-*
"*nointed Kings, not according to the Will of God, but ſuch*
"*as were more fierce and trifel than others, and not long*
"*after they without Examination took them off, and ſet*
"*up worſe than they. If any one was more gentle and a*
"*Lover of Truth, he was the moſt hated and maligned, as*
"*a Betrayer of his Countrey, they minded not what was*
"*pleaſing or diſpleaſing to God; or rather the latter was*
"*more pleaſing to them. They acted ſtill contrary to their*
"*own Intereſt, and there was an univerſal Degeneracy of*
"*Manners in all ſorts of men; And thoſe who ſhould have*
"*given the beſt Examples, their Prieſts and Teachers,*
"*were as bad as others; Exteſſive Drinking, Heats and*
"*Animoſities, Contentions and Diviſions, Envy and Op-*
"*preſſion, were then ſo prevailing that they ſeemed to*
"*have loſt all Judgment of Good and Evil; ſo that then,*
"he ſaith, *The Saying of the Pſalmiſt was fulfilled*, He
"poureth Contempt upon Princes, and cauſeth them
"to wander in the Wilderneſs, where there is no Way.
"*And when neither Fear of their Enemies nor the Judg-*
"*ments of God in a raging Peſtilence would doe them*
"*good, then their Iniquities*, ſaith he, *growing full, like*
"*the Amorites, they fell into conſultation, what was beſt*
"*for them to doe againſt their Enemies Incurſions, and they*
"*all agreed to invite the* Saxons *over to aſſiſt them.*
"Upon which he breaks out into a ſtrange *Admirati-*
"*on* of that *Stupidity and Infatuation which the* Britains
"*were then under, to call in a Nation to help them whom*
"*they dreaded worſe than death.*

For the *Saxons* had been *terrible* for ſome time before to the *Britiſh Nation*; which was the *Occaſion* of calling the Shore on both ſides the *Saxon Shore*, and ſetting up ſuch an *Admiral* here by the *Romans*, who was called *Comes Littoris* Saxon' *per* Britanniam. Which ſhews that the *Saxons* were then very well known for their great *Piracies*, and had been ſo from the time of *Ca-*
(d) Eutrop. *l.* 9. *c.* 19. *rauſius*: For then, (*d*) *Eutropius* ſaith, *he was employ'd to*
ſcour the Seas from the Franks *and* Saxons *who were very*
(e) Tacit. *An.* 11. *troubleſome.* It appears by (*e*) Tacitus, *that* Gannaſcus,

with

with the Chauci, *did, in* Claudius *his time, infeſt the* Gallican *ſhore with Piracy.* (*f*) *Zoſimus* ſaith, *That the* Saxons, *who were the ſtouteſt of all the barbarous Nations, ſent out the* Quadi, *a part of their own People, into the* Roman *Territories.* By theſe *Quadi* (*g*) *Cluverius* and (*h*) *Bucherius* underſtand the *Cauchi.* But (*i*) Archbiſhop *Uſher* ſhews, *That theſe were neither the* Quadi *nor the* Cauchi, *but the* Chamavi, *from* Eunapius, *whom* Zoſimus *tranſcribes, and from* Julian *himſelf:* But from hence it appears, That the *Chamavi* were then accounted a part of the *Saxons*, who, according to (*k*) *Cluverius*, there lived near the River *Amiſia*, a great way on this ſide the *Elb* or the *Weſer*; And *Eunapius* places them *not far from the* Rhine. However, this proves, that the Name of *Saxons* then comprehended *Nations* of other *denominations.* But, to make this out, we are to conſider, that *Zoſimus* ſaith, *That in the time of* Conſtantius, *three* German *Nations brake forth as it were at once on the* Roman *Empire*; *The* Franks, *the* Alemanni *and the* Saxons; *and had taken and deſtroyed forty Cities on the* Rhine. And Saint (*l*) *Hierome* mentions the *Franks*, as lying between the *Alemanni* and the *Saxons.* *Theſe three*, as (*m*) *Beatus Rhenanus* obſerves, *comprehended the ſeveral Nations of* Germany; And, as the late Learned Biſhop of (*n*) *Munſter* ſaith, *The* Saxons *was a Name belonging to different, but neighbour Nations, which joyned together upon a common Intereſt.* And, not improbably, had their Name at firſt from the *ſhort Swords* they did commonly wear called *Sachs*; as the *Quirites* had their Name from *Quiris*, a ſort of *Spear*; And the *Scythians*, from *Scytten, to ſhoot with a Bow.* (*o*) *Witikindus* firſt mentions this *Etymology*, which is follow'd by others; but (*p*) *Reinerus Reneccius* and (*q*) *Gryphiander* do much more incline to another derivation, *viz.* from *Saſſen*, which in the *German* Tongue is the ſame with *Natives* or *Inhabitants*; And which in the modern *Saxon* is *Saten*; as *Groſs* is *Grote*; and ſo *Holſati* are the ſame with *Holt-ſaten, Men that lived in Woods.* But why this, which was common to other *Germans*, ſhould give a particular denomination to one ſort, is not ſo eaſie to apprehend: But *Tacitus*, ſpeaking of ſome of the *Northern Germans*, ſaith, *That the*

(f) Zoſim. *l.* 3.
(g) *Germ. Antiq. l.* 3.
(h) *Belg. Rom. l.* 7. *c.* 5.
(i) *Primord. p.* 309.
(k) *Germ. l.* 3. *c.* 14.
(l) Hier. *vit.* Hil.
(m) *Rer. Germ. l.* 1. *p.* 55.
(n) *Mm. Paderb. p.* 91.
(o) Witikind. *de Sax. l.* 1.
(p) Reiner. *de Sax. Origine, p.* 10.
(q) *De Weichbild. Saxon. c.* 70. *n.* 5.

common

common Badges of them are round Shields and ſhort Swords: And *the Arms of* Saxony *to this day*, as (r) *Pontanus* obſerves, *are two ſhort Swords a-croſs.* As to thoſe who derive the *Saxons* from the *Sacæ* of *Aſia*, as though they were *Sacaſones*; although there be Perſons of great Name who embrace that Opinion (among whom our (s) Mr. *Camden* is one) yet I think it no more probable, than that the *Germans* are derived from *the Plowmen of* Perſia, ſome whereof, *Herodotus* ſaith, were called *Germanii.* For a bare ſimilitude of Names is no ſufficient ground to judge of the *Affinity* of People; nor the agreement of *ſome Words*, as in the *German* and *Perſian Languages* (which Mr. *Camden* inſiſts on) to conclude the People of the *ſame Original:* Unleſs there be a probable account withall given, how they came to be propagated from each other, *i. e.* how the *Perſian Germans* came into theſe Parts; And how the *Sacæ* left their own Countrey to people *Saxony.* But under this Name of *Saxons*, not onely thoſe who originally had that Name, but all thoſe who joined with them, were comprehended. And it is obſervable, that not one of the three Names of the *German Nations* then in uſe was known in *Tacitus* his time. The *Alemanni* are firſt ſpoken of by (t) *Spartianus*, in the Life of *Caracalla*; and, as (u) *Agathias* ſaith from *Aſinius Quadratus*, *They were an Aſſociation of many People together under that Name*, as the Word imports. The Name of *Franks* was firſt known in the time of (w) *Aurelian*, and took in ſeveral of the old *German* Names, the *Scicambri*, *Chatti*, *Tenctteri*, and many others; Thence (x) St. *Jerome* ſaith, That *France* was that which Hiſtorians called *Germany*; And ſo the *Saxons* was a general Name for *the Northern Germans*, who chiefly lived upon *the Sea-ſhore*, from the *Amaſis* to the *Weſer* and *Elb*, as far as the *Eydor*, unto the *Cimbrick Cherſoneſe*, that had peculiar Appellations. For although the Teſtimony of (y) *Ptolemy* be commonly produced for the *Saxons* living on the back of the *Cimbrick Cherſoneſe*, yet Mr. *Selden's MS.* in both places, leaves out the Σ, and *Capnio*, as (z) *Ciſnerus* obſerves, contends, it ought to be read Ἀξονες. But I lay no weight upon this. But it is certain, that the People in *Tacitus* his time

(r) *Origin. Franc. l. 2. c. 2.*

(s) *Brit. p. 92.*

(t) *Vit.* Caracal.

(u) *Hiſt. l. 1.*

(w) Vopiſc. *in* Aurel.

(x) Hier. *in vit.* Hilar.

(y) *Geogr. l. 2.*

(z) *Præfat.* ad Cranz. Sax.

time were called *Foſi*, who lived in the Place where the *Saxons* are ſuppoſed to have been. (a) *Cluverius* makes a very unhappy Conjecture, that *FOSI*, in *Tacitus*, was corrupted, for *SASONI*; becauſe they lived in *Holſtein*, and about *Sleſwick*; But it is far more probable, That the Name of *Saxons* was then generally aſſumed by the *Northern Germans* when they joined their Forces together, and reſolved to make ſome Expeditions abroad, as the *Franks* and *Alemanni* had done. Which they did with ſo great Succeſs, that (b) *Zoſimus* ſaith, *in the time of* Julian *they went down the* Rhine, *and drove out the* Salii, *a Nation of the* Franks, *out of the Iſland of the* Batavi. But it ſeems very probable, That the *Saxons* had placed themſelves near the *Sea-ſhore*, from the time of *Diocleſian*, when *Carauſius* was employ'd againſt them. (c) *Oroſius* deſcribes them as *a People living on the Sea-ſhore*; and ſo do *Iſidore* and *Paulus Diaconus* after him. *Ammianus* (d) *Marcellinus* mentions them, as *bordering*, *in* Valentinian's *time*, *on the parts of* Gaul *as well as the* Franks.

(a) *Germ. Antiq. l. 3. c. 21.*

(b) Zoſim. *l.* 5.

(c) *Hiſt. l.* 7. *c.* 31.

(d) Marcel. *l.* 27.

But about this Point our two Learned Antiquaries differ, (e) *Camden* ſaith, *That the* Saxons *originally came from the* Cimbrick Cherſoneſe, *in the time of* Diocleſian; *And after, paſſing the* Elb, *they partly went into thoſe parts of the* Suevi, *which are ſince called* Saxony, *and partly into* Friſia *and* Batavia; *From whence*, he ſaith, *all the Inhabitants of the* German *ſhore, who uſed Piracy at Sea, were called* Saxons; by which he underſtands *the People from* Jutland *to* Holland. For which he produces the Teſtimony of *Fabius Ethelwerd*, of the Royal Bloud of the *Saxons*; Who ſaith, *That the* Saxons *lived upon the Sea Coaſts, from the* Rhine *as far as* Denmark. But Archbiſhop (f) *Uſher* will not allow, *that the* Saxons *had ſeated themſelves upon thoſe Coaſts then, But onely that they did exerciſe their Piracies along them.* He grants, *that before* Bede's *time, the* Saxons *took Poſſeſſion of the Places quitted by the* Franks, *when they went into* Gaul, *and not onely inhabited on the Coaſt between the* Elb *and the* Rhine, *but in the inner parts of the Countrey*; But he denies, *that this was before the* Saxons *coming into* Britain. But then *Fabius Ethelwerd* did not underſtand where his Countreymen lived before they came

(e) *Brit. p.* 93.

(f) *Primord. p.* 309.

came into *Britain*; And if the *Saxons* in *Valentinian's* time, were ſtill onely in the *Cimbrick Cherſoneſe*, how comes *Ammianus Marcellinus* to make them to border upon *the Parts of* Gaul? Are either *Jutland* or *Holſtein*, or *Sleſwick*, or any of thoſe Countries contiguous to *Gaul*? Yet his words are, *Gallicanos Tractus* Franci & Saxones *iiſdem confines*, &c. Which, that it is not to be underſtood, *that the* Saxons *were Neighbours to the* Franks; but *that the* Franks *and* Saxons *then bordered upon the* Gauls, will appear from hence, The *Franks* were then in *Taxandria*, as is plain by (*g*) *Ammianus* his words, in the time of *Julian*, and in *Batavia*; and withall, *Zoſimus* ſpeaks *of the* Salii, who were undoubtedly *Franks*, *being driven out of the Iſland of the* Batavi *by ſome of the* Saxons. And this was no Incurſion of the *Franks*, For *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſaith, *They did there fix their Habitations:* And the *Chamavi*, whom he makes a part of the *Saxons*, had that Command of the *Rhine*, that *Julian* made Peace with them, *becauſe without their leave*, *Corn could not be brought out of* Britain, as (*h*) *Eunapius Sardianus* ſaith: And ſo (*i*) *Libanius* and (*k*) *Zoſimus* ſay, *that* Julian *took greater care for the tranſporting Corn out of* Britain, *as had been accuſtomed, by building more Ships on the* Rhine *for that Purpoſe*; And (*l*) *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſaith, *he built Granaries inſtead of thoſe which were burnt.* Such a one the *Arx Britannica*, in the mouth of the *Rhine*, was made from a *Magazine*, and thence probably, ſaith (*m*) *Camden*, had its Name, *becauſe the Corn was conveyed thither out of* Britain. From thence it follows, that the *Saxons* ſo early as *Julian's* time, had the Command of the *Rhine*. For, whether theſe were the *Chauci*, the *Quadi*, or the *Chamavi*; yet *Zoſimus* ſaith, *That they were a People of the* Saxons. But it may be ſaid, *That this was onely a ſudden Incurſion, and that they were driven out again by the* Roman *Forces.* So indeed *Zoſimus* and *Julian* relate it, but how then come the *Saxons* in *Valentinian's* time to border ſtill upon *Gaul?* So that, if they were driven out by *Julian*, they quickly returned, and fixed their *Habitations* by *the Sea*, as the *Salii*, who were *Franks*, did in *Taxandria*; which was more within Land: and where, as (*n*) *Godfrey Wendelin* hath endeavoured to prove,

(g) *L.* 17.

(h) *Excerpt. Legat. p.* 15.
(i) *Orat. Fun.*
(k) *Zoſ. l.* 3.

(l) *L.* 18.

(m) *Brit. p.* 852.

(n) *Natale Solum Legum Salic. c.* 8.

prove, *the* Salick *Law was firſt made.* Which *Taxandria*, according to him, was bounded by the *Maes* on the Eaſt and North; by the *Tamera* on the South, and by the *Scheld* on the Weſt; And here, upon Submiſſion, the *Franks* were permitted to live; And this was thence forward called *Francia Minor*, and he mentions a place there ſtill called *Vranrijck*, the *Kingdom of France* (but a very ſmall one) and others called *Seilberg*, the *Mountain* of the *Salii*, *Seelbendens*, the *Salian Meadows*, *Seleheim*, the *Houſe* of the *Salii*: But the other *Franks* being by *Stilicho*'s means driven out of their Poſſeſſions beyond the *Rhine*, they came into the parts about *Tongres* near to *Taxandria*, and there joined in one Body; and ſet up *Kings among themſelves*, as he ſhews from *Gregorius Turonenſis*, and then they made that *Body of Laws*, called *the* Salick *Laws*. But to return to the *Saxons*. c. 11. c. 13.

(o) *Ubbo Emmius*, a learned and judicious Hiſtorian, gives this Account of the *Saxons* and their *Neighbour Nations*, who inhabited on the Northern Parts of *Germany*. The *Friſii* dwelt from the middle Stream of the *Rhine*, about *Utrecht*, to the River *Amaſus*, (*Eems*;) From thence to the *Elb* lived the *Chauci*, divided into the greater and leſſer by the *Weſer*; A great part of theſe, leaving their Native Soil, joined with the *Sicambri* on the *Rhine*, who, from their affecting liberty, were called *Franks*; beyond the *Elb* were the *Saxons* and the *Cimbri*; Theſe *Saxons*, being preſſed by the more Northern People, or for their own conveniency, came Southwards, and took Poſſeſſion firſt of thoſe Places where the *Chauci* dwelt; And by degrees prevailing, all the other People, who joined with or ſubmitted to the *Saxons*, were called by their Name: and among the reſt the *Friſii*; From whoſe Coaſts he ſuppoſes the two Brothers, *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, to have gon into *Britain*; and, returning thither, carried over a far greater Number with them, not ſo much to fight, as to inhabit there. He thinks it moſt probable, that *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, by their Deſcent, were originally *Saxons*; But that the greateſt part of the People who went over with them were rather *Friſians* than *Saxons*. Which he proves, not onely from the greater facility of Paſſage from the Coaſts of *Friſeland*, and the *Teſti-* (o) *Rer. Friſic.* l. 1. l. 3.

mony of their own *Annals*; but from the greater agreement of the *Engliſh Language* with theirs than with the *Saxon* or any other *German Dialect*. And becauſe (p) *Bede* reckons *the* Friſians *among thoſe from whom the* Engliſh *are derived*; and *Wilfrid*, *Wickbert*, *Willibrord* preach'd to the *Friſians* in their *own Tongue*, as he proves from *Marcellinus* his Life of *Suidbert*: And *Procopius* reckons the *Friſians* among the *Inhabitants of* Britain. But he ſaith farther, That the *Affinity of the Languages* continues ſtill ſo very great, that from thence he concludes many more to have gon out of *Friſeland* into *Britain*, than either of the *Saxons*, *Jutes* or *Angles*.

(p) *L.* 5. *c.* 10.

(q) *Primord. p.* 399, 400.

But to all this our Learned (q) Primate anſwers, *That* Hengiſt *and* Horſa *might be true* Friſians, there being a *Friſia* in the Southern parts of *Jutland*, which *Saxo Grammaticus* calls *the leſſer Friſia*, and is parted by the *Eidore* from the *Countrey* of the *Angli* on the Eaſt, and of the *Saxons* on the South. But whatever *Suffridus Petrus*, or ſuch Authours contend for, as to *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* being *originally Friſians*, *Ubbo Emmius* quits that Point upon (r) *Bede*'s *Genealogy*, and grants they were *Saxons*: being the Sons of *Vitgilſus*, whoſe Father was *Witta*, the Son of *Wecta*, whoſe Father was *Woden*, *of whoſe Race the Kings of many Provinces are deſcended*. It doth not ſeem at all probable, That theſe lived in the *leſſer Friſia*, which is hardly taken notice of by any but by (s) *Saxo Grammaticus*; and (t) *Pontanus* tells us, *is not above four* German *miles in length upon the Sea-ſhore*; But ſuppoſe that *Saxo* comprehended *Dithmars* under it; yet we have no certainty that the *Colony* of *Friſians* was removed thither before *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* came for *Britain*; and *Helmoldus* ſeems to imply that it was brought thither by *Adolphus* II. Count of *Holſtein*, about *Anno Dom.* 1137. But the Queſtion is not concerning *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, but the greater Number of the People, which might be ſtill of the greater *Friſia*: For which the affinity of the Language is a conſiderable Argument, which doth not depend merely upon the Credit of *Marcellinus* his Life of *Suidbert*, but upon the probability of the thing. For ſince ſeveral *Engliſh* went thither to Preach, and the Affinity of the Language continues ſo great ſtill, it is a good

(r) *L.* 1. *c.* 15.

(s) *L.* 14.

(t) *Deſcript. Daniæ.*

Argument

Argument to prove, either that the *Friſians* came over hither, or that the *Friſian* and *Saxon* Languages were then the ſame. And (*u*) *Procopius* his Teſtimony is not to be ſlighted, who places the *Friſians* in *Britain*; for, although he calls it *Brettia*, it is certain he means *great Britain*, becauſe he places the *Angles* together with the *Friſians* in it; So that he might as well queſtion the *Angles* as the *Friſians* coming hither; if *Procopius* his Authority ſignifie any thing.

(u) *De bell. Goth. l. 4. c. 20.*

I know that our moſt Learned (*w*) Primate takes this *Brettia* for the Iſland of the *Batavi*, becauſe *Joh. Leidenſis* ſaith, *That, upon the* Saxons *Invaſion, ſome of the* Britains *fled into* Holland, *and there, in the Mouth of the* Rhine, *built that famous Caſtle called* Britton, *and ſubdued the People thereabout.* But this ſeems to be very improbable, for any one that looks into the Deſcription of it, in (*x*) *Scriverius* his *Antiquitates* Batavicæ, will conclude it to have been *a Roman Work*; which a Perſon of his Judgment could not but diſcern; But he ſaith, *it was poſſeſſed then by the* Britains: Which depends wholly on the Credit of this *Joh. Gerbrandus* of *Leyden*, who was a *late Writer*, and of no great Eſteem with him, as appears by many Paſſages in his Book: But how came the *Angles* to live here with the *Friſians* and *Britains?* For that the ſame *Gerbrandus* is cited, who ſaith, *That when part of* Hengiſt's *Army was driven out of* Britain, *they built the Caſtle of* Leyden. And ſo we have the *Britains* dwelling there, being driven out by the *Saxons*; and the *Saxons* driven out by the *Britains*; onely to make this to be the Iſland *Brettia*, in *Procopius*, diſtinct from *Great Britain*. But to proceed.

(w) *Primord. p. 419.*

(x) *Antiq. Bat. p. 171, &c.*

(*y*) *Adamus Bremenſis*, who lived near to *Jutland*, ſaith, That *the* Saxons, *who went over into* Britain, *lived near the* Rhine. (*z*) *Engelhuſius*, lately publiſhed out of *MSS.* by *Maderus*, and who lived in the lower *Saxony*, ſaith, *That* Hengiſt *and* Horſa *went out of* Weſtphalia, *from a Place called* Enghere, *and inſtead of* Engerſchen, *called themſelves* Engelſchen. (*a*) *Suffridus Petrus* ſaith, *Thoſe People were called* Angrivarii, *and the Countrey* Angria, *which was ſubdued by* Udolphus, *Father to* Hengiſt *and* Horſa, *and Prince of* Friſia; *But their*

(y) *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 3.*

(z) *Chron. p. 111.*

(a) *De Orig. Friſ. l. 2. c. 15.*

Mother's Name was Suana, *Daughter to* Vectgiſtus, *a great Man about* Hamburgh. If he ſuppoſe *Hamburgh* then built, he was extremely miſtaken; for it was onely a *Caſtle* erected on the *Elb*, in the time of *Charles* the *Great*, for preventing the Incurſion of the *Sclavi*, as appears by the Teſtimonies of (*b*) *Eginhardus*, and (*c*) *Albertus Stadenſis*: After which he built *a City*, and founded *a Church* there, as *Adamus Bremenſis* and *Helmoldus* agree; Which City had its Name from a Neighbour *Wood*, called in the *Saxon*, *Hamme*; as (*d*) *Lambecius* ſaith, in *Ditmarſe* there are *two Woods* ſtill called *Suderhamme* and *Norderhamme*. But to return to *Suffridus*; *When, according to Cuſtome*, ſaith he, *a Colony of* Friſians *was to be drawn out*, Hengiſt *and* Horſa *were their Captains, and ſo went for old* England, *or* Anglen *in* Jutland, *where they were kindly received, by means of* Vetgiſtus; *and from thence took the opportunity of coming into* Britain. From hence he finds fault with *Crantzius*, for making *Angria* in *Weſtphalia* to be *Old Anglen*; and ſaith, *That* Bede *onely reckons the Mother's Line, and not the Father's*. But his *Occa Scarlenſis*, on whom he chiefly relies, is much ſuch another Authour as *Hunibaldus*, or *Geffrey*, or *Hector's Veremundus*; and therefore I ſhall ſay no more of him. For, I perceive, ſcarce any of the *Northern Nations* wanted ſuch Authours who endeavour'd to ſupply the defect of their *Hiſtories* by their own *Inventions*. So that it is neceſſary to lay open the pretended *Antiquities* in order to the ſetting forth the true.

(b) *Annal. A D.* 810, 811.
(c) *Stad. A. D.* 810.
(d) *Orig. Hamb. p.* 13.

The late Biſhop of (*e*) *Munſter*, a Perſon of far greater Judgment and Learning than *Suffridus Petrus*, calls his *Originals* of the *Saxons* by no better a Title than of *Canoræ Nugæ*, Sounding Trifles, *having no foundation in good Authority*. The Account he gives of the *Saxons* is this, That they at firſt lived beyond the *Elb*, where they had the ſame Situation with *Tacitus* his *Angli*, whom he makes the fartheſt of the *Suevi*, and therefore might well be the ſame People; That in *Bede's* time they were come on this ſide the *Weſer*, and were ſettled in *Weſtphalia*; and ſo they made a threefold *Saxony* of the *Oſtphali*, *Angrivarii* and *Weſtphali*, who were called *Olt-ſaxons* by *Bede* and others: Not that theſe

(e) *Monum. Paderbourn. p.* 88.
p. 90, *&c.*

theſe were all originally *Saxons*; But they bore the ſame Name, being united in one common League; So that, as all the *Germans* which went into *Gaul* were called *Franks*, ſo thoſe who prevailed in *Germany* and went into *Britain*, were called *Saxons*.

But (*f*) *Olaus Rudbeck*, after all, hath found the Seat of the *Saxons* more North than *Jutland*, where, ſaith he, *The Name of the* Saxons *could never yet be found*; *and where are no Mountains to be met with upon which* Ptolemy *places them on the back of the* Cimbrick Cherſoneſe, *but in that part of* Sweden *which lies between* Vermelandia *and* Angermannia *he hath found* Norſaxen, *and* Soderſaxen, *and* Saxehundari, *and* Saxewall, *and* Saxen, *&c. And in* Smaland *he hath diſcovered many Places taken from the* Angles, *as* Angleſted *Hundred*, Angloridia, Anglodorpia, Engelbeck, *&c.* (f) *Atlantic.* c. 21. § 16. c. 24. § 16.

But for our better underſtanding the Condition of that People who were called in by the *Britains*, it will be moſt material to conſider what is ſaid of them by thoſe who deſcended from them, and lived here not long after their coming.

(*g*) *Bede*, who was himſelf a *Saxon*, and lived neareſt the time of the *Saxons* coming hither, muſt be preſumed to have underſtood beſt who they were, and whence they came. And although at the beginning he makes the *Angles* and *Saxons* all one, ſaying, the *Angles* or *Saxons*, being invited by King *Vortigern*, came hither *in three Keels or long Boats at firſt*; yet when he adds, *that Numbers came afterwards*, he then diſtinguiſheth them into *three diſtinct ſorts of People*, viz. the *Saxons*, *Angles* and *Jutes*. The *Saxons*, he ſaith, *came from that Place which was then called* Saxony; *The* Angles, *from the Countrey called* Angulus, *which remained deſart to this day, and lay between the Provinces of the* Jutes *and* Saxons. And much to the ſame purpoſe (*h*) *Fabius Ethelwerd*; onely he ſaith, *that they came* de *Saxonia*, *Anglia* atque *Giota*. *Saxony*, he ſaith, *was then called* Ealdſexe; and for *Anglia*, he ſaith, *it lay between the* Saxons *and the* Gioti, whoſe chief Town in the *Saxon Tongue* was called *Sleſwic*, and by the *Danes*, *Haithaby*. But, by this Account, all theſe People who came hither to aſſiſt the *Britains*, and after conquer'd them, (g) *L.* 1. *c.* 15. (h) Ethelw. *l.* 1.

them, and poſſeſſed their Land, muſt come out of that *Cherſoneſe* called *Jutland*, taking it in the largeſt extent, not onely to the *Eidore*, but from the *Eidore* to the *Elb.* For if the *Angli* came from about *Sleſwic*, and lay between the *Jutes* and the *Old Saxons*; then the *Jutes* poſſeſſed all that part of the *Cherſoneſe* which is now called the *Northern Jutland*: and the *Southern Jutland* takes within it all that was poſſeſſed by the *Angli*, which reached no farther than between *Sleſwic* and *Flensburgh*, which in the modern Maps is ſtill called *Angelen*; And ſo the Countrey lying between the *Elb* and the *Eidore*, comprehending *Hoſtein*, *Dithmars* and *Stormar*, muſt be the Seat of the *Old Saxons*; which, by (*i*) *Adamus Bremenſis* and (*k*) *Helmoldus*, is called *Nortalbingia*; and, by (*l*) *Eginhartus*, *Saxonia Tranſalbiana*; by (*m*) *Albertus Stadenſis*, *Tranſalbia*; where the *Saxons* remained in ſo great Numbers *that* Charles *the Great could not totally ſubdue them, till after a War of above thirty years*, as the forementiond Authours aſſure us. And (*n*) *Eginhartus*, whoſe Authority is unqueſtionable, ſaith, *That* Charles *had no War more tedious or more fierce than that which he had with the* Saxons; *And in the concluſion of it, he was forced to remove* 10000 Saxons *on both ſides the River* Elb, *and to diſperſe them in ſeveral Parts of the Empire.* And as to that part of *Jutland* which *Bede* ſaith *was left deſolate to his time upon the remove of the* Angli; (*o*) *Adamus Bremenſis* gives another Reaſon for it, ſaying, *That* Jutland *was the moſt uncultivated part of all* Germany, *and the leaſt fit for humane habitation, being ſo barren and unfruitfull, and ſo obnoxious to Pirates from both Seas.* But ſince the *Saxons*, *Angles* and *Jutes*, coming into *Britain*, took Poſſeſſion of ſo great a part of it, as our *Hiſtorians* tell us, viz. *The* Jutes, Kent, *the Iſle of* Wight *and part of* Hampſhire; *The* Saxons, Suſſex, Eſſex, Middleſex, *the South part of* Hartfordſhire, Surrey, *the other part of* Hampſhire, Berkſhire, Wiltſhire, Dorſetſhire, Somerſetſhire, Devonſhire *and part of* Cornwall; *The* Angles, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, *the Midland and Northern Counties*; It deſerves to be conſidered whether, ſince there were ſo few Inhabitants then in *Jutland* and ſo many *Saxons* left behind, there be not far greater pro-

(i) *L.* 2. *c.* 8.
(k) *L.* 1. *c.* 5.
(l) *A. D.* 785.
(m) *Stad. A.* 785.
(n) *Vit.* Caroli.
(o) *De Situ Daniæ.*

probability that theſe ſhould come from all the *Maritime Coaſts* from the *Rhine* to *Jutland*, than merely out of ſuch an *unpeopled Countrey* as that was. I do not deny the diſtinction of People that *Bede* mentions, nor their coming *originally* out of *Jutland*, or rather through *Jutland*: But, I think, all Circumſtances conſidered, it is more probable that the *Saxons*, before that time, were come nearer to the *Rhine*, and ſo had greater Conveniency of removing themſelves over in ſuch great Numbers into *Britain*, as they did upon *Vortigern*'s Invitation, and the Diſcontents which ſoon happen'd between the *Saxons* and the *Britains*.

And it is obſervable, That thoſe who inlarge the Bounds of the *Saxons* do take notice of a difference in their Situation agreeable to what *Bede* ſaith; For (*p*) *Reinerus Reineccius*, a Learned *German* Antiquary, ſaith, *The* Saxons *were divided into three ſorts*, the *Oſtvali*, or the *Eaſtern Saxons*, whom the *Old* Saxon *Poet* calls *Oſterlingi*, *whoſe Limits extended*, he ſaith, *as far as the* Slavi, *i. e.* beyond *the River* Elb: the *Weſtvali*, whoſe Bounds, he ſaith, *came very near the* Rhine; And between theſe, he ſaith, were the *Angarii*, juſt as *Bede* puts his *Angli*, between the *Jutes* and the *Saxons*.

(p) De Orig. Sax. p. 11.

Inter prædictos media Regione morantur
Angarii, *Populus* Saxonum *tertius*-----

If this Diviſion of the *Saxons* be allow'd, we have here ſcope enough for all thoſe People to live in who came over into *Britain*, and number enough to come hither, and yet not to leave the Places deſolate whence they came. And it is not improbable that the Northern Nations thruſting one another forwards, for a greater Conveniency of living, thoſe *Saxons* who lived about *Holſtein* might come into *Weſtphalia*, and ſo be neareſt to the *Rhine*; The *Angli* came into the Place where the *Angrivarii* are ſeated; And the moſt remote Inhabitants of the *Cherſoneſe*, would then be the *Oſterlings* or the *Eaſtern Saxons*. This, upon the whole matter, ſeems to me the moſt probable way of reconciling what *Bede* ſaith with the *Circumſtances* of thoſe times, and with the *Friſians* coming in together with the *Saxons*,

Saxons, which he elſewhere expreſly affirms, as is already ſhew'd.

As to the time of the *Saxons* coming into *Britain*, in the common printed Copies of *Bede*, it is ſaid to have been *Anno Dom.* 409. and ſo it is in the late Edition by *Chiffletius*, out of the old *MS.* of *S. Maximin* at *Triers*; But that cannot be true, becauſe *Martianus* is ſaid to be Emperour at the ſame time. But in the *Chronology*, at the end of that Edition, it is ſaid to have been *Anno Dom.* 449. to which Mr. *Wheelock*'s *MS.* agrees; and *Aſſerius Menevenſis*, in his *Annals*; which is follow'd by *Fabius Ethelwerd*, the *Old* Saxon *Annals*, *William* of *Malmsbury*, *Henry Huntingdon*, *Matth. Weſtminſter*, and others. *Florentius Wigornienſis*, who generally follows *Marianus Scotus*, places it in the following year; *Valentinianus* and *Avienus*, *Conſuls*; but, according to *Marianus Scotus*, in the *Baſil* Edition, they were *Conſuls* the year before *Martianus* was *Emperour*, and he makes their coming in to have been when *Herculanus* and *Aſporatius* were *Conſuls*, Anno Dom. 453. But Archbiſhop (*q*) *Uſher* ſaith, *That appears by the* Faſti *to have been* Anno Dom. 452. or the ſecond of *Martianus*, by *Caſſiodore*. Two *Characters* of the time are certain; *viz.* that it was after the *third Conſulſhip of* Aëtius, and the Death of *Theodoſius*; And therefore it is to be wondred Mr. (*r*) *Camden* ſhould ſo confidently affirm that it was before *Anno Dom.* 449. But there are three things he goes upon which muſt be conſider'd. Firſt, *That* Vortigern's *Death was before St.* German's *return*; *But St.* German *died* Anno Dom. 435. *And therefore the coming in of the* Saxons *muſt be ſome time before.* As to *Vortigern*'s Death, before St. *German*'s return, he produces onely the Teſtimony of *Nennius*, who, in the Affairs of *Vortigern*, doth *Romance* ſo much, That even *Geffrey* of *Monmouth* was aſhamed to follow him. But as to the time of St. *German*'s Death, there are very convincing Arguments to prove *Camden* miſtaken. (*s*) *Honoratus*, in the Life of *Hilary*, Biſhop of *Arles*, mentions St. *German* as preſent when *Chelidonius* was depoſed by *Hilary* in his *Viſitation*; which (*t*) *Sirmondus* placeth not without Reaſon, *Anno Dom.* 444. as appears by the Epiſtle of *Leo* and the Reſcript of *Valentinian* upon *Chelido-*

(q) *Primord. p.* 405.

(r) *Brit. p.* 95.

(s) Vincent. Bar. *SS. Lerinenſ. Vit. p.* 112.

(t) *Concil. Gall. To.* 1. *p.* 79.

Chelidonius his *Appeal*, which bears date, *Anno Dom.* 445. But which is yet more conſiderable, (u) *Bede* ſaith, *That after his ſecond return he went on an Embaſſy to* Ravenna, *and was there kindly received by* Valentinian *and* Placidia, *and there died*; And, not long after, *Valentinian* was killed in the ſixth of *Martianus*: And therefore St. *German*'s Death could not be ſo ſoon as Mr. *Camden* ſuppoſeth. Add to this, that *Conſtantius*, in his Life of St. *German* ſaith, *That he ſate thirty years after St.* Amator *in his See, who died* Anno Dom. 418. But the *Sammarthani* ſay, *Anno Dom.* 420. (u) *L.* 1. *c.* 21.

As to the Teſtimony of *Proſper Tiro*, who ſaith, *That* Britain *was brought under the Power of the* Saxons, *the* 18th. *of* Theodoſius, it plainly contradicts *Gildas*; For this was before the *third Conſulſhip* of *Aëtius*, which was five years after; And in matters of the *Britiſh Hiſtory*, *Gildas* certainly deſerves the greater Credit, ſuppoſing it were the true *Proſper*.

His laſt Argument is from *the Calculation, at the end of* Nennius, on which he lays the greateſt Weight; which makes their coming in to be when *Felix* and *Taurus* were *Conſuls*, which agrees with *Anno Dom.* 428. But this was near twenty years before the third *Conſulſhip* of *Aëtius*, when the *Britains* were not yet in deſpair of Aſſiſtence from the *Romans*; Before which they never ſought for the *Saxons*. And I confeſs the Authority of *Gildas* and *Bede*, with the *Series* of the *Britiſh* and *Roman Affairs* at that time ſway much more with me than ſuch an *Anonymous Calculation*.

It is a ſtrange miſtake of (w) *Hadrianus Valeſius*, to make Vortigern, *King of the* Angles, *who were hired to aſſiſt the* Britains; But the Ambiguity of the words in (x) *Paulus Diaconus* ſeem to have been the occaſion of it: which had been eaſily prevented by looking into *Bede*: And ſo had another Miſtake in the ſame place, viz. *That onely the* Angles, *and not the* Saxons, *were invited over*: For *Bede* ſaith expreſly, *That the* Britains, *with their King* Vortigern, *agreed to ſend for the* Saxons; But it is a third miſtake, when he ſaith, *That the* Saxons *before this time had a part of the Iſland near to the* Picts; Which he proves from the Words of *Conſtantius* as to their joining with the *Picts* in one of their Battels. (w) *Rer. Francic. l.* 3. *p.* 143. (x) *Hiſt. l.* 14.

But the *Saxons* did frequently make Incurſions before, and in one of them might join with the other Enemies of the *Britains*, which is a very different thing from Inhabiting in any Part of the Iſland, which we have no Evidence that they did, till they were called in by the *Britains*.

The *Saxons* having received ſuch an Invitation from the *Britains* were unwilling to let ſlip ſo fair an Opportunity of coming into that Land, by the conſent of Prince and People whoſe Shores they had ſo long in-
(y) *L.* 1. *c.* 14. feſted. (*y*) *Bede* ſaith, *There was a particular Providence of God in it, to make them the Scourges of the Peoples wic-*
(z) Gild. § 23. *kedneſs.* (*z*) *Gildas* imputes it to *mere Sottiſhneſs and In-*
(a) Nenn. *c.* 28. *fatuation.* (*a*) *Nennius* intimates ſome *Domeſtick Fear* that was the *Occaſion of* Vortigern's *ſending for the* Saxons, as well as that of their *common Enemies, i. e.* he was very apprehenſive of *a ſudden Riſing* of the *Roman Party* yet left in the *Iſland*, and of *Ambroſius*. But he leaves it wholly in the dark, who this *Ambroſius* was, and what Cauſe *Vortigern* had to be afraid of him.
(b) Gild. § 25. (*b*) *Gildas* ſpeaks of *Ambroſius Aurelianus*, as of *a modeſt Man, and as almoſt the onely perſon of the* Roman *Nation then ſurviving, whoſe Parents were killed enjoying the Purple, and whoſe Poſterity was living in* Gildas *his time, but much degenerated from the Vertues of their Anceſtours.* This is the onely Paſſage which gives us any light into
(c) *L.* 1. *c.* 16. this matter which is repeated by (*c*) *Bede*, who more plainly ſaith, *That his Parents had Royal Authority, and were killed.* Who theſe *Parents* of his were we are left
(d) Galfr. *l.* 2. *c.* 6. onely to conjecture. The (*d*) *Britiſh Hiſtory* would clear the matter, if it deſerved Credit, for there we reade, *That* Aurelius Ambroſius *was one of the younger Sons of* Conſtantine, *King of* Britain, *who was forced to fly from* Vortigern *after the Murther of their Brother* Conſtans *by his contrivance.* But we know that *Conſtantine* and his Sons, *Conſtans* and *Julian*, were killed abroad; and it is not probable the *Romans* would have permitted any one of his Sons to have remained here; or, if they did, this *Ambroſius* muſt have been of Ripe years for Government long before this time. For *Conſtantine's* Life was taken away when *Theodoſius* was IV. *Conſul*, as *Idatius* and *Marcellinus* agree, *Anno Dom.* 411. So that

Ambroſius

Ambroſius could not be very young when *Vortigern* took the Government, in whoſe fourth year, they ſay, *The* Saxons *were called in.* But there is another Paſſage in *Gildas* which helps to explain this: For he ſaith, *That after they found themſelves deſerted by the* Romans, *they ſet up Kings of their own, and ſoon after put them down again, and made choice of worſe in their room*; This ſetting up of Kings he expreſſes by their *being anointed*; whether that Cuſtome were then uſed or not, it is plain, that he ſuppoſes that the *Britains*, in that Confuſion they were in, took upon them, without regard to their Duty, to place and diſplace them. But that he takes *anointing* in a *metaphorical* Senſe appears by what follows, *That the Anointers were thoſe who deſtroy'd them.* Among theſe in all probability was the Father of *Ambroſius*, and the rather becauſe, it is ſaid, *he was of* Roman *Deſcent:* For the *Britains* thought none then able to defend them that had not a *Roman Spirit* in him. At this time the *Britains* were left to their full Liberty by the *Roman* Empire, which, as *e) Bede* reckons, *had the Dominion here for* 476 *years*; And then there was no Line remaining to ſucceed in the Government, nor ſo much as to determine their choice, which made them ſo eaſily to make and unmake their Kings, who loſt their Purple and their Lives together. This muſt needs breed infinite Confuſions among them; and every one who came to be King lived in perpetual fear of being ſerved as others had been before him; And the natural conſequence of this Jealouſie of their own Subjects was, looking out for Aſſiſtence from abroad, which I doubt not was one great Reaſon of *Vortigern*'s ſending for the *Saxons*, hoping to ſecure himſelf by their means againſt his own People: although it proved at laſt the Ruine both of himſelf and his People. But this Jealouſie could not but increaſe upon them, while there was a Perſon deſcended from a former King, and of *Roman Parentage* in being; So that *Nennius* ſeems to have hit upon one of the main *Reaſons* which ſway'd *Vortigern* to ſend for the *Saxons*.

(e) L. 1. c. 11.

(*f*) Some have gon about to defend *Vortigern* ſo far as to ſay, *That he took the moſt prudent courſe he could for the benefit and ſecurity of his Subjects, by placing the*

(f) Hiſt. of Gavelkind, p. 401.

Saxons *upon the* Picts *Wall, and upon the* Kentiſh *Shores, which were thought fit to be ſecured by the* Romans. But, againſt whom? Was it not againſt theſe very *Saxons?* And is it the beſt way to ſecure the *Flock*, to ſet the *Wolves* to watch them? If they *had the Command of thoſe Shores*, could not they let in what *Numbers* they pleaſed of their own People to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt the *Britains?* And, was this for the *Peoples Security?* What Succeſs had there been in that Age, in letting in the *Barbarous Nations* upon the ſeveral parts of the *Roman Empire?* And, what could be expected in ſuch a Condition as the *Britains* were in, otherwiſe than what did happen when a fierce, ungovernable, military People were called in to defend a Nation ſo long kept under, and wholly almoſt unacquainted with the exerciſe of *Britiſh Valour*, and unexperienced in the Arts of War? Eſpecially when the Air, Situation, Fruitfulneſs and all ſorts of Conveniencies were ſo much above thoſe of the Countrey which they came from? So that *Gildas* ſeems to have a great deal of Reaſon, when he attributes this Act of *Vortigern's*, with a reſpect to the Nation, to mere *Sottiſhneſs* and *Infatuation.*

(g) *De Geſt. Sax. p.* 3. (*g*) *Witikindus* tells a formal Story of a Speech made by the *Britiſh Ambaſſadours* to the *Saxons*, wherein they magnifie the *Saxons courage*, and lament their own Miſeries, and in ſhort tell them, *If they would come and help them, their Land and themſelves would be at their Service, for they knew none more worthy to command them, ſince the* Romans *had left them.* But neither *Bede* nor *Ethelwerd*, although both *Saxons*, mention the leaſt Promiſe of *Submiſſion*; And it is apparent by their Quarrel with the *Britains* afterwards, that they came as *Mercenary Souldiers*, upon promiſe of Pay.

(h) Gild. § 23. For (*h*) *Gildas* ſaith, *The firſt Pretence of Quarrelling was for greater allowance*, which he calls their *Epimenia*, and *Bede*, *Annonæ:* Which ſhews upon what *Terms* they came. And *Witikindus* himſelf makes no other Pretence for their Riſing againſt the *Britains*, but *that the Countrey pleaſed them, and they found they were able to ſubdue the Inhabitants.* For after *Hengiſt* and his Company had taſted the Sweetneſs of it, they never left Wheedling that weak and vitious King (as all deſcribe

ſcribe him) with fair Promiſes, and neceſſity of more Succours to ſecure himſelf and to defend his Countrey, till they had by degrees got over Strength enough to bid defiance to the *Britains*. At firſt they ſeem'd very zealous and hearty againſt their common Enemies, and did great Service in beating the *Picts* and *Scots*; inſomuch that (*i*) *Buchanan* confeſſes, *they were driven beyond* Adrian's *Wall*; And ſome think their King *Eugenius* was then killed. (*k*) *Fordon* ſaith, *They went into* Albany, *and brought away great booty from thence*; and confeſſes, *that he found in a certain Hiſtory, that he was killed South of* Humber, *by the* Britains *and the* Engliſh. And it is eaſie to imagine how inſolent ſuch a Barbarous People would grow upon their Succeſs, when they knew the *Britains* durſt not oppoſe them. (*l*) *Bede* ſaith, *That they entred into a ſecret League with the* Picts *and the* Scots *after they had beaten them, and then took occaſion to quarrell with the* Britains; *Onely they ſtill endeavour'd to keep* Vortigern *firm to them.* To this purpoſe (*m*) *Nennius* tells the Story of *Hengiſt*'s fair Daughter *Rovena*, and how *Vortigern* was inſnared by her, to the great diſſatisfaction of the *Britains*. *Hector Boethius* ſaith, *That* Vodinus, *Biſhop of* London, *was killed by* Hengiſt, *for reproving* Vortigern *for that Marriage*; But we muſt not be too ſtrict upon *Hector* to put him to produce his *Vouchers*. And the (*n*) *Britiſh* Hiſtory adds, that *Hengiſt*, *being a ſubtile Man*, inſinuated ſtill into *Vortigern*, *That his own People did not love him, and that they would depoſe him, and ſet up* Aurelius Ambroſius: and by ſuch Arts they widen'd the Diſtance between him and his People, when they deſigned nothing leſs than the deſtruction of both.

(i) *Hiſt. l.* 5.

(k) *Scoti-chron. l.* 3. *c.* 13, 14.

(l) *L.* 1. *c.* 15.

(m) Nenn. *c.* 39.

(n) *L.* 3. *c.* 1.

It is certain, by what *Gildas* and *Bede* have left, that theſe heats ſoon brake out into open Flames, to the Ruine and Deſolation of the Countrey: But how the War began; and by what means it was firſt managed on the *Britiſh ſide* is not ſo clear. But (*o*) *Nennius* ſaith, *That when* Vortigern's *wickedneſs grew ſo great as to marry his own Daughter, he was condemned in ſolemn Council of the* Britiſh *Nation both Clergy and Laity, and upon the Advice of his Nobles, he withdrew himſelf from Affairs to a private Caſtle.* But the (*p*) *Britiſh Hiſtory* makes it worſe,

(o) Nenn. *c.* 34.

(p) *L.* 3. *c.* 2.

worſe, viz. *That the* Britains *forſook him, and ſet up his Son* Vortimer, *who behaved himſelf with great Courage and Reſolution againſt the* Saxons; And then reckons up *four Battels, which he fought with them*; *The firſt upon the* Derwent, *the ſecond at* Episford, *or rather* Aleſford, *the third upon the Sea-ſhore, when he drove them into their Ships, and ſo home*; but the fourth is not mention'd; After which *Geffrey* relates *Vortimer's being poiſon'd by his Mother-in-law, and the reſtoring of* Vortigern, *and his calling for the* Saxons *back again.* (q) *Nennius* ſpeaks of *Vortimer's* fighting with *Hengiſt* and *Horſus*, and adds *his Succeſs to have been ſo great, as to have driven them into the Iſle of* Thanet, *and that there he beſieged, and beat, and terrified them to that degree, That they ſent into* Germany *for freſh Succours*; *by which they were enabled to manage the War with various Succeſs againſt the* Britains. And then reckons up the three Battels, juſt as *Geffrey* doth; Onely the laſt, he ſaith, was upon the *Sea-ſhore, juxta lapidem tituli*; a little after which, he ſaith, *that* Vortimer *died* without any mention of Poiſon; But, he ſaith, *before his death he gave command to have his Body buried on the Sea-ſhore, where the* Saxons *fled*; *which was neglected*, and to which *Nennius* imputes their *Return, after which they could never be driven out. Becauſe*, as he ſaith, *It was the Divine Pleaſure more than their own Valour which made them ſettle here. And it is he that orders and rules the Nations of the Earth*; *And who can reſiſt his Will?* It is plain by all this, that *Nennius* conſulted the Honour of the *Britiſh Nation* as much as it was poſſible, and nowhere uſeth that freedom which *Gildas* doth, in ſetting forth the great *Sins* among them which provoked God to puniſh them in ſo ſevere a manner.

(q) Nenn. c. 45.

The Place where *Vortimer* deſired to be buried is called by *Nennius, Lapis Tituli*; from whence (r) *Camden* and Archbiſhop (s) *Uſher* conceive it to be *Stonar* in the *Iſle of Thanet*, near *Richborrow*; but *Nennius* ſaith onely, *It was upon the Shore of the* French *Sea*; From whence Mr. (t) *Somner* rather concludes it to be *Folkſtone* in *Kent*, becauſe of its *loſty Situation*, whereas Stonar *lies in a low and flat level, apt to Inundations*; But then *Nennius* muſt have miſtaken *Lapis Tituli*, for *Lapis*

(r) *Brit. p.* 240.

(s) *Primord. p.* 413.

(t) *Roman* Ports and Forts in *Kent* MS.

Lapis Populi; and, I dare ſay, *Nennius* was guilty of greater miſtakes than that. But, he farther obſerves, *that in the ancient Records, the name is not* Stonar, *but* Eſtonar, *which ſignifies the Eaſtern Border, Shore or Coaſt.*

(*u*) *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* gives this Account of theſe Proceedings: *That the* Britiſh *Nobility, forſaking* Vortigern, *ſet up* Vortimer, *who, with their Aſſiſtence, purſued the* Saxons *to* Derwent, *and there killed many of them.* Which ſeems to have been *Darent* in *Kent*; thence *Dartford*, as (*w*) *Camden* obſerves, is the ſame with *Darenford.* But he makes Vortigern *to have fled away with the* Saxon *Army, and to have given them all the Aſſiſtence he could: And then*, ſaith he, Vortimer *began to reſtore the* Britains *Poſſeſſions to them, and to rebuild their Churches, and to ſhew kindneſs to the Churchmen.* The next year, he ſaith, "The *Saxons* fought again with the "*Britains* at *Ailesford*; and after a ſharp Fight the *Sa*-"*xons* fled, and great multitudes of them were ſlain; "Not long after *Vortimer*, with his Brothers *Catigern* "and *Paſcentius*, and the whole Nation of the *Bri*-"*tains* made War with the *Saxons*, and in Battel "*Catigern* was killed by *Horſus*, and *Horſus* by *Vortimer*, "upon which the *Saxon* Army fled. The next year, "he ſaith, *Hengiſt* fought three Battels with *Vortimer*, "and at laſt he was forced to go back into *Germany*, "and four years after, *Vortimer*, ſaith he, was poiſon'd, "*Anno Dom.* 460. and buried in *London*, and then *Vor*-"*tigern* recalled the *Saxons.*

(*u*) Mat. Weſtm. A. D. 454.

(*w*) *Brit. p.* 233.

(*x*) *William* of *Malmſbury* ſaith, "That the *Britains* "and *Saxons* agreed for ſeven years after their Landing, "and then *Vortimer*, finding their Deceit, incenſed his "Father and the *Britains* againſt them, and ſo for "twenty years there was continual War and light "Skirmiſhes, and four pitched Battels. In the firſt he "makes their Fortune equal, *Horſa* being killed on "one ſide, and *Catigis* on the other. In the reſt, the "*Saxons* being always ſuperiour, and *Vortimer* dead, "a Peace was made; And ſo the *Britains* Affairs went "ill, till *Ambroſius* recover'd them.

(*x*) *De Geſtis Reg. l.* 1. *c.* 1.

(*y*) *Henry* of *Huntingdon* relates this Story after a different manner: He tells us, "That *Vortigern*, after the

(*y*) *Hiſt. l.* 2.

" the Marriage of *Hengiſt*'s Daughter was ſo hated, " that he withdrew to the *Mountains* and *Woods*, and " that he and his Caſtle were conſumed together. Af- " ter which *Ambroſius Aurelianus*, with *Vortigern*'s two " Sons, *Vortimer* and *Catiger*, fought the *Saxons*; And " he makes the firſt Battel at *Aileſtreu* or *Elſtree*, the " next after *Vortimer*'s Death at *Creganford* or *Crayford*, " in which, he ſaith, the *Britains* were quite beaten out " of *Kent*, and from thence he begins the *Saxons* King- " dom of *Kent*; The next, he ſaith, was at *Wippedſ-* " *fiede*, which was ſo terrible on both Sides, That " from thence he ſaith, *That the* Saxons *and* Britains *did not diſturb each other for a great while, they remaining within* Kent, *and the* Britains *quarrelling among themſelves.*

(z) *Chronic. A. D. 455.* (z) *Florentius Wigornienſis* therein differs from the reſt, that he makes the Battel at *Ægelſthrep* to have been between *Vortigern* and *Hengiſt*; But, he ſaith, after the Battel at *Creccanford*, the *Britains* fled to *London*, and left *Kent* to the *Saxons*: Wherein he follows the *Saxon Annals*; as he doth in the Account of the two other Battels; that at *Wippedsfleot*, and that which he calls the great *Victory* over the *Britains* by *Hengiſt* and *Eſca* his *Son*; which he places *Anno Dom.* 473. when he ſaith, *the* Britains *fled from the* Saxons *as from Fire.*

(a) *Chronic. l. 1.* (a) *Fabius Ethelwerd* agrees with the *Saxon Annals* and *Florentius* in theſe Particulars; And ſo doth *Aſſerius* in his *MSS. Annals*, as to *Vortigern*'s fighting with *Hengiſt*. Wherein they very much differ from the *Britiſh Traditions*; But after the Tranſlation of the *Britiſh Hiſtory* by *Geffrey*, the *Monkiſh Hiſtorians* generally follow that, as to the Succeſs of theſe Battels, and as to the Treachery uſed towards *Vortigern* by *Hengiſt*, upon *Salisbury Plain*, near *Ambresbury*; Where it is ſaid by *Geffrey*, that *the* Saxons *killed* 470 *of the* Britiſh *Nobili-*

(b) Nenn. c. 49. *ty, under a Pretence of a Treaty of Peace*; (b) Nennius *ſaith* but 300; *and that* Vortigern *was then taken, and was forced to give* Eſtſex, Suthſex *and* Middleſex *for his Redemption.*

This Story paſſes for current among the *Monks* and our late *Collectours* of *Engliſh Hiſtory*: And that which ſeems to add moſt weight to it is, That *William* of *Malmsbury*

Malmsbury relates it, but he reports it much as he found it in *Nennius*, onely inlarging on the drinking part, that went before the *Maſſacre*. But when I find the ſame Story in effect in (c) *Witikindas*, between the *Saxons* and the *Thuringers*, and the very ſame Word given *NEM ET EOUR SEAXES*, I am apt to think one was borrowed from the other. But I cannot but take notice of the Diſingenuity of (d) *Verſtegan*, who lays this to the Charge of the *Thuringers*, whereas *Witikindas* not onely ſaith, *the* Saxons *did it, but adds, That the* Saxons *ſtruck terrour into their Neighbours by it*, and ſaith, *They were thought to have their Name from it*, as *Verſtegan* himſelf thinks; Which were ridiculous, unleſs the *Seaxes* belong'd to the *Saxons*.

(c) De Geſtis Sax. l. 1.

(d) Verſtegan. p. 142.

All the certainty we have as to the matter of the Proceedings between the *Britains* and *Saxons* is, what (e) *Gildas* relates, which is very Tragical, *viz.* "That "all the Cities and Churches were burnt to the "Ground, from the Eaſt to the Weſtern Ocean; The "Inhabitants deſtroyed by the Sword or buried in the "Ruines of Houſes and Altars which were defiled with "the Bloud of the Slain; in which horrible Devaſta-"tion, the Rulers of the Church and the Prieſts ſuffe-"red together with the Common People. So that he "applies to this Deſolation the Words of the Pſalmiſt, "*They have caſt Fire into thy Sanctuary, they have defiled* "*by caſting down the dwelling Place of thy Name to the* "*Ground.* And, *O God, the Heathen are come into thine* "*Inheritance, thy holy Temple have they defiled*, &c. "And (f) *Bede* ſaith, A Fire was kindled by the hands "of the Heathens, which executed Vengeance on God's "People for their Sins, not unlike that of the *Chalde-*"*ans* which burnt *Jeruſalem* to the Ground: So here, "ſaith he, the wicked Conquerour prevailing, or ra-"ther the juſt Judge ſo diſpoſing, there ſeem'd to be "one continued Flame from one Sea to another; All "publick and private Buildings demoliſhed, the Prieſts "Bloud ſpilt upon the Altars, the Prelates and People "deſtroy'd together by Fire and Sword, and no Man "durſt to give them Burial. Many of thoſe that e-"ſcaped at preſent, as (g) *Gildas* ſaith, had their "Throats cut, and were thrown on Heaps in the

(e) Gild. § 24.

(f) Bed. l. 1. c. 15.

(g) Gild. § 25.

" Mountains, or delivered themſelves up to Slavery, to " avoid being famiſhed, and thought it a Favour to be " preſently diſpatched, and others hid themſelves a- " mong Mountains and Rocks and Woods to eſcape " the Fury of their Enemies, where they lived in con- " tinual Fear; and others went over into foreign " parts: Which was the Foundation of the *Aremori- " can Colony of Britains*; as will appear afterwards.

But that which prevented a total Deſtruction of the *Britains* now was, that it ſeems both by (*h*) *Gildas* and (*i*) *Bede*, *the* Saxons *having burnt ſo many Cities and Towns, and driven the Remainder of the Inhabitants into inacceſſible Places, did go home for ſome time*, " And in " that Interval, the diſperſed *Britains* gathered toge- " ther, and after moſt earneſt Supplications to God, " that they might not be utterly deſtroyed, they made " choice of *Ambroſius Aurelianus*, as their King; and, " under his Conduct, God was pleaſed to give them " Succeſs: And, from that time, ſaith *Gildas*, now " one Party prevailed, and then another (whereby " God made a farther Tryal of the *Britains*, whether " they would love him or not) to the Battel on *Ba- " don Hill*, wherein the *Saxons* ſuffer'd ſo great a Loſs; Which was forty four years after their firſt coming hither, as appears more plainly by *Bede*. But *Gildas* adds, " even at this time their Cities were far from " being inhabited as formerly; And when their Ene- " mies gave them reſpite, they deſperately quarrell'd " among themſelves. So that we have here a Conjunc- tion of ſo much Severity and Patience, ſuch Fears and Hopes, and yet ſuch Defeating of theſe Hopes, by their own Follies and Diviſions, as commonly fore- run a Churches Deſtruction and a Peoples Ruine.

(h) Gild. § 25.

(i) Bed. *l.* 1. *c.* 16.

This is the beſt and trueſt Account of the *Britiſh* Af- fairs from the *Saxons* coming till the Government of *Ambroſius*, by which we are to judge of the probabili- ty of *Nennius* his *Traditions*.

As to the particular Conduct of the *Britiſh* Affairs under *Ambroſius*, we have little more light than what *Traditions* and Conjectures give us. However, it may not be amiſs to lay together what we can find about them.

Nennius

(*k*) *Nennius* ſaith little more of him, than that *Vortigern was afraid of him:* and afterwards he confounds him with *Merlin*, when he tells *Vortigern*, after the Story of his being without a Father, *that he concealed his Father's Name out of Fear, but that his Father was one of the* Roman *Conſuls*; and ſo *Vortigern* gave him the command of the Weſtern parts of *Britain*. (k) Nenn. c. 45.

But (*l*) *Geffrey* gives a more ample account of him, not onely that he was one of *Conſtantine*'s Sons; But that he, underſtanding the condition of the *Britains*, came over from *Aremorica* with his Brother *Uther Pendragon* and conſiderable Forces, and after his Revenge upon *Vortigern*, burning him in his Caſtle, he makes the *Saxons* to retire beyond *Humber*, through the terrour of his Name; Whither *Aurelius* purſued them, and overcame *Hengiſt* in a ſet Battel, who fled to *Caer Conan* or *Conisburgh*, where they fought again, and *Hengiſt* was taken by *Eldol*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, and beheaded by him, according to the Advice of *Eldad*, then Biſhop of *Glouceſter*. (l) Galfr. *l.* c. 1, 2, 3.

(*m*) *Matthew Weſtminſter* tranſcribes theſe Paſſages out of *Geffrey*, and puts them to ſuch years as he fanſied; but it is obſervable that he makes *Aurelius Ambroſius* to have fought the *Battel* at *Wippedsfleet* with *Hengiſt* and his Son *Æſc*, 16 years before this; which according to him was ſeven years after his coming into *Britain:* So that even *Matthew Weſtminſter* durſt not wholly rely on *Geffrey*'s *Relation*. But, as to the death of *Hengiſt*, *Florentius* ſaith, *he died after he had reigned in* Kent *thirty four years, and* Æſca *ſucceeded him*, Anno Dom. 488. The *Saxon Annals* take no notice of *Hengiſt*'s death, but place *Æſc*'s Reign *Anno Dom.* 487. (m) Flores *Hiſt. A. D.* 487, 489.

(*n*) *Henry* of *Huntingdon* ſaith, *That* Hengiſt *died the fortieth year after his coming into* Britain, the 39th. ſaith *William* of *Malmsbury*. But neither of them mentions any violent Death by the hands of his Enemies, and that after a Victory by the *Britains* under *Aurelius Ambroſius*; which are ſuch Circumſtances they could not eaſily have omitted, if they had then heard of them. But if they had heard of them, and yet left them out, it is a ſhrewd Sign, they gave no Credit to them. We are then to conſider, that *Geffrey* of *Monmouth*, ac- (n) Huntingd. *l.* 2.

cording to *Leland*, flouriſhed in the time of *H.* I. Of King *Stephen* ſay *Bale* and *Pits*; but *Leland* obſerves, *That he dedicated his Tranſlation of* Merlin *to* Alexander *Biſhop of* Lincoln, *the ſame that was* Henry *of* Huntingdon's *Patron:* And *William* of *Malmsbury* dedicates his Hiſtory to the ſame *Robert* of *Glouceſter*, Son to *Henry* I. to whom *Geffrey* dedicates his *Tranſlation* of the *Britiſh Hiſtory*, who died 12 of King *Stephen.* So that in all probability *Geffrey*'s Book was ſeen by both theſe *Hiſtorians*, and ſince they do not follow him where they have occaſion to mention the ſame matters, They plainly diſcover they preferr'd *Nennius* before him, whom both of them follow; But it appears by *H. Huntingdon* he then paſſed under the Name of *Gildas.*

But theſe two Hiſtorians thought it beſt for them to decline taking any publick notice of *Geffrey*'s Hiſtory, it being ſo great a *Novelty* then, and probably enough in ſome eſteem with *Robert* of *Glouceſter*, whoſe Father, as (o) *Giraldus Cambrenſis* ſaith, *had lately ſubdued the* Britains *in* Wales; and ſuch a Hiſtory ſeemed to add to his Father's Glory. But after *Robert*'s death, *William* of *Newborough* very frankly delivers his Opinion of it, charging the *Original* with *Falſhood*, and the *Tranſlatour* with *Inſincerity. Geffrey*, in the Concluſion of his Hiſtory, mentions *William* of *Malmsbury* and *H.* of *Huntingdon*, as then Writing the *Engliſh Hiſtory*; But he bids them not to meddle with the *Britiſh* Kings, ſince they had not the *Britiſh MS.* which *Walter* of *Oxford* brought out of *Britany.* But they do not forbear to make uſe of *Nennius*; and *Huntingdon* tranſcribes ſeveral things out of him; But they do not inlarge or alter or adorn their Hiſtory in one Point from the *Britiſh MS.* although in all likelyhood ſet forth before their Death.

(o) Cambr. *l.* 2. *c.* 1.

As to what he next adds, *That after his Victory over the* Saxons, Aurelius Ambroſius *called the Princes and Great Men together at* York, *and gave order for repairing the Churches which the* Saxons *deſtroyed*, there is far greater probability in it. For after the Battel at *Wippedſfleet*, which was ſeventeen years after the *Saxons* coming; *H. Huntingdon* ſaith, *Things remained quiet for a good*

a good while between the Britains *and* Saxons; and in that time it is reaſonable to preſume that *Ambroſius* and the *Nobles* and *People* did their endeavour towards the recovering the honour of their *Churches*, as well as of the *Kingdom*. And after the care he took in other places, ſaith *Geffrey*, he marched to *London*, which had ſuffered as well as other Cities; and having called the diſperſed Citizens together, he went about the repairing of it; all his deſign being the reſtoring the Church and Kingdom. From thence he went to *Wincheſter* and to *Salisbury*. And in the paſſage thither *Geffrey* launches out to purpoſe in his *Hiſtory of* Stonehenge, *tranſlated*, ſaith he, *by* Merlin *out of* Ireland, *to make a Monument for the* Britiſh *Nobles, ſlain there by* Hengiſt's *Treachery:* Which is ſuch an *Extravagancy* that it is to be wondred any ſhould follow him in it, and yet *Matt.* (*p*) *Weſtminſter* tranſcribes the main of it; and (*q*) *Walter Coventry* ſets it down for *authentick Hiſtory*; But he adds two circumſtances which make it ſeem probable that *Stonehenge* had ſome Relation to *Ambroſius*, *viz.* That here *Ambroſius* was *Crowned*, and was not long after *buried*; from whom (*r*) *Polydore Virgil* makes it the *Monument of Ambroſius*; and *John* of *Tinmouth* in the Life of *Dubricius* calls it *Mons Ambroſii:* And the Name of *Ambresbury* near it doth much confirm the probability, That it had rather a reſpect to *Ambroſius*, than either to the *Romans* or the *Danes*. But I cannot now inſiſt on this.

(p) Flores, *A. D.* 490.
(q) W. Coventry *in Præfat.*
(r) Polyd. Virg. *Hiſt. l.* 3.

(*s*) *Matthew Weſtminſter* confirms *Geffrey's* Relation concerning the great Zeal of *Ambroſius* in repairing the *Britiſh Churches* every where, and ſetting up Divine Worſhip in them, and giving great incouragement to the Clergy to perform all Divine Offices, and particularly to pray for the Proſperity of the Church and Kingdom. But *Geffrey* adds yet farther concerning him, *that in a ſolemn Council of the* Britains *he appointed two Metropolitans for the two Vacant Sees at that time*, viz. Sampſon *one of eminent piety for* York, *and* Dubricius *for* Caer-leon. This ſaith *Matt. Weſtminſter* was done *An. Dom.* 490. and he makes them both to live and flouriſh *An. Dom.* 507. But he ſaith, *That* Sampſon *was afterwards driven over to* Aremorica, *and there*

(s) Flores *Hiſt. A. D.* 488.

was

was Archbiſhop of Dole *among the* Britains. For *Anno Dom.* 561. he ſaith, *Another* Sampſon *ſucceeded in that See, the former who came out of* Great Britain *to the* Leſs. *Sigebert* of the old Edition, *Anno Dom.* 566. ſpeaks of Sampſon *then Archbiſhop of* Dole, *Kinſman to* Maglorius, *who came from the* Britain *beyond the Sea to that on this ſide.* This ſecond *Sampſon's* Life is extant in the *Bibliotheca Floriacenſis*, where he is ſaid to have been born in *Britain*, and the Scholar of *Iltutus*, and conſecrated by *Dubricius*. But (*t*) *Giraldus Cambrenſis* ſaith, *The Pall was carried over from* Wales *to* Dole, *in the time of another* Sampſon, *who was the 25th. from St.* David, *and went over becauſe of the Plague which diſcoloured People like the Jaundice, and therefore called* Flava Peſtis: Which is tranſcribed by (*u*) *Roger Hoveden.* But here are ſeveral Miſtakes in this Account. For there was no ſuch thing as a *Pall* then known or uſed in the *Weſtern Church*; And if this *Sampſon* went over on the occaſion of that *Plague*, there could not be 25. between *St. David* and him: For in the Life of *St. Teliaus*, *St. David's* Siſter's Son, that *Plague* is deſcribed, and then *Sampſon* is ſaid to be *Archbiſhop* of *Dole*, and to have received *Teliaus* and his Company with great joy, having been School-fellows under *Dubricius*, and *Sampſon* being conſecrated by him. But ſtill we have two *Sampſons* Archbiſhops of *Dole*, and in the time of the great Controverſie about that Archbiſhoprick, (of which afterwards) it was a Queſtion from which the Title was derived. And *Innocent* III. as *Giraldus* relates, ſaid it was from this *Sampſon* Archbiſhop of *York:* but the *Sammarthani* onely mention him that came from *St. Davids*, when *Maglorius* ſucceeded among the *Aremorican Britains*; but we are not yet come to them.

(t) *Itiner.* Camb. *l.* 2. *c.* 1.

(u) Hoveden, *p.* 454.

It is obſerved by *H.* of (*w*) *Huntingdon*, that after the *Britains* had a little reſpite from their Enemies, they fell into Civil diſſenſions among themſelves, which is very agreeable to what *Gildas* had ſaid. Of this the (*x*) Britiſh *Hiſtory* gives no improbable account, when it relates that one of *Vortigern's* Sons called *Paſcentius*, raiſed a Rebellion in the North againſt *Ambroſius* among the *Britains*, who were overcome by him, and put to flight; but afterwards he hired a *Saxon* to poiſon

(w) Huntingd. *l.* 2.

(x) Galf. *l.* 5. *c.* 6.

ſon *Ambroſius* at *Wincheſter*. This ſaith *Matthew Weſtminſter* happen'd *Anno Dom.* 497. But we are not to paſs over what he affirms of him, *Anno Dom.* 485. viz. *That he commanded in the Battel at* Mecredsburn *againſt* Ælla *and his Sons, in which they were ſo much worſted as to ſend home for Supplies*, as he ſaith. This *Ælla* and his Sons *Cymen*, *Plenting* and *Ciſſa* came into *Britain*, *Anno Dom.* 477. and landed at a place from his eldeſt Son called *Cymenſhore*, on the Coaſts of *Suſſex*. (y) *Camden* ſaith *it hath loſt its Name*; But he proves from a *Charter* of *Cedwalla* to the Church of *Selſey* it muſt be near *Wittering*. Here *Ælla* and his Army fought the *Britains* at his firſt Landing, and forced them to retire to *Andredeſwald*, ſay the *Saxon Annals*, and *Matt. Weſtminſter*, *Florentius* and *Huntingdon*. The *Saxon Annals* and *Huntingdon* call it *Andredeſleage*: by that no queſtion is meant the vaſt *Wood* which began in *Kent*, and ran through *Suſſex* into *Hampſhire*, called by the *Britains Coid Andred*, by the *Saxons Andred*, and *Andreſwald*; from whence as Mr. *Somner* obſerves, that part of *Kent* where the Wood ſtood is ſtill called the *Weald*; and (z) *Lambard* obſerves, *that no Monuments of Antiquity are to be met with in the* Weald *either of* Kent *or* Suſſex. The *Saxons* after this Battel continued to inhabit on the *Shore*, till at laſt the *Britains* finding them to incroach farther, reſolved to fight them at a place called *Mecredsburn*. And a different account is given of the Succeſs of this Battel: The *Saxon* Annals and *Ethelwerd* onely mention it, boaſting of no Victory; *Florentius* makes it *a clear Victory on the* Saxon *ſide*: Matt. Weſtminſter *ſaith* Ælla *quitted the field, but confeſſeth the* Britains *had great loſs*: H. *of* Huntingdon *ſaith, It was a drawn Battel, both Armies having ſuſtained great damage and avoiding each other.* After this *Ælla* and *Ciſſa*, ſay the *Saxon* Annals, *beſieged* Andredeſceſter *and killed all the Inhabitants, leaving not one* Britain *alive*; and ſo *Florentius* and *Matt. Weſtminſter* relate it. But he (a) ſaith, *That the* Britains *came out of the Wood, and galled the* Saxons *ſo much, that they were forced to divide their Army; and the Inhabitants periſhed by Famine as well as by the Sword*: And he obſerves *that the* Saxons *utterly demoliſhed the City, and the*

(y) *Brit. p.* 223.

(z) *Perambulation of* Kent, *p.* 211.

(a) Matt. Weſt. *A. D.* 492.

the place where it ſtood was in his time ſhewed to Travellers. Therefore the queſtion among our Antiquaries, which was the *Anderida* of the Ancients, *Newenden* or *Haſtings* or *Pemſey* is quite out of doors, unleſs one of theſe be proved to be built in the place of *Anderida* ſince *Matt. Weſtminſter*'s days; which were towards the end of *Edw.* 3. Thoſe words (*b*) *Camden* applies onely to *H.* of *Huntingdon*, and he ſaith *it was new built in* Edw. 1. *his time, and therefore called* Newenden; but they are likewiſe *Matt. Weſtminſter*'s who lived after that time, and therefore it cannot be *Newenden* if it were rebuilt in the time of *Edw.* 1. for he ſaith, *The deſolate place was ſhewed in his time*; unleſs one tranſcribed the other, without any regard to the difference of their own times.

(b) *Brit. p.* 247.

(c) Galfr. *l.* 6. *c.* 2. After *Ambroſius* his death, according to the (*c*) *Britiſh Hiſtory*, his Brother *Uther Pendragon* ſucceeded, who routed the *Saxons* in the *North*, relieved *York* beſieged by them, took the Sons of *Hengiſt* Priſoners, marched to *London*, and there called a *Parliament*, and was ſolemnly Crowned, and fell out with *Goalois* Duke of *Cornwall*, about his Wife *Igerna*, and under his ſhape had King *Arthur* by her; but her Husband was killed at the Siege of his Caſtle. After which it is ſaid, that he overcame the *Saxons* at *Verulam*, where he was after poiſoned by their means, and his Son *Arthur* ſucceeded.

This is the ſumm of what is there more at large related; but taking it all together, it is a very blind and partial account of the proceedings between the *Britains* and *Saxons* of that time. For even *Matt. Weſtminſter*, *Anno Dom.* 494. takes notice of *Cerdic* and *Kenric* his Son, Landing with new Forces at a place called from him *Cerdicſhore*, (near *Tarmouth* ſaith (*d*) *Camden* where the name *Cerdicſand* ſtill remains) and fought the *Britains* at their firſt Landing, till they were forced to withdraw and leave room for them, who after went into the Weſtern parts, and laid the foundation of the Kingdom of the *Weſt Saxons.* To the ſame purpoſe *Florentius*, *Ethelwerd* and *Huntingdon.* Seven years after him came *Port* and his two Sons *Bleda* and *Magla*, and arrived at *Portſmouth*, which had its Name from him, as the ſame Authours inform us from the

(d) *Brit. p.* 348.

Saxon

Saxon Annals. Now how comes *Geffrey* to think of none of theſe, but onely of *Hengiſt*'s two Sons in the North? Beſides, he lets ſlip one of the greateſt Battels that was fought between *Cerdic* and *Nathanleod*, and pretends to give no account at all of it. This the *Saxon* Annals, *Florentius*, *Ethelwerd* and *Matt. Weſtminſter* all place *Anno Dom.* 508. But *Huntingdon* the ſixtieth year after the firſt coming of the *Saxons*. This *Nazaleod*, as he calls him, was *the greateſt King of the* Britains, *one of great Fame and Pride*, from whom the Countrey about *Charford* did take its Name. At this place the whole Forces of the *Britains* were gathered together, and *Cerdic* procured aſſiſtence from *Æſc* of *Kent*, from *Ælla* of *Suſſex*, from *Port* and his Sons; ſo that here was a pitched Battel of the Strength of both ſides; and *Nazaleod* behaved himſelf with ſo much Courage, that he drove *Cerdic* out of the Field, and purſued him; which his Son who commanded the other Wing perceiving, followed him cloſe and cut him off, and 5000 of his Men who fled upon the death of their King. And from this memorable Battel, the Place was called *Cerdicsford*, and ſince *Charford*, upon the *Aven* between *Salisbury* and *Ringwood*. But who was *this mighty King of the* Britains, who loſt his Life in this Battel? (e) Mr. *Camden* profeſſes *he cannot gheſs*; unleſs it were *Aurelius Ambroſius*, whoſe Name he obſerves the *Saxon* Annaliſts never mention, nor the Battels wherein they were worſted. And the *Britiſh* Hiſtory is even with them for that, which takes no notice of this great Fight, wherein their King was ſlain. *Matt. Weſtminſter* will not have him to be *King*, but onely to be *General* under *Uther*, who was then ſick, which contradicts *Ethelwerd*, and *Huntingdon*, and *Florentius*, who affirm him to have been then *King*, and as *Huntingdon* ſaith *Rex Maximus Britannorum*; which ſeems to imply, that there were more *Kings* then among the *Britains*, as there were among the *Saxons*; and that one was the *Chief* as in the *Heptarchy*. Archbiſhop (f) *Uſher* thinks this King was the ſame whom the *Britiſh* Hiſtory calls *Uther*, and that *Nathanleod* was his true Name, and *Uther* was a Nickname to denote his *fierceneſs*, as the Annotatour on

(e) Brit. p. 187.

(f) Prim. p. 466.

(g) Nenn. c. 63. (g) *Nennius* calls *Arthur Mab Uter* in the *Britiſh* Tongue for the ſame reaſon: And ſo *Arthurus* in *Latine* from the *Britiſh Arth*, which ſignifies *a Bear*. This is an ingenious conjecture: But we are not ſo ſure there ever was ſuch a King as *Uther*, as we are from *Gildas*, that there was ſuch a one as *Ambroſius*; But *Gildas* ſaith, *That ſome of the Race of* Ambroſius *were living in his time*; therefore he died not without iſſue, as the *Britiſh* Hiſtory ſuppoſes, and this might probably be his *Son*, who was ſlain in this Battel.

But what then is to be ſaid to King *Arthur*, who was Son to *Uther*, and ſucceeded him, whoſe mighty Feats are ſo amply related by the *Britiſh* Hiſtory? I think both ſorts are to blame about him, I mean thoſe who tell *Incredible Tales* of him, ſuch as are utterly inconſiſtent with the *Circumſtances* of the *Britiſh Affairs* at that time; and thoſe who deny there was any ſuch Perſon, or of any conſiderable *power* among the *Britains*. *William* of *Malmsbury* takes notice of the *Britiſh* Fables about him, (and if I miſtake not makes a ſevere reflexion upon *Geffrey*'s Hiſtory without naming it, when he ſaith, *Hic eſt Arthurus de quo Britonum Nugæ hodieq; delirant*) but he wiſhes a true Account had been given of him, *for he was the ſupport of his Countrey for a long time, who ſharpned the broken Spirits of the* Britains, *and made them Warlike*. But after all, he will not allow him to have been *Monarch* in *Britain*, but onely the *General* under *Ambroſius*. And in all this *William* keeps cloſe to *Nennius*; for *Nennius* ſpeaking of the Wars between the *Britiſh* Kings and the *Saxons*, ſaith of *Arthur*, *Ipſe Dux erat Bellorum*; although he exceeds the bounds of Truth in the next Words, *& in omnibus Bellis Victor extitit*, he came off always Conquerour. If this had been true, the *Saxons* could never have kept footing in *England*. I will allow the *Saxon* Annals to be partial in not recounting their Loſſes; and on the other ſide it is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the *Saxons* ſhould be always beaten, and yet always get ground even in *Arthur*'s days. For after the great Battel wherein *Nathanleod* was killed, (the onely *Britiſh* King mentioned in the *Saxon* Annals) *Cerdic*'s two Nephews, *Stuff* and *Witgar*, landed upon

upon *Cerdicſhore*, which (*h*) *Matt. Weſtminſter* here places on the *Weſtern Coaſts* (and not on the *Eaſtern* as *Camden* doth, which ſeems more probable, becauſe they came with ſupplies to *Cerdic* their Uncle) but all agree, that as they fought upon their Landing, they had the better of the *Britains*; *Huntingdon* ſaith, *It was ſuch a Victory as laid open the Countrey to them; the force of the* Britains *being ſcattered, God having caſt them off.* Where was *Arthur* at this time? Again, five Years after ſaith *Ethelwerd*, *Cerdic* and *Cenric*, came the ſecond time to *Cerdicsford*, and there fought the *Britains*; the *Saxon* Annals ſay nothing of the *Victory*, but *Florentius* gives it to the *Saxons*, and ſo doth *Huntingdon*, who ſaith, *the* Britains *had a terrible blow that day.* And as an evidence of the *Saxons* Conqueſt, *Ethelwerd* ſaith, *That year* Cerdic *began the Kingdom of the Weſt* Saxons: From that very day ſaith *Huntingdon*, *Anno Dom.* 519. Here *Matt. Weſtminſter* is ſo hard put to it, that taking in King *Arthur* at *Anno Dom.* 516. he is forced to leave out this Battel, and to tell *Geffrey's* Story of King *Arthur's* beating the *Saxons* in the North about *York* and *Lincoln*, and driving them as far as the *Caledonian Wood*, and takes no notice of *Kerdic's* ſetting up a *Kingdom* in the *Weſt:* But the following Year, *Anno Dom.* 520. he brings *Colgrin*, *Badulph* and *Cheldric* to *Totnes* with new Forces, with which they beſieged *Bath*; And then *Arthur* with his *Caliborn* did incredible execution, for he ſaith, *he killed* 840 *with his own hands, and ſo totally routed the* Saxons; and not a word of *Kerdic* or *Kenric*, whereas *Anno Dom.* 528. he remembers them again, and tells what a mighty Army they had in the Iſle of *Wight*, which *H. Huntingdon* calls *Witland*, and what ſlaughter they made at *Witgaresburgh*, which had its Name from *Witgar*, one of *Kerdic's* Nephews, to whom he gave the Iſle of *Wight*, and was buried at *Witgar* ſaith *Huntingdon.*

(h) Mat. Weſtm. A. D. 514.

But before this there was another Battel between *Kerdic* and the *Britains* at *Cerdics Leage*; which *Huntingdon* makes the ſame with *Cerdicsford*, in which there was great ſlaughter on both ſides, *and in that time*, he ſaith, *many* Saxons *came in out of* Germany

into Eaſtangle *and* Mercia, but they were not yet formed into Kingdoms; however innumerable Battels were fought in many places by Perſons whoſe Names are not recorded. And now *Huntingdon* mentions *Arthur*, as a *moſt valiant General on the* Britiſh *ſide, who commanded in twelve Battels, in all which he had the better*; and ſo reckons them up in order juſt as (*i*) *Nennius* had done, whom he tranſcribes, and when he hath ſet down the places of the twelve Battels he confeſſes they were then unknown, but he adds, *that there was almoſt perpetual fighting, in which ſometimes one ſide had the better and ſometimes the other*; but ſtill the *Saxons* poured in greater *Numbers* upon them: And (*k*) *Nennius* ſaith, *They increaſed here without intermiſſion, and fetched new Kings out of* Germany *to Rule over them.* And then ſets down the foundation of the Northern *Saxon* Kingdom under *Ida*, who govern'd all beyond *Humber* twelve years, which was branched into two, *Deira* and *Bernicia.* This *Kingdom* began, ſaith *Huntingdon*, in the thirteenth year of the Reign of *Kenric* (who ſucceeded *Kerdic*) *Anno Dom.* 547. and *Ida* deſcended from *Woden* was the firſt *King. Kenric* in his eighteenth year, ſaith the ſame Authour, fought againſt the *Britains*, who came with a powerfull Army to *Salisbury*, where he diſperſed them and made them fly. But this is ſuppoſed to have hapned after *Arthur*'s death, which is placed by *Matt. Weſtminſter* and others *Anno Dom.* 542.

(i) Nenn. c. 64.

(k) Nenn. c. 65.

c. 66.

We muſt therefore look back to judge of *Arthur*'s proweſs. We have already ſeen ſeveral *Saxon* Kingdoms eſtabliſhed, that of *Kent*, of *South-Saxons*, of *Weſt-Saxons* and *Saxons* in other parts, not yet gather'd into *Kingdoms*; and beſides theſe, before *Kerdic* had gained the *Iſle of Wight*, *H. Huntingdon* ſaith, *The Kingdom of Eaſt* Saxons *was founded by* Erkinwin, *whom* Slede *ſucceeded, who married the Daughter of* Ermenerick, *King of* Kent, *Siſter of* Ethelbert, *and Mother to* Sibert *the firſt Chriſtian King there.* Now, if *Arthur* were a King ſo powerfull, ſo irreſiſtible as the *Britiſh Hiſtory* makes him, how came all theſe *Kingdoms* to grow up under him? Why did he not ſend the *Saxons* all out of *Britain*? Nay, how came *Cerdic* and *Kenric*

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to grow ſo ſtrong in the *Weſtern parts* as they did? *Cerdic*, ſaith (*l*) *William* of *Malmsbury*, came hither eight years after the death of *Hengiſt*, *Anno Dom.* 495. He was here 24 years before he ſet up his Kingdom, and lived in it 16 years. This was in the midſt of *Arthur*'s fame and greatneſs. If it were ſuch as *Geffrey* deſcribes, would he have ſuffred ſuch a terrour to the *Britains* to have been ſo near him? (*m*) *Ranulphus Higden* ſaith, *That* Arthur *was ſo tired out with fighting* Cerdic (ſo weary of overcoming) *that 26 years after his coming he yielded part of the Weſt to him:* And to the ſame purpoſe (*n*) *Rudburn* ſpeaks. What is the meaning of all this? The plain truth is, they follow'd *Geffrey* as far as they could, but they found at laſt they muſt give away *Kerdic*'s Kingdom to him; and ſo they had better make it a *free Act* of King *Arthur*.

(l) *De Geſta Reg. l. 1. c. 2.*

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Let us now compare with this, the Account the *Britiſh Hiſtory* gives of him: which is this in ſhort.

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" as his Kingdom.) After this he drives *Gillomarus*
" and his *Iriſh* home; and determined to root out the
" *Scots* and *Picts*, but upon great ſubmiſſion he ſpared
" them. This being done he returns to *York*, where
" he rebuilds the Churches, and ſettles *Pyramus Arch-*
" *biſhop* in the place of *Samſon*, and reſtores the *Bri-*
" *tiſh* Nobility. Next Summer he goes for *Ireland*,
" and having ſubdued that, he ſails for *Iſland*, (not
(p) *Crymg. l. 1. c. 2.* " then inhabited ſaith (*p*) *Arngrimus Jonas* a Learned
" Native there) but upon notice of his coming, the
" Kings of *Seland* and the *Orcades* yielded themſelves.
" Then he returns home and ſettles the Nation in a
" firm peace for twelve years (although the *Saxons*
" were every where about them.) After which time,
" his Name was dreaded abroad, and away he ſails
" for *Norway*, and there conquer'd *Riculfus* and the
" whole Countrey: from thence to *Gaul*, where he
" chopt in pieces the Head of *Flollos* the Governour
" in ſingle Combat, and diſpoſed the ſeveral Provin-
" ces to his Servants, and returning home reſolved to
" keep a ſolemn Court at *Caer-leon*, (this was well
" thought upon, for we reade of no *Saxons* therea-
" bouts) where beſides ſeveral Kings the three Metro-
" politans met, of *London*, *York* and *Caerleon*, beſides all
" his Nobility. But to paſs over the great Solemni-
" ties there, the Emperour *Lucius* (not to be found
" elſewhere) ſends to demand Tribute on the ac-
" count of *Julius Cæſar*'s Conqueſt, upon which he
" makes great preparations to conquer *Rome*; and
" leaves *Britain* to *Mordred* his Nephew, who rebelled
" againſt him, and forced him to return home, when,
" after he had conquered *Lucius*, he was marching
" for *Rome*: and here *Mordred* had aſſociated *Saxons*,
" *Scots* and *Picts*, all againſt *Arthur*; but upon his
" coming the other fled to *Wincheſter*, from thence to
" *Cornwall*, where near the River *Camblan* he waited
" for *Arthur*'s coming, the iſſue of the Battel was,
" *Mordred* was killed, and *Arthur* mortally wounded,
" who was carried into the *Iſland* of *Avalon*, and there
" died and was buried.

This is the *Britiſh* Legend of King *Arthur*, which hath raiſed the laughter of ſome, and the indignation of

of others. *William* of *Newburgh* was the firſt who openly and in plain terms charged it with *falſity* and *inconſiſtency*; but againſt ſome parts of it he makes *triſling objections*; as about the *Three Archbiſhops*, denying that the *Britains* had any *Archbiſhops*, becauſe the firſt *Pall* was given to *Auguſtine* the *Monk*. But this was a piece of Monkiſh ignorance in him, for there were *Metropolitans* before, and without *Palls* from *Rome*; and *Archbiſhops* or *Metropolitans* did aſſume the uſe of *Palls* to themſelves, without asking the *Pope's* leave; and when he ſaith *Archbiſhops came ſo late into the Weſtern Churches*, it is true the uſe of the *word* did, but the *jurisdiction* over *Provinces* was long before, as I have already ſhew'd.

Upon the reviving of Learning ſome were ſo offended at this *ridiculous Legend*, that they queſtioned whether ever there were ſuch a Perſon as *Arthur*, againſt whom *Leland* undertook the defence of King *Arthur*. But ſome of his *Authours* will not be allow'd to bear witneſs in this cauſe, being partial followers of *Geffrey*; ſuch as *Alfred* of *Beverly*, *Gray* the Authour of *Scalæ-Chronicon*, *Joh. Burgenſis*, *Joh. Roſs*, *&c.* Others do not ſpeak home to the point, ſuch are the Teſtimonies of *Nennius*, *Malmsbury*, *Huntingdon*, which make him onely *General of the* Britiſh *Forces*: others are too *modern*, as *Trithemius*, *Volaterranus*, *Philippus Bergomas*, *Nauclerus*, *Hector Boethius*, *Pontius Virunnius*, *&c.* Others overthrow the main part of it, as to Arthur's *Sovereign Dominion in* Britain, as the *Chronica Divionenſis*, which ſaith, *That after ſeveral Combats* Cerdic *had the poſſeſſion of the Weſt* Saxon *Kingdom by* Arthur's *conſent*: and as parts of this Kingdom he reckons *Seven whole Provinces from* Surry *to* Cornwall. But the *Britiſh Hiſtory* takes no notice of *Cerdic*, but ſuppoſes all under *Arthur*'s command, and his Nephew *Mordred*'s in his abſence. If *Cerdic* had the *Weſt*-Saxon *Kingdom*, then how comes no notice of him in the Battel at *Camblan*? how came the fight within his Territories? Again, the *Authour* of the Life of *Gildas* cited by him, ſaith, *That one* Melvas *had ſtollen his Wife* Guenhere, *and defiled her, and that* Arthur *a long time beſieged him in the Marſhes near* Glaſſenbury. Is this

(q) *Aſſert. Arthuri*, p. 4, 5.

p. 24.

this agreeable to the mighty power of King *Arthur*, to have his Queen detained by force ſo long by ſuch an inconſiderable Perſon as *Meluas?* Eſpecially if it
p. 8. were as *Caradoc* of *Lancarvan* there ſaith, *She was reſtored at laſt, more by the intreaty of* Gildas *than out of reſpect to* Arthur's *Authority.* As to *Arthur's* Seal which he lays ſo much weight upon, it certainly belonged to the *Diploma* he gave to the *Univerſity of* Cambridge,
p. 12. in his time, mentioned by *Leland*; and the *Church* of *Weſtminſter*, if they have it ſtill, ought to reſtore it. But after all *Leland* hath ſufficiently proved, That there was ſuch a Perſon as King *Arthur* from the *Cair-Arture* in *Wales*, two Mountains ſo called; And *Arthur's* Gate in *Mongomery*; and the abundant Teſtimony he brings about his Coffin in Lead found in *Glaſſenbury*, either in *Henry* the Second's time, or at leaſt in the beginning of *Richard* the Firſt, with an *Inſcription* ſet down often by him, and more exactly
(r) *Brit. p.* 166. by (r) *Camden.* Where the Letters appear very rude, and the *Inſcription* very plain, and therefore more likely to be true.

HIC JACET SEPULTUS INCLITUS REX ARTURIUS IN INSULA AVALONIA.

Where are all the Noble Titles given him in the *Britiſh Hiſtory* and contained in the *Inſcription* about his Seal?

PATRICIUS ARTURIUS BRITANNIÆ, GALLIÆ, GERMANIÆ, DACIÆ, IMPERATOR.

So much greater a Man was *Arthur* living, when he uſed this Seal, than dead, when ſo mean an *Inſcription* was put upon the lower part of his *Leaden Coffin!* How ſoon were all his great Titles forgotten!

(s) *Hiſt. Brit. Defenſ. p.* 109. But ſince *Leland*, Sir *John* (s) *Price* hath undertaken to vindicate the Story of King *Arthur:* and the firſt Argument he uſes is from the *Inſcription* on his *Coffin*, and

and the *Antiquity* of the Letters; but the modeſty of the *Inſcription* is a better Argument to me, for if the *Monks* deſigned a Cheat in *Hen.* II. his time, and laid this *Coffin* there on purpoſe to deceive, they might counterfeit ſuch Letters, but they could never have held from ſpeaking more glorious things of ſo great a *Heroe*. Then he produces the Teſtimonies of *Nennius*, *Malmsbury* and *Huntingdon*, and proves that theſe two could not take out of *Geffrey*; that they did not I grant, but the other is not proved. The Verſes of *Thalieſſin* (who he ſaith lived in the time of *Maglocunus* mentioned by *Gildas*) do prove *That* Arthur *commanded in the Battel at* Badon *Hill*, which I ſee no reaſon to queſtion; but *Polydore Virgil* will have *Aurelius Ambroſius* to doe it, which I ſee no reaſon to believe. Beſides, he quotes old *Britiſh Chronicles*, which reckon from *Vortigern* to the Battel on *Badon* Hill, wherein *Arthur* beat the *Saxons*, 128 years; from that *Battel* to the *Battel* at *Camblan* wherein *Arthur* was killed, 22 years. And he finds the Name of *Arthur* in many ancient *Britiſh Poems*; and in the old *Regiſter* of *Landaff*: But that onely proves, *there was one* Arthur, *whoſe Son's Name was* Noe; but what is more material, he finds ſome paſſages agreeing with *Geffrey* in the old *Chronicles* of *St. Davids* and *Caer-Mardin*, as to his fighting againſt *Lucius Hiberus* in *Burgundy*, and the Battel at *Camblan*; but it doth not appear, that theſe *Chronicles* were before *Geffrey's* time. As to *King* Arthur's *Crown and Seal*, they may go together. But as to *Gildas* his ſilence, from whence ſome would prove that there was no ſuch Perſon, he anſwers from *Giraldus*, that Arthur *having killed his Brother* Hoel, *he purpoſely left him out*, which is no clear Anſwer; For if *Gildas* did this in revenge, he would rather have mentioned his *Cruelty*, as we ſee he ſpares not the Kings of his own time. But his better Anſwer is, *That* Gildas *deſign'd no Hiſtory, but a ſerious exhortation to the* Britains *to repent of their Sins, and therefore paſſes over other things, onely by the by mentioning* Ambroſius Aurelianus, *and addreſſes himſelf to his main buſineſs*; which is reaſon enough why he never names King *Arthur*.

p. 117. p. 120. p. 121. p. 125. p. 128. p. 129. p. 141.

Joh. (t) *Fordon* follows *Geffrey*, as far as he thinks consistent with the honour of his Countrey. This appears in the Story of King *Arthur*; for he saith, *he was set up by a Faction against the lawfull Heirs, who were* Mordred *and* Walwan, *the Sons of* Uther's *Daughter by* Loth, *then a great Man in* Scotland; *but descended from* Fulgentius; but he after excuses it, *on the account of necessity*; which *Dubricius* alledged, *they being then under age so much, as not to be able to go into the Field.* But he justifies *Mordred*'s Rebellion afterwards against *Arthur* on this ground, *that he had the right Title to the Crown.* (u) *Hector Boethius* saith, That *Lothius* put in his claim, according to the *ancient Law of the* Britains, and that he ought to have the *Regency* during the *Minority* of his Sons; But the *Britains* would by no means hear of *Strangers* coming to their *Crown*; and so *Arthur* took possession of it; who first conquer'd the *Saxons* 10 Miles from *London*, then took *London* (which it seems the *Saxons* had before) and so went towards *Humber*; and then he goes on with the *British History*, onely interspersing some *News* of his own. Particularly he tells *what a profane Christmas* Arthur *kept with his Nobles at* York *for thirteen days together*; *And that such Jollity and Feasting then had its original from him.* (w) *Buchanan* is so pleased with this notable observation, that he sets it down for good History; saying upon it, *that the old* Saturnalia *were renewed, onely the Days increased, and* Saturn's *Name changed to* Cæsar's, *for*, saith he, *we call that Feast* Julia. But why should the Name of *Saturn* be changed into *Cæsar*'s? Was he worshipped for a God among the *British Christians*, as *Saturn* was among the *Old Pagans*? *But the Name* Julia *imports it*: by no means. For *Buchanan* doth not prove that this *Name* was ever used for that Festival among the *Britains*; And the *Saxons* who brought in both the *Feast* and the *Name* give another reason for it. For (x) *Bede* saith, *That* December *was called* Giuli *from the conversion of the Sun and the increase of the days.* And *Giul*, as (y) *Loccenius* observes, signified *a Wheel*, or any thing *that turns round*, in the *Gothick Language*. At which time among the Northern Nations, the *Feast* of the *New Year* was observed

(t) *Scotich.* l. 4. c. 25.

(u) *Hist. Scot.* l. 9. p. 164.

(w) Buch. l. 5. p. 44.

(x) *De ratione Temp.* c. 13.

(y) *Antiq. Suec. Goth.* l. 1. c. 5.

ſerved with more than *ordinary jollity*; thence as (z) *Olaus Wormius* and (a) *Scheffer* obſerve they reckon'd their *Age* by ſo many *Iola's*, and *Snorro Sturleſon* deſcribes this *New-years Feaſt*, juſt as *Buchanan* ſets out the *Britiſh Saturnalia*, by *feaſting and ſending Preſents or New-years Gifts to one another*: Thence ſome think the Name of this *Feaſt* was taken from *Iola*, which in the *Gothick Language* ſignifies *to make merry*. But (b) *Olaus Rudbeck* thinks the former more proper, not onely from *Bede's* Authority, but becauſe in the old *Runick Faſti* a *Wheel* was uſed to denote that *Feſtival*: And as he obſerves, *this Feſtival continued twelve days from their firſt of the* Juul. The true reaſon whereof was, as *Olaus Rudbeck* at large proves; from the *Joy* they had at the hopes of *the return of the Sun*; at which time they made *Solemn Sacrifices* to the *Sun*. But after *Chriſtianity* prevailed, all their *Idolatrous Sacrifices* were laid aſide; and this time of *Feaſting* was joined with the *Religious Solemnities* of that Seaſon, which in other parts of the World were obſerved by *Chriſtians*. Which is certainly a very different thing from the *Roman Saturnalia*, although *Buchanan* thought fit to parallel them.

(z) *Faſti Danici l.* 1. *c.* 12.
(a) Upſal. *c.* 16.
(b) *Atlantic. c.* 5. *p.* 125. *p.* 100.

But to proceed with the Story of King *Arthur*, as it is in *Buchanan*, who takes his Materials from *Hector*, and puts them into a finer dreſs. *Arthur*, he ſaith, *made a League with the* Scots *and* Picts, *and* Lothus *brought his Sons to him*: *And then a reſolution was taken to drive out the* Saxons, *and to reſtore Chriſtianity*; *Then follow'd the Battel againſt* Colgtin; of which before: And the reſt of *Arthur's* Battels: But upon the whole, he concludes *that* Geffrey's *Relations have no colour of Truth*; and yet he makes uſe of no other, but where he follows *Hector's* own inventions. The remainder of his Story is, "That things being quieted here, *Arthur* goes over "into *Leſſer Britain*, and leaves the *Government* to his "Nephew *Mordred*; But while he was abroad, ſome "had prevailed with him to declare *Conſtantine* the Son "of *Cador* his Succeſſour being born in *Britain*; which "being done, *Mordred* ſet up for himſelf, and in a Bat-"tel about *Humber*, ſaith he, *Mordred* was killed, and "*Arthur* mortally wounded. Thus *Buchanan* having

picked what he thought fit out of *Hector*, concludes with a bitter *Invective* againſt the fabulous Relations about *Arthur*; But he gives him an extraordinary Character, ſaying, *he was certainly a great Man, of mighty Courage and wonderfull kindneſs to his Countrey, preſerving them from Slavery, and keeping up or reſtoring the true Religion.*

And that is the Subject I am now to conſider, *viz.* The *State of Religion here in King* Arthur's *days.* It was under great Perſecution almoſt whereever the *Saxons* came, who were cruel both to the Bodies and Souls of the poor *Britains:* Moſt of the Southern and Weſtern parts were under their *Tyranny*; and (c) *Brian Twyne* quotes a paſſage out of *Matt. Weſtminſter*, which is not ſo full in the printed Copies, concerning the *Perſecution* of the *Britiſh Chriſtians* in the *Eaſtern parts* of the Land. *For*, ſaith he, *Anno Dom.* 527. *The Pagans came out of* Germany, *and took poſſeſſion of the Countrey of the* Eaſt-Angles, & omni crudelitatis genere Chriſtianos affecerunt, *They tormented the Chriſtians with all ſorts of Cruelty.* Although this be wanting in other Copies, yet it may be reaſonably preſumed, The *Saxons* uſing the *Britiſh Chriſtians* in ſuch a manner in the moſt places where they prevailed. It is true that (d) *Malmsbury* ſaith, *many of the* Britains *ſubmitted to* Cerdic, and it is probable they were the better uſed for doing ſo. *Tho.* (e) *Rudburn* ſaith, *That* Cerdic *allow'd Liberty of profeſſing the Chriſtian Religion to the* Corniſh *upon a certain Tribute.* I rather think that *Cerdic* never went ſo far, but left that part to the *Britains*, who ſtill continued there: For in *Gildas* his time *Conſtantine* is ſaid to be King of the *Danmonii:* and (f) *Camden* obſerves out of *Marianus Scotus*, that *Anno Dom.* 820. *the* Britains *and* Saxons *had a terrible Fight at* Camelford *in* Cornwall, which *Leland* thinks to have been *Camlan*, where King *Arthur* fought with *Mordred*, and near which is *a Stone*, ſaith Mr. (g) *Carew*, *which bears* Arthur's *Name*; but now called *Atry.* To prove what I have ſaid, that the *Weſt-Saxon Kingdom* did not extend to *Cornwall*, we may obſerve that (h) *William* of *Malmsbury* ſaith, *That* Ceaulin, *Granchild to* Cerdic, *was the firſt who took* Glouceſter, Ciceſter

(c) *Antiq. Oxon. Acad. Apol. l. 1. § 87.*

(d) *De Geſt. Reg. l. 1. c. 2.*

(e) *Chron. l. 2. c. 1.*

(f) *Brit. p. 141.*

(g) *Survey of Cornw. p. 122.*

(h) *De Geſt. Reg. l. 1. c. 2.*

ceſter *and* Bath *from the* Britains, *and drove them thence into the Rocky and Woody places:* And in the time of *Athelſtan*, above 400 years after the coming of the *Saxons*; the *Corniſh Britains* did inhabit in *Exceter*, and were driven thence by him beyond the River *Tamar*, and confined by that, as the other *Britains* were by the *Wye*. This ſhews that the *Britains* in *Cornwall*, and thereabouts, were free from the *Yoke* of the *Weſt-Saxon Kingdom*. As to the *Northern Britains*, they came to ſome agreement after a while with *Otca* and *Ebuſa*, whom *Hengiſt* ſent thither; and that they had their own Government, and the Chriſtian Religion among them appears by the Hiſtory of *Ceadwalla*, a Prince of theſe *Britains* in (*i*) *Bede*. But theſe were but ſmall remnants in the *Northern* and *Weſtern parts*. As to the *Eaſtern*, we have had the Teſtimony of *Matt. Weſtminſter* already. And although the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles* did not begin till afterwards, about *Anno Dom.* 575. yet in the ninth year of *Cerdic*, about *Anno Dom.* 517. *Huntingdon* obſerves, *That many* Angles *or* Saxons *were come out of* Germany, and took poſſeſſion of the Countrey of the *Eaſt-Angles* and *Mercia*, and whereever they prevailed, *the poor* Britiſh *Chriſtians ſuffered* to the higheſt extremity. Which is enough to conſidering Men to overthrow the credit of the ſuppoſed *Diploma* of King *Arthur* to the *Vniverſity* of *Cambridge*, which bears date *Anno Dom.* 531. But *Brian Twyne* hath brought no fewer than 15 Arguments againſt it, which are far more than needed. For I cannot think that Dr. *Cajus* in earneſt believed it, for he goes not about to prove the *Diploma*, but King *Arthur*; And I cannot think it any honour or ſervice to ſo famous and ancient an *Univerſity*, to produce any ſuch ſuſpected *Diplomata* or *Monkiſh Legends* to prove its *Antiquity*. It is not certain in whoſe poſſeſſion *London* was at that time, from whence the *Charter* is dated: For the *Kingdom* of the *Eaſt-Saxons* was then ſet up by *Erkinwin*, and *London* commonly was under that, and that Kingdom as (*k*) *Malmsbury* obſerves, had the ſame limits which the Dioceſe of *London* now hath, *viz. Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, and part of *Hartfordſhire*: (*l*) *Matt. Weſtminſter* agrees, *that* Middleſex *was under the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Saxons,

l. 2. c. 6.

l. 1. c. 3.

(i) l. 2. c. 20.

(k) *De Geſtis Reg.* l. 1. c. 6.

(l) Matt. Weſt. A. D. 586.

Saxons, but he will not yield that *Theonus* Biſhop of *London* did retire with his *Clergy* into *Wales* till *Anno Dom.* 586. and then he confeſſes *that he and* Thadioc, *Biſhop of* York, *when they ſaw all their Churches demoliſhed, or turned into Idol Temples, did for their ſecurity retire thither.*

And there was the freeſt *Exerciſe* of their *Religion* kept up, even in the Reign of King *Arthur*; There flouriſhed the *Schools* of *Literature* ſet up by *Dubricius* and *Iltutus*, and there were the Perſons of greateſt Reputation for Learning and Sanctity in the *Britiſh Churches*, ſuch as *Dubricius*, *Iltutus*, *Paulinus*, *Gundleus*, *Cadocus*, *Sampſon*, *Paternus*, *Daniel*, and St. *David* above the reſt, whoſe Reputation continues to this day; and was preſerved in the *Saxon* Churches of *Britain*, as appears by the *Breviary* of *Salisbury*, where *nine Leſſons* are appointed upon his day; And (*m*) *Maihew* obſerves that this was by a *Provincial Conſtitution* in the *Province* of *Canterbury*; But the *nine Leſſons* were taken out of the firſt *Chapter* of the *Legend* of his *Life*, a little being added at the end concerning his *Death.* It is the juſt complaint of (*n*) Bollandus, *that there is nothing extant concerning him, which was written near his own time; and what is extant hath many fabulous mixtures, ſo that it is hard to find out the Truth.* The oldeſt *MS.* of his *Life* he ſaith is that of *Utretcht*, which he hath publiſhed; the next he accounts is that in *Colganus*, which he would have thought to be the *Life* written by *Ricemarchus*, quoted by Archbiſhop (*o*) *Uſher*; whom he ſuppoſes to have lived before *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, who tranſcribed much out of him. But *Colganus* withall intimates, *That the Life was taken out of an old Book, wherein* Auguſtin Macraidin, *the Authour of the Annals of* Ulſter *had written many things*, and probably might write that too; and to confirm this *Bollandus* obſerves, onely a little difference in Style between this and the *Utretcht MS.* But if we add to theſe, *Giraldus* his Life, with that of *John* of *Tinmouth*, or *Capgrave*, we ſhall after all find, the *Life* of St. *David*, not much clearer than that of his Nephew *Arthur*, for he is ſuppoſed to have been *Uncle* to him by the *Mother's* ſide, whoſe Name is ſaid to be *Nonnita*

(m) *Trophæa Congr. Bened. To.* 1. *p.* 263.

(n) *Acta Sanct. Mart.* 1. § 1. *n.* 5.

(o) *Prim. p.* 843, 844.

Nonnita in *Capgrave*; *Nonna* in the *Utrecht MS.* *Nemata* in *Colganus*, *Melari* in the Life of St. *Kenna*; ſo *Colganus* and *Bollandus* ſay; But in *Capgrave* I find *Melari* ſaid to be *the Mother to the Father of St.* David, *i.e.* to *Xantus* King of the *Provincia Ceretica*, *i. e. Cardiganſhire* (ſo called from *Ceretus* Father to *Xanctus* ſay ſome; from *Caraticus*, who ruled here, as (*p*) *Camden* ſeems inclinable to believe) That *Melari* was one of the 12 Daughters of *Braghanus* King of *Brecknock*; from whom, (*q*) *Giraldus* ſaith, *the County took its Name*; And he ſaid from the *Britiſh* Hiſtories *that he had* 24 *Daughters*; but *Capgrave* ſaith *he had* 12 *Sons and* 12 *Daughters*. *D. Powell* in his *Notes* on *Giraldus* ſaith, *this* Brachanus *his Father was* Haulaphus, *King of* Ireland, *and his Mother a* Britain, *viz. Marcella* Daughter to *Theodoric* Son of *Tethwaltus* King of *Garthmathrin* afterwards called *Brecknock*; Another Daughter of *Brachanus*, he ſaith, was Wife to *Congenus* Son to *Cadel*, King of *Powiſland*, and Mother of *Brochmiel*, who killed *Etheldred* King of *Northumberland*, and routed his Army about *Anno Dom.* 603. By this we ſee what a Number of Petty *Princes* there was about that time among the *Britains*; but whether *St. David* were *Uncle* by the *Mother* to King *Arthur* or not, we have not light enough to diſcover. I ſhall paſs over all the *Legendary parts* of his Life; and conſider onely what relates to the *Church-Hiſtory* of thoſe times. His *Domeſtick Education* is ſaid to have been under *Paulens* or *Paulinus* a Diſciple of St. *German*; with whom he continued *ten years*; in the *Iſle* of *Wight*, ſaith *Giraldus*, but it ſeems more probable to have been *Whiteland* in *Caermardenſhire*; the School of *Iltutus* being not far off in *Glamorganſhire* at *Lantwitt*, *i.e. Fanum Iltuti*; and in his Life it is ſaid, *that he came to the King of* Glamorgan; and after, that *Sampſon*, *Paulinus*, *Gildas* and *David* were his *Scholars*. But *Bollandus* ſhews, that there muſt be a miſtake as to *David*; and that inſtead of him it ſhould be read *Daniel*, who was a Diſciple of *Iltutus*, and conſecrated firſt Biſhop of *Bangor* by *Dubricius*. After this it is ſaid, *that* David *and* Eliud, *or* Telianus, *and* Paternus *went to* Jeruſalem, *and* David *was there conſecrated Biſhop by the Patriarch*. And

(p) *Brit. p.* 518.

(q) *Itiner. Camb. l.* 1. *c.* 2.

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it is not to be wondred, that in ſuch a diſtracted time at home, they ſhould go to *Jeruſalem*, when (r) Saint *Jerome* in his time mentions *the* Britains *going thither*; eſpecially ſuch as were more inclined to *Devotion*; which humour ſpread ſo much, that *Gregory Nyſſen* wrote againſt it, as a thing very much tending to *Superſtition* if not ariſing from it. But it was moſt excuſable in ſuch a troubleſome time at home. Not long after his return, the famous Synod at *Brevy* was held at a place called *Lhandewy-brevy*, the *Church of Saint* David *at* Brevy. Here the *Utrecht MS.* ſaith, *was a Synod aſſembled of all the Biſhops of* Britain *upon the account of the Pelagian Controverſie then revived. Giraldus* ſaith, *It was a general Convention of Clergy and Laity.* But the former MS. ſaith, *there were preſent* 118 *Biſhops, beſides Abbats and others.* One would think it hard to find ſo many *Biſhops* in *Britain* at that time: And *Bollandus* ſtartles at it, but *Colganus* undertakes to defend it; having premiſed that *Giraldus* and *Capgrave* leave it out; But he ſaith, *there were more Biſhops at that time than afterwards; and more Biſhops than Biſhopricks, Dioceſes not being then ſo limitted as afterwards; And every Monaſtery almoſt having a Biſhop its Superiour; By which means he juſtifies Saint* Patrick's *conſecrating*, as *Jocelin* ſaith, 350 *Biſhops with his own hands.* But after all this, *Giraldus* did much better to omit ſuch a number in ſuch a time, unleſs there were better Teſtimony concerning it. However there was a conſiderable number there preſent, *yet St.* David *was abſent*, and firſt *Paulinus* was ſent to him, but he prevailed not, then *Daniel* and *Dubricius* went, upon whoſe intreaty he came, and by his *Authority* and *Eloquence* put an effectual ſtop to *Pelagianiſm*: And before the end of the *Synod* it is ſaid, *That by general Conſent he was choſen Archbiſhop of* Caerleon, Dubricius *deſiring to retire on the account of his Age.*

(r) *Epiſt.* 17.

But here we meet with a conſiderable difficulty concerning the *Succeſſion* to *Dubricius*, *viz. That* Teliaus *is ſaid to ſucceed* Dubricius *at* Landaff, *and to have power over all the Churches of the Weſtern parts of* Britain; How can this be conſiſtent with St. *David's* ſucceeding *Dubricius* in the See of *Caerleon*, which had

had the *Metropolitan Power* over thoſe *Churches?*

(s) Biſhop *Godwin* out of *Bale*, and as he ſuppoſeth, out of *Leland* ſaith, *That St.* Dubricius *was firſt Biſhop of* Landaff *being there conſecrated by* Germanus *and* Lupus, *and that afterwards he was removed by a Synod to* Caerleon, *and* Teliaus *placed in* Landaff. But this by no means clears the difficulty; for although *Bale* doth there exactly follow *Leland*, yet *Leland* himſelf did not ſeem to have conſulted the Book of *Landaff*; Where it is ſaid, *That when* Dubricius *was made Archbiſhop, he had the See of* Landaff *conferr'd upon him, by the Gift of* Mouricus *then King, and* the three Eſtates, i. e. *the Nobles, Clergy* and *People, and all the Land between the* Taff *and* Elei: And (t) *Leland* himſelf out of another Authour ſaith, *That when* Dubricius *was made Archbiſhop*, Landaff *was made his Cathedral Church.* After *Dubricius* his time *Teliaus* is ſaid to be *Archbiſhop* ſeveral times in the Book of *Landaff*; and after him *Oudoceus* is called *Summus Epiſcopus*; and the Biſhop of *Landaff* in his Petition to *Calixtus* 2. *Anno Dom.* 1109. ſaith, *That it appears by the hand writing of St.* Teliaus, *That the Church of* Landaff *was ſuperiour in dignity to all other Churches in* Wales. That which ſeems to me the moſt probable account of this matter is, That when *Landaff* was given to *Dubricius* then *Archbiſhop*, he fixed his *See* there, and ſo *Landaff* was the *Seat* of the Archbiſhop of *Caerleon.* But afterwards when St. *David* removed the Archiepiſcopal *See* to *Menevia*, a remote, barren and inconvenient place, as *Giraldus* himſelf confeſſeth; The Biſhops of *Landaff* aſſumed the *Archiepiſcopal Power*, which had been in that *See*, and would not ſubmit to the *Biſhops* of St. *Davids.* This is apparent from that paſſage of *Oudoceus* (who ſucceeded *Theliaus*) in the *Book* of *Landaff*, that he would not receive *Conſecration* from the Biſhop of St. *Davids*, as his *Metropolitan*, but had it from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.* This is a very improbable thing at that time conſidering the hatred the *Britains* did bear to the *Saxons*, and their *Biſhops* to *Auguſtin* the Monk: It is far more likely that they received it from the Archbiſhop of *Dole* in *Britany*; or from the Archbiſhop of *London* then reſident in thoſe parts; who probably kept up their Succeſſion for ſome time, as long as there were any hopes of returning to their own See, as is before obſerved.

(s) *De Præſul.* p. 618.

(t) *Collect. Vol.* 2. p. 42.

After this *Giraldus* ſpeaks of another *great Council*

held by St. *David*, which he calls *Victoria*; in which he ſaith *all the Clergy of* Wales *were preſent*; *And the Decrees of the former Council were confirmed, and new Canons made for the Government of the* Britiſh *Churches*; But this *Second Synod* is not mentioned in the old *Utrecht MS.* nor in *Capgrave*, but it is in *Colganus*, and by the *Expreſſions* it appears to have been taken out of *Giraldus*, who confeſſeth, *that no Copies of thoſe Canons were to be ſeen in his time, that Coaſt being ſo often viſited by Pirats*, (who no doubt came to ſteal MSS. and eſpecially *Church-Canons.*) I will not deny that the *Britiſh* Churches at that time, and in thoſe parts might be ſaid to be in a flouriſhing condition in compariſon with other parts of *Britain*, and there might be more Chriſtians there, becauſe they had been driven out from other places; and their Brethrens afflictions might encreaſe their Devotion; But *Gildas* takes no more Notice of St. *David* than he doth of King *Arthur*. The *Battel* at *Badon-hill* according to Archbiſhop *Uſher*, was the year after the *Synod* at *Brevy*, and from that time *the* Britiſh *Churches* had ſome quiet from their Enemies: But then (*u*) *Gildas* ſaith, *The* Britains *quarrelled among themſelves; but yet ſo as that ſome kind of Order and Government was then kept up among them, by the Remembrance of their late Calamities.* And at this time he ſpeaks the beſt of the *Britains*, that he doth in his whole Book; for he ſaith, *That Kings and Publick and Private Perſons, Biſhops and other Churchmen* (for *Sacerdotes* in that Age often ſignified *Biſhops*, and *Gildas* calls it *Sacerdotalem Epiſcopatus Sedem*) *did all keep to the Duty of their places.* But then he adds, *when the Senſe of theſe Calamities was worn out, and a new Generation aroſe, they fell into ſuch a degeneracy as to caſt off all the Reins of Truth and Juſtice, that no remainder of it appear'd in any ſort of Men, except a few, a very few, whoſe number was ſo ſmall in compariſon with the reſt, that the Church could hardly diſcern its genuine Children when they lay in her Boſome.*

(u) Gild. § 26.

But before I come to this laſt and ſaddeſt part of the *Hiſtory* of the *Britiſh Churches* it will be neceſſary now to give ſome Account of thoſe *Britains*, who being wearied out here went for Refuge to that *Countrey* in *France*, which from them is called *Bretagn.*

It

It ſeems hard to determine when the firſt *Colony* of *Britains* was ſetled in the parts of *Aremorica*. For in the declining times of the *Roman* Empire, there was ſo frequent occaſion of the *Britiſh* Souldiers removing into the *Continent*, and ſo little encouragement to return hither, that it is not improbable, that after the Troubles of *Maximus* and *Conſtantine* a *Colony* of *Britains* might ſettle themſelves upon the *Sea Coaſts* near to *Britain*, where they might be ready to receive or to go over to their Countrymen; as the Condition of affairs ſhould happen. This I am very much induced to believe, not from the Authority of *Nennius*, or *Geffrey*, or *William* of *Malmsbury*, or *Radulphus Niger*, *&c.* but from theſe Arguments;

Firſt from *Sidonius Apollinaris*; and there are two paſſages in him which tend to the clearing this matter, the firſt is concerning *Aruandus* accuſed at *Rome* of *Treaſon*, in the time of *Anthemius*, for perſuading the *King of the* Goths to make War upon the *Greek Emperour*, *i. e. Anthemius*, who came out of *Greece*, and upon *the* Britains *on the* Loir, as (w) *Sidonius Apollinaris* expreſly affirms, who lived at that time, and pitied his caſe. This hapned about *Anno Dom.* 467. before *Anthemius* was the ſecond time Conſul. From whence it appears, not onely that there were *Britains* then ſettled on the *Loir*, but that their *Strength* and *Forces* were conſiderable, which cannot be ſuppoſed to conſiſt of ſuch miſerable People as fled from hence for fear of the *Saxons*: And it is obſervable, that about this time *Ambroſius* had ſucceſs againſt the *Saxons*, and by *Vortimer*'s means, or his, the *Britains* were in great likelihood of driving them out of *Britain*; ſo that there is no probability that the Warlike *Britains* ſhould at that time leave their Native Countrey. A ſecond paſſage is concerning *Riothamus*, a King of the *Britains* in the time of (x) *Sidonius Apollinaris*, and to whom he wrote, who went with 12000 *Britains* to aſſiſt the *Romans* againſt *Euricus* King of the *Goths*, but were intercepted by him, as (y) *Jornandes* relates the Story, and *Sigebert* places it *Anno Dom.* 470. Now what clearer Evidence can be deſired than this, to prove that a conſiderable Number of *Britains* were there ſettled, and

(w) *Epiſt. l. 1. Ep. 7.*

(x) *L. 3. Ep. 9.*

(y) *De Rebus Get. c. 45.*

in a condition not onely to defend themſelves, but to aſſiſt the *Romans*; which cannot be imagined of ſuch as merely fled thither after the *Saxons* coming into *Britain*. Beſides we find in *Sirmondus* his *Gallican* Councils, *Manſuetus* a Biſhop of the *Britains* ſubſcribing to the firſt *Council* at *Tours*, which was held *Anno Dom.* 461. By which we ſee the *Britains* had ſo full a ſettlement then, as not onely to have *Habitations*, but a *King* and *Biſhops* of their own; which was the great incouragement for other *Britains* to go over, when they found themſelves ſo hard preſſed by the *Saxons* at home. For a People frighted from hence, would hardly have ventured into a foreign Countrey, unleſs they had been ſecure before hand of a kind reception there. If they muſt have fought for a dwelling there, had they not far better have done it in their own Countrey? From whence I conclude, that there was a large *Colony* of *Britains* in *Aremorica* before thoſe Numbers went over upon the *Saxon* Cruelties; of which (z) *Eginhardus* and other foreign *Hiſtorians* ſpeak. Archbiſhop *Uſher* ſeems to think this *Riothamus* himſelf to have been *the firſt Leader of them*; But it is hard to think a Perſon of his Valour and Experience would leave his *Countrey* in that diſtreſſed *Condition* it was brought into by the *Saxons*.

(z) *Annal. A. D. 786. Hiſt. Francic. Script. coat. To. 2. p. 639.*

(a) *Sur. Dec. 13.* But (a) *Florentius* the Authour of the Life of *Judocus* Son to a King of *Bretagn* ſaith, *That his Name was* Rioval, *a Prince here in* Britain, *who gathered a good Army and Fleet together, and with that ſubdued the People who lived on the* Aremorican *Coaſts, being then left deſtitute and unable to defend themſelves.* For that was the effect of the *Roman* Government, which was kept up by the force of the *Roman* Legions in all parts of it, and ſo when theſe were broken, the *Nations* were ſo unaccuſtomed to War, that they lay open to all *Invaders*. So that the *Aggreſſors* did generally ſucceed in their attempts where the *Roman* Legions were withdrawn: and next to the wiſe Providence of God which ordereth all things, there was no one cauſe which contributed ſo much to the miſeries of thoſe times, and the ſtrange Revolutions which hapned in them, as the *Natives* being not trained up to *Martial Diſcipline*, but

but depending wholly on the *Roman* Legions for their Defence and ſecurity; thence, whatever People had the Courage to invade, did uſually take poſſeſſion of the *Countrey* where the *Roman* Legions were at a diſtance, or otherwiſe engaged againſt each other. Thus in *France*, the *Goths*, the *Burgundians*, the *Franks*, and the *Britains* took poſſeſſion of the ſeveral parts they attempted; and the *Goths* and *Vandals* in *Spain*: So *Goths* and *Lombards* in *Italy* it ſelf. So that it is not to be wondred, if the *Saxons* prevailed here at laſt; but with as much difficulty, and after as many *Battels*, as were fought by any People of that time without foreign Aſſiſtence. But to return to the *Aremorican Britains*, whether they came over under *Rioval* in the beginning of the *diſtractions* here, *when the People were ſo Rebellious againſt their Princes*, as *Gildas* relates, or whether they went over to aſſiſt *Conſtantine* and his *Son*, and ſo remained there, I ſhall not determin. But that the *Britains* were well ſettled there before *Sampſon* Archbiſhop of *York* and his Company paſſed the Seas, appears by what (*b*) *Mat. Paris* ſaith, *That they went to their fellow Citizens and Countrey Men, hoping to live more quietly there.* And after the death of the Biſhop of *Dole*, he was by the conſent of the *Britains* put into his Place, and from thenceforwards exerciſed his *Archiepiſcopal power* there; the *Kings* of that Province, not ſuffering his Succeſſours there to pay any Obedience to the Archbiſhop of *Tours*. Which begot a Suit which held 300 years in the *Court* of *Rome*, and was this year manfully decided by *Innocent* III. as *Mat. Paris* there relates: Who ſtates the Caſe very unskilfully, laying the weight of it upon *the Archbiſhop's bringing over his Pall from* York, which the *Pope* had given him there. Suppoſe this were true (although the *Popes* gave no *Palls* then, nor a great while after) yet this were no reaſon to conteſt it in the *Court* of *Rome* ſo long together. But the difficulty of the Caſe lay upon another point, *viz.* according to the *Old Canon* of the *Church*, If a *Province* were divided into two, each *Province* was to have a *Metropolitan*; Now this Reaſon held much ſtronger when *new Kingdoms* were erected out of the *Roman* Provinces: For what Reaſon

(b) A. D. 1199.

was

was there why the Biſhop of *Dole* in the Kingdom of *Bretagn* ſhould yield ſubjection to the Biſhop of *Tours* in a diſtinct *Kingdom*? and there was the fairer Colour for this when one actually an *Archbiſhop* before came to be ſettled there; and from hence they inſiſted on a *Preſcription* of a very long time, wherein no *Subjection* had been made to the Biſhop of *Tours*, as appears by the account given of this Cauſe by (*c*) *Innocent* III. in his *Epiſtles* lately publiſhed by *Baluzius*. On the other ſide it was pleaded, that all *Britanny* was under the *juriſdiction* of the Archbiſhop of *Tours*, but that the *Britains* conſpiring againſt the *King* of *France*, and ſetting up a Kingdom of their own, they made uſe of *Sampſon*, Archbiſhop of *York*, coming to eſtabliſh a *Metropolitan* power within that Kingdom: and upon Complaint made to *Rome*, the Popes had put it upon this iſſue, whether any of their *Predeceſſors* had granted the *Pall* to the Biſhop of *Dole*, which not being proved, the Pope, as it was eaſie to imagine, gave Sentence againſt the Biſhop of *Dole*. But it is certain, that they went upon a falſe ſuggeſtion, *viz.* That the Kingdom of *Bretagn* was ſet up in *Rebellion* to the Kingdom of *France*. For *Childeric* had not extended his *Dominions* in *France* as far as the *Loir*; and before his time, the *Britains* were in quiet poſſeſſion of thoſe parts of *Aremorica*; and the beſt (*d*) *French* Hiſtorians now grant that the *Britains* came thither in the time of *Merovée*, who obtained but little in *Gaul*, as (*e*) *Hadrianus Valeſius* confeſſeth. And the (*f*) Authour of the Life of *Gildas* obſerves, *That the Power of the Kings of* France *was very inconſiderable in the time of* Childeric, *Son of* Merovée, at what time *Gildas* went over into *Aremorica*, as his School-fellows under *Iltutus*, *Sampſon* and *Paulus* had done before him; whereof one ſucceeded the other *Sampſon* at *Dole*, and the other was made Biſhop of the *Oxiſmii*, the moſt *Northern People* of *Bretagn*; which *Dioceſe* is ſince divided into Three, *Treguier*, *S. Pol de Leon*, and *S. Brieu*.

(c) *Epiſt. l.* 2. *Ep.* 82.

(d) Mezeray, *To.* 1. *p.* 18.

(e) *Rer. Fran. l.* 3. *p.* 146.

(f) *Vit.* Gild. *c.* 12.

Here *Gildas* at the requeſt of his Brethren who came out of *Britain*, ſaith the *Authour* of his *Life*, *wrote his Epiſtle*, wherein he ſo ſharply reproves the ſeveral Vices of the *five Kings of* Britain, whom he calls by

by the Names of *Conſtantine*, *Aurelius*, *Vortiporius*, *Cuneglaſus* and *Maglocunus*; and ſpeaks to them all as then living. The (*g*) *Britiſh Hiſtory* makes them to ſucceed each other; *Conſtantine*, according to that, was killed in his third year by *Aurelius Conanus*. He died in his ſecond year, and *Vortiporius* ſucceeding him Reigned four years. After him he places *Malgo*, and leaves *Cuneglaſus* wholly out. But that they Reigned at the ſame time in ſeveral parts of *Britain* is evident from *Gildas*, becauſe he ſaith, *He knew that* Conſtantine *was then living*; Now *Conſtantine* Reigning the firſt of theſe, how could he ſpeak to the four Kings that ſucceeded him, if he were ſtill living? For there is no colour, for imagining that *Gildas* ſtill added his Reproof as one died and another ſucceeded; for any one may diſcern it was written in one continued ſtyle, and he writes to them all as then living without the leaſt intimation that they ſucceeded each other: Beſides, he calls *Conſtantine* the *Iſſue of the impure* Damnonian *Lioneſs*; and at this time the *Britains* in the remote *Weſtern parts* were ſeparated from the other by the *Weſt* Saxon *Kingdom*; and therefore there is far leſs Probability that all the *Britains* at that time ſhould be under *one Monarch*. And where they had greateſt freedom of living together, they were divided into ſeveral *Principalities*. For he, whom *Gildas* calls *Maglocunus*, is by the *Britiſh* Writers called *Maelgun Guineth*, and *Mailgunus* mentioned by *John* of *Tinmouth*, in the Life of St. *Paternus*, and by *Thalieſſin* in Sir *John Price*, from whom it appears that he was *King* of *North-Wales*. And as *Gildas* calls *Vortiporius* the Tyrant of the *Demetæ*, by whom the *Inhabitants* of *South-Wales* are underſtood: *Aurelius Conanus*, Archbiſhop (*h*) *Uſher* thinks was King of *Powiſland*; which was ſometime a *third Kingdom*. And for *Cuneglaſus*, it ſeems probable, *he had the Command of the Northern* Britains; for it is plain from *Bede* they had a diſtinct *Principality* there. All theſe *Gildas* doth very ſeverely reprove for their ſeveral Vices; and then taxes the *Judges* and *Clergy* to the *Concluſion* of his *Epiſtle*, *to the end they might repent of their Sins, and acquit the juſt and wiſe Providence of God in the judgments he brought upon*

(*g*) Galfr. l. 8.

(*h*) *Prim. p.* 537.

upon them, which were very terrible, and ended in the *deſolation* of the *Countrey* and the *ruine* of the *Britiſh Churches*, excepting onely thoſe *Remnants* which were confined to the *Corners* of the *Land*. For our (*i*) *Hiſtorians* ſay, *That the* Saxons *left not the Face of Chriſtianity whereever they did prevail.*

(i) Ranulph. Nig. in Chronic. Matt. Weſtmin. A. D. 586, 596.

This is a very ſad Subject, which ought not to be paſſed over without that Reflexion which St. (*k*) *Paul* made on the Church of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*.

(k) Rom. 11. 22.

Behold the goodneſs and ſeverity of God; on them which fell ſeverity, but towards thee goodneſs; if thou continue in his goodneſs, otherwiſe thou alſo ſhalt be cut off.

It remains onely, that we conſider the *Liberty* or *Independency* of the *Britiſh Churches*; of which we can have no greater Proof than from the *Carriage* of the *Britiſh Biſhops* towards *Auguſtin* the *Monk*, when he came with *full power* from the *Pope* to require *Subjection* from them. And this material point relating to the *Britiſh Churches* I ſhall endeavour to clear from all the *Objections* which have been made againſt it. In order thereto, we are to underſtand, That (*l*) *Auguſtin* the *Monk* by virtue of the *Pope's Authority*, did challenge *a Superiority over the Biſhops of the* Britiſh *Churches*, which appears not onely by *Gregory's* Anſwer to his *Interrogations*, but by the *Scheme* of the *Eccleſiaſtical Government* here, which *Gregory* ſent to him, after he had a fair proſpect of the *Converſion* of the *Saxons*, which was at the ſame time that he ſent *Mellitus*, *Juſtus*, *Paulinus* and *Rufinianus*, with the *Archiepiſcopal Pall* to him. There he declares that there were to be two *Archbiſhops Sees*, one at *London* (which out of honour to *Ethelbert* or *Auguſtin* was fixed at *Canterbury*, or rather by *Ethelbert's* own Authority) and the other at *York*, which had been a *Metropolitan See* in the *Britiſh* times, and both theſe *Archbiſhops* were to have twelve *Suffragan Biſhops* under them. The Biſhop of *London* was to be conſecrated by his *own Synod*, and to receive the *Pall* from the *Pope*; But *Auguſtin* was to appoint the firſt Biſhop of *York*, who was to yield *Subjection* to him for his time, but afterwards *the Sees* were to be *Independent* on each other. But by all this, it ſhould ſeem, *that he had Authority given him onely over thoſe*

(l) Bed. l. 1. c. 27.

c. 29.

Biſhops

Biſhops who were conſecrated by him, And the Archbiſhop of York; what then becomes of thoſe Biſhops in *Britain* who were *Conſecrated* by neither, and ſuch they knew there were? Concerning theſe *Gregory* gives a plain Anſwer, *That they were all to be ſubject to the Authority of* Auguſtine; *and to govern themſelves in Life and Doctrine and Church-Offices according to his Direction.* *Auguſtine* being furniſhed with ſuch *full Powers*, as he thought, deſires a *Meeting* with the *Britiſh Biſhops*, at a place called *Auguſtinſac*, as (*m*) *Bede* ſaith, in the *Confines* of the *Wiccii* and the *Weſt Saxons*. Where this place was is very uncertain, and not at all material; *Camden* could find nothing like it, and the *Conjectures* of others ſince have no great probability, either as to *Auſtric*, or *Hauſtake*, or *Oſſuntree*, but at this place, the *Britiſh Biſhops* gave *Auguſtine* a Meeting; where the firſt thing propoſed by him was, *That they would embrace the Unity of the Catholick Church, and then join with them in Preaching to the Gentiles, for*, ſaith he, *they did many things repugnant to the Unity of the Church*; Which was in plain terms to charge them with *Schiſm*; and the *Terms* of *Communion* offer'd, did imply *Submiſſion* to the *Church* of *Rome*, and by conſequence to his *Authority* over them. But the utmoſt that could be obtained from them, was onely *that they would take farther advice, and give another Meeting, with a greater Number.* And then were preſent *Seven Biſhops of the* Britains, *and many Learned Men, chiefly of the Monaſtery of* Banchor, *where* Dinoth *was then Abbat*; And the *Reſult* of this *Meeting* was, *That they utterly refuſed Submiſſion to the Church of* Rome, *or to* Auguſtine *as Archbiſhop over them.* And for the Account of this, we are beholding to *Bede*, whoſe Authority is liable to no exception in this matter.

(m) L. 2. c. 2.

But againſt this plain Matter of *Fact*, there have been three *Objections* made which muſt be removed.

(1.) That *Auguſtine* did not require *Subjection* from the *Britiſh Biſhops*, but onely treated with them, about other matters in difference between them.

(2.) That their refuſing *Subjection* to the *Biſhop* of *Rome* depends upon the *Credit* of a *Spurious* Britiſh *MS.*

lately invented and brought into light, as the Anſwer of *Dinoth.*

(3.) That if they did refuſe *Subjection* to the *Pope*, it was *Schiſmatical Obſtinacy* in them, and contrary to the former *Senſe* of the *Britiſh Church.*

To all theſe I ſhall give a clear and full Anſwer.

(1.) As to the matter of their *Conference*, it cannot be denied that other things were ſtarted; as about the *Paſchal Controverſie* and ſome *Rites* of *Baptiſm*, &c. but this was the main point; which *Auguſtine* did not in plain Terms inſiſt upon, becauſe it would look too invidiouſly to require *Subjection* to *himſelf*, but he cunningly inſinuates it under the Name of *Eccleſiaſtical Unity.* For I dare appeal to any Man's common ſenſe, whether upon the *Principles* of the *Church* of *Rome*, the *Britiſh Biſhops* complying in other things and rejecting the *Pope's Authority* would have been thought ſufficient? If ſo, then *Submiſſion* to the *Pope* is no neceſſary term of *Communion*; and Men may be in a very ſafe Condition without it. But if it were neceſſary, then *Auguſtine* muſt imply it within the terms of *Catholick Peace* and *Eccleſiaſtical Unity.* It is therefore ridiculous in (n) *Alford* and (o) *Creſſy*, and ſuch Writers to ſay, *That* Auguſtine *did not inſiſt upon it:* For it is to charge him with *Ignorance* or *Stupidity*, that he ſhould leave out ſo neceſſary an Article of *Communion:* And yet *Gregory* had ſo great an opinion of him, as to make him *the Directour of the* Britiſh *Churches.* And therefore it cannot be ſuppoſed that he ſhould offer terms of *Communion* without requiring *Submiſſion* to the *Pope's Authority*; if thoſe were in a ſtate of *Schiſm* who denied it.

(n) *Annal. Eccleſ. A. D.* 604. n. 11.
(o) *Church. Hiſt. l.* 13. *ch.* 19. n. 6.

But it is ſaid, *That in the Concluſion of the ſecond Meeting*, Auguſtine *did not inſiſt upon, nor ſo much as mention any ſubjection to him from the* Britiſh *Churches, but onely required Compliance in three Points*, viz. *the time of the Paſchal Solemnity agreeable with the Church of* Rome; *following the* Roman *Cuſtomes in Baptiſm; and joining with them in Preaching to the* Saxons; *and upon theſe they brake up the Meeting.*

To

To which I Anſwer.

That theſe things were required by *Auguſtin*, not as *Conditions* of *Brotherly Communion*, but as the *Marks of Subjection* to his *Authority*; which appears from *Bede*'s own Words, *Si in tribus his mihi obtemperare vultis, &c.* Which *Creſſy* very unfaithfully renders, *If they would conform in three points onely:* Whereas the meaning is, If they would own his *Authority* in thoſe *three things*; and therefore the *Britiſh Biſhops* anſwered very appoſitely, when they ſaid, *we will neither doe the things nor ſubmit to you as Archbiſhop over us.* Why ſhould they deny *Subjection* if it had not been required of them? Which ſhews they very well underſtood his meaning, and gave Anſwer in ſhort, to the main point. And upon this Account I ſuppoſe it was, that the *Anchoret*'s advice was followed about obſerving *Whether he roſe up to the* Britiſh *Biſhops at their entrance*; Not that they were ſo offended for want of a *Complement*, as Mr. *Creſſey* ſuggeſts, but this was look'd on by them, as a *Mark* of that *Superiority* which he challenged over them; And therefore they had reaſon to take ſo great notice of it, and to infer harder uſage from him, when they ſhould be under his *Authority*. They could not be ignorant what *Authority* the *Pope* had given *Auguſtin*, and that made them more *Obſervant* of his whole Behaviour, and finding it ſo agreeing to the *Character* of an *Archbiſhop* over *the* Britiſh *Churches*, They give him that Reſolute Anſwer, *That they would not own any Authority he had as Archbiſhop over them.* Which is a ſufficient proof, that this was really the main point conteſted between them.

(2.) As to the *Britiſh MS.* which contains *Dinoth*'s Anſwer more at large; I Anſwer;

1. (*p*) *Leland* obſerves, *That the* Britiſh *Writers give a more ample account of this Matter than is extant in* Bede; who is very ſparing in what concerns the *Britiſh* Affairs. But from them he ſaith, *That* Dinoth *did at large diſpute with great Learning and Gravity againſt receiving the authority of the Pope, or of* Auguſtin; *and defended the Power of the Archbiſhop of St.* Davids; *and affirmed it not to be for the* Britiſh *Intereſt to own either the* Roman *Pride or the* Saxon *Tyranny.* And he finds

(p) *De Script. in Dinoth.*

fault with *Gregory*, *for not admoniſhing the* Saxons *of their groſs Uſurpations, againſt their Solemn Oaths*; And adds, *that it was their duty, if they would be good Chriſtians to reſtore their unjuſt and Tyrannical Power to thoſe from whom they had taken it. For* Dinoth, *out of his great Learning could not but know, that the Pope under a pretence of bringing in the true Faith could not confirm them in their unjuſt Uſurpation. For if that ſhould be admitted no Princes could be ſafe in their Dominions.* And no doubt the *Britiſh Biſhops* looked upon this attempt of *Auguſtin* upon them to be the adding one *Uſurpation* to another: Which made them ſo adverſe to any *Communication* with the Miſſionaries which otherwiſe had been inexcuſable.

(2.) The certainty of the *Britiſh Churches* rejecting the *Pope's Authority*, and *Auguſtin's* juriſdiction doth not depend upon the *Credit* of this *Britiſh MS.* for this is ſufficiently clear from *Bede's* own Words, wherein they declare, *they would not own* Auguſtin *as Archbiſhop over them.* But if they had owned the *Pope's Authority*, they ought to have *Submitted* to him, who acted by virtue of his *Commiſſion:* And it was not poſſible for them at ſuch a diſtance from *Rome*, to expreſs their diſowning his *Authority* more effectually than by *rejecting* him, whom he had ſent to be *Archbiſhop* over them. And *Nich. Trivet* in his *MS. Hiſtory* cited by Sir *H.* (q) *Spelman*, ſaith expreſly, *that* Auguſtin *did demand Subjection from the* Britains *to him, as the Pope's Legate, but they refuſed it.* So that if this *MS.* had never been heard of, the Matter of Fact had been nevertheleſs fully atteſted.

(q) *Concil.* p. 111.

(3.) The *Objections* againſt this *MS.* are not ſufficient to deſtroy the *Authority* of it. Sir *H. Spelman* who ſets it down at large in *Welſh*, *Engliſh* and *Latin*, tells from whom he had it, and exactly tranſcribed it, and that it appeared to him to have been an *Old MS.* taken out of an *Older*, but without *Date* or *Author*, and believes it to be ſtill in the *Cotton Library.* Here is all the appearance of *Ingenuity* and *faithfulneſs* that can be expected; and he was a Perſon of too great Judgment and Sagacity to be eaſily impoſed upon by a modern Invention, or a *new found Schedule*

dule, as Mr. *Creſſy* Phraſes it. The ſubſtance of it is, That the *Abbat of* Banchor, in the *Name* of the *Britiſh Churches* declares, *That they owe the Subjection of Brotherly Kindneſs, and Charity to the Church of God, and to the Pope of* Rome, *and to all Chriſtians: but other obedience than that, they did not know to be due to him whom they called Pope; And for their parts they were under the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of* Caerleon *upon* Uſk, *who was under God their Spiritual Overſeer and Directour.* But, ſay the Objectors, *There was then no Biſhop of* Caerleon *upon* Uſk, *and had not been ſince the time the Metropolitan Juriſdiction was by St.* David *transferr'd to* Menevia. I grant that from the time of *Dubricius* the *See* was transferr'd firſt to *Landaff*, and then to St. *Davids*, but this latter *Tranſlation* was not agreed to by all the *Britiſh Biſhops*; And it appears by the foregoing Diſcourſe, That the Biſhops of *Landaff* did at that time when *Oudoceus* lived, challenge the *Metropolitical Power of* Caerleon to themſelves, and therefore would not be conſecrated by the *Biſhop* of St. *Davids*. And *Caerleon* having been the ancient *Metropolitical See*, it was no abſurdity at all to mention that in a Diſpute which depended upon *ancient Right*. For the *Authority* over the *Britiſh Churches* was not upon the account of St. *Davids* or *Landaff*, but the *Metropolitan Right* which belonged to the *See of* Caerleon. As if in the *Britiſh* times the *Metropolitan See* had been removed from *London* to *Canterbury*, what incongruity had it been in a diſpute of *Superiority* to have alledged, that the *Britiſh Churches* of theſe parts were under the *Juriſdiction* of the *Archbiſhop of* London, although at that time the *See* were removed to another place? And if this be all to make it appear to be a *Forgery*, as Mr. *Creſſy* pretends, for all that I can ſee, it may be a very ancient and genuine *MS.*

But *Alford* goes deeper, for he diſproves it, *becauſe it contradicts the Senſe of the* Britiſh *Churches before, which profeſſed ſubjection to the* Roman *See.*

This is indeed to the purpoſe if it be well proved, which in the laſt place comes to be conſidered.

(3.) To this purpoſe he alledges, (1.) *The Confirmation of St.* David's *Synod by the Pope's Authority.* But from

from whence hath he this? From no other Teſtimony than that of *Giraldus Cambrenſis* cited by Biſhop *Uſher*, who in the ſame place confeſſes, *That there was no Monument of thoſe Synods at all remaining, nor of the Pope's Confirmation of them*; and the other *MSS.* and *Legends* of St. *David*'s Life ſay not a Word of this. How then came *Giraldus* to affirm it? We are to remember that *Giraldus* had a Cauſe depending in the Court of *Rome*, about the *Biſhoprick* of St. *David*'s, and he knew well enough what *Doctrine* was pleaſing there, and therefore the *Teſtimony* of ſuch a one, having no concurrent Evidence to ſupport it is of very little force in this matter. (2.) He mentions the Reſpect *Kentigern* ſhew'd to the *Church of* Rome, *going ſeven times thither, and having at laſt his uncanonical Ordination purged, or confirmed by the Pope*; as the *Authour* of his Legend relates. But this ſeems to me a ſenſeleſs and ridiculous *Legend*! For as (r) *Bollandus* obſerves, if *Kentigern* went ſeven times to *Rome* how came he to put off the *Errour* of his *Conſecration* to the laſt? If it were good before, why not then? If naught before, then all the *Acts* performed by him by virtue of his firſt *Conſecration* were invalid. But there is no more Errour ſuppoſed in the Conſecration of *Kentigern* by one *Biſhop*, than there was in that of *Seruanus* by *Palladius*, which as (s) *Joh. Major* ſaith, *was good in caſe of neceſſity*. But the *Writers* of the *Legends*, living long after the times of the Perſons, framed their Stories according to the *Cuſtoms* of their own times; and becauſe ſuch a *Conſecration* was not then held good, therefore the Authour of his *Legend* takes care to have that defect ſupplied at *Rome*, and to make amends he ſaith, *That* Kentigern *at his death recommended to his Diſciples the Decrees of the Fathers, and the Cuſtoms of the* Roman *Church*. But what is this to the *neceſſity* of *Subjection* to the *Roman See* from the general ſenſe of the *Britiſh Churches*? What if *Kentigern* having been often at *Rome*, were pleaſed more with the *Cuſtoms* of that *Church*, than of the *Britains*? Doth it hence follow, that thoſe *Britains* who maintained *Cuſtoms contrary to the* Romans, did think it neceſſary to conform to the Church of *Rome*, when the plain *Evidence* of *Fact* is to the

(r) 13. *Jan. Vit. Kentigern.*

(s) *De Geſt. Scot. l. 2. c. 2.*

the contrary; and which hath far more authority than ſuch *Legends* as theſe? (3.) Ninianus *is* (t) *ſaid to have learnt the Chriſtian Doctrine at* Rome, *who converted the Southern* Picts, *and founded the Church* ad Candidam Caſam; *being the firſt built of Stone.* But what follows from hence? Becauſe *Ninianus* was made a *Chriſtian* at *Rome*, therefore the *Britiſh Churches* always own'd the *Pope's Supremacy.* They are indeed to ſeek for Arguments who make uſe of ſuch as theſe. (4.) He offers to prove the conſtant *Submiſſion* of the *Britiſh Churches* to the *Roman See* from *Gildas* himſelf, and he makes uſe of two Arguments.

(t) Bede, l. 3. c. 4.

(1.) *From his calling the* Britiſh *Churches* Sedem Petri, *the See of St.* Peter. I confeſs *Gildas* hath theſe words, but quite in another Senſe; For in the beginning of his *Invective* againſt the *Clergy*, among other things he charges them, that they did *Sedem Petri Apoſtoli immundis Pedibus uſurpare.* Doth he mean that they defiled *St.* Peter's *Chair at* Rome? No certainly, but he takes St. *Peter's* Chair for that which all the *Clergy* poſſeſſed, and implies no more than their *Eccleſiaſtical Function*; and ſo he oppoſes it to (u) *the Chair of* Judas, *into which*, he ſaith, *ſuch wicked Men fell.* But if they will carry *St.* Peter's *Chair to* Rome, they muſt carry *the Chair of* Judas thither too.

(u) Gild. p. 58, 60.

(2.) (w) *Alford* inſiſts on this Paſſage in *Gildas*, *That they were more ambitious of Degrees in the Church than of the Kingdom of Heaven*; And after a bitter *Invective* againſt their *Symoniacal Contracts*, he adds, *that where they were oppoſed they ran beyond Sea to compaſs their ends.* Now ſaith *Alford*, *whither ſhould this be but to* Rome? For as *Leland* obſerves in the Caſe of *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, *ſunt enim omnia Venalia* Romæ: all things are bought and ſold there; and therefore whither ſhould ſuch *notorious Symoniacal Perſons go, but to* Rome? This is a very ſurpriſing Argument, and is more wiſely paſt over by Mr. *Creſſy* than inſiſted on by *Alford*, as being a horrible Reflexion on the *Court* of *Rome* in thoſe days. But to ſay Truth, there is not one Word of *Rome* in *Gildas*; but if they will apply it to *Rome*, how can we help it?

(w) A. D. 548. n. 4.

To

(x) *A. D.* 604. n. 10.
(y) *Concil. p.* 110.

To conclude this Diſcourſe, (x) *Alford* is much diſpleaſed with (y) Sir *H. Spelman* for *paralleling the Caſe of the* Britiſh *Biſhops, and* Auguſtine, *with that of the* Cyprian *Biſhops againſt the Patriarch of* Antioch: But for what Reaſon? *Why*, ſaith he, *The Council of* Epheſus *did not permit the* Cyprian *Biſhops to decline the Judgment of their Patriarch, but declared the Biſhop of* Antioch *not to be their Patriarch.* Very well! And is not this the very caſe here? The Biſhop of *Rome* challenged a *Patriarchal Power* over the *Britiſh Churches*, and appoints an *Archbiſhop* over them, but they deny that he had ſuch *Authority over them*, they being governed by their own *Metropolitan*, as the *Cyprian* Biſhops were: and therefore by the *Decree* of the *Council of* Epheſus, they were *bound to preſerve their own Rights*, and conſequently to oppoſe that *foreign Juriſdiction*, which *Auguſtine* endeavoured to ſet up over them.

THE END.